Arms and Armour of the Warrior Saints

Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843–1261)

Piotr Ł. Grotowski



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Tradition and Innovation in Byzantine Iconography (843–1261)

By

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Translated by

Richard Brzezinski

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LEIDEN • BOSTON

Cover illustration: Asinou, Narthex - south wall; St. George, 12/13th C.
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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

The reputation of Byzantine history as complex and arcane has left this field a darkened void when compared with the history of medieval Europe as a whole. Hiding somewhere in this vacuum are centuries of half-forgotten tradition, linking ancient Rome with the early modern world in general and Eastern Europe in particular. Today, with the gradual 'opening up' of Central and Eastern Europe, this very neglect over centuries has made Byzantium one of the most dynamic and exciting fields of research, especially for military historians.

When taking on this translation project, thumbing through the Polish typescript (expanded from a doctoral dissertation written at Poland's premier academic institution, the Jagiellonian University in Kraków), it was at once obvious that the work shone a bright light into the dark hole that is Byzantium, providing tantalising glimpses of the warriors of the medieval Greek world, clad in their extraordinary gilded laminar and scale corselets, and elucidating one of the great art historical mysteries—how realistic are Byzantine depictions of military saints? The work deserved to be translated. Polish scholarship has long been on a high level, but in view of language problems, has seldom achieved the international recognition it deserves.

It has been a fascinating, though by no means easy, journey to bring this extraordinary work to a wider audience. My translation closely follows the Polish original, except that sentences have generally been shortened and, where practical, rephrased to suit an English readership. Every pair of eyes that reads a passage will see it in a different light, and I hope my views and comments made during the translation process have added, however minutely, to the rich content of this book. All factual changes were discussed with the author and integrated as part of his text.

My thanks go to Lidia Polubiec for her art historical expertise, and assistance with some of the more obstinate passages in the Polish text; Dr Philip Rance for advice on use of Latin versus Greek forms; and Dr Nick Sekunda for guidance on some of the complexities of Greek terminology. The largest thank you must be reserved for my partner,

Zofia Stępkowska, who besides her help with some of the more idiomatic nuances of modern Polish, has put up with my eccentricities and inattention throughout the extended gestation of this project with a degree of patience that can only be described as saintly.

CONVENTIONS USED IN THIS BOOK

As a guiding principle we have followed the fashion of recent scholarship and where possible used the Greek forms of Byzantine names and technical terms, in particular those given in the *Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (ODB). However, personal names of well-known figures from before the Arab invasions have been left in the more commonly recognized Latin forms, for example Heraclius rather than Herakleios.

First names are given in the English equivalent where one is in common usage, thus John rather than Ioannes. For consistency, names of the warrior saints are generally rendered in the Greek forms: Bakchos and Merkourios in preference to (the more historically correct) Bacchus and Mercurius; this is, after all, how these names appear in Middle Byzantine art works, which constitute the main subject of this work.

The rendering of place names is complicated by the many forms in use even in Greece today. Our rule has been to use the form likely to be most familiar to the reader: thus Byzantium, rather than Byzantion and Thessaloniki rather than Thessalonike or Salonica.

For transliteration of Greek words we have used the Library of Congress Romanization with a few exceptions, most of which are explained below. For readability (following the *ODB*) we have not used macrons to distinguish eta from epsilon, and omega from omicron.

With some simplification and generalization it can be said that Medieval Greek contains a mix of words from Classical Greek[1] (some of which appear in Homer's epic poems) and loans from Latin and other languages. Although the literary form of the language had ossified and often harked back to Classical models, Medieval Greek was, as a living language, subject to constant changes which took place independently of external influences.

1 Usually the Attic dialect and *koine*.

Transcription of Greek

Greek letter	English equivalent	Greek letter	English equivalent	Greek letter	English equivalent	Greek compounds	English equivalent
Α, α	a	Κ, κ	k	Τ, τ	t	Γγ, γγ	ng
Β, β	b, v	Λ, λ	l	Υ, υ	u, v	Μπ, μπ	b, mp
Γ, γ	g	Μ, μ	m	Φ, φ	ph	Ντ, ντ	d, nd
Δ, δ	d	Ν, ν	n	χ, χ	ch	‘Ρ, ‘ρ	Rh, rh
Ε, ε	e	Ξ, ξ	x	Ψ, ψ	ps		
Ζ, ζ	z	Ο, ο	o	Ω, ω	o		
Η, η	e	Π, π	p				
Θ, θ	th	Ρ, ρ	r	’ (soft breathing)	[omit]		
Ι, ι	i	Σ, σ, ς	s	‘ (rough breathing)	h		

Transcription of the letter *β*

One such change in Medieval Greek was the replacing of the phonetic value of the letter ***β***, originally equivalent to **b**, by the vowel **v**. To make the etymology clearer for the reader, Latin borrowings which took place before this change have been left in the original form, e.g. *tabula*—***ταβλίον***, and similarly from Persian, *kaba*—***καβάδιον***, and from Arabic, *jubbah*—***ζάβα***.

For other examples where the loanword is known the letter **v** has been used, e.g. Lat. *servus*—***σέϱβουλα***, Lat. *verutum*—*βηρύττα*.

While Medieval Greek uses the compound ***μπ*** to express the **b**, it is often preferable to keep the earlier phonetic value; for example the Greek *καμπάγος*, which was adopted quite early from the Latin *campagus*, seems more useful to the reader as *kampagos* rather than *kabagos*.

INTRODUCTION

Ever since the human form has been represented in art, costume has been an important element that defines the depicted individual. The representation often carries additional information, not only concerning the person depicted, but also about the artist and the society for which he was working. This was already true in ancient Egypt, where pharaohs were depicted in a composite double crown, a covering for the head but also an inseparable attribute of power, symbolizing sovereignty over both the Upper and Lower Kingdoms.[1] The medieval *colobium* worn by Christ in early scenes of the Crucifixion, a peasant's tunic reducing his nakedness, informs us of the attitude of medieval society to His Passion. Even modern items of dress, such as the bowtie, neckerchief and necktie (which after all have little functional purpose except a semiotic one) reveal the wearer's social status and the occasion he is attending. The inhabitants of the Eastern Roman Empire also attached special importance to costume and the messages it carried, as is perhaps best attested by the numerous sumptuary laws on the use of certain shades of purple in the manufacture of clothing as well as footwear.[2]

The importance of costume as an iconographical element increases when the individuals represented are part of a group that uses costume to differentiate themselves from the rest of society. Costume can then

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[1] See e.g. Gamber 1978, 115–16; B. Scholz, "Atefkrone", "Federkrone" and "Kopftuch" in *BKR*, 18, 75, 144.

[2] On the semiotic aspect of costume see Żygulski 1974, 108–10. The reservation of purple (*murex bandaris*) for imperial costume is mentioned in Gratian's edict of 383, though AMMIAN. (1:90, [14.9.7]) mentions a purple royal robe woven by conspirators in Tyre in 354; see also pp. 132–3 [15.8.11, 15] on Julian the Apostate's ceremonial cladding in purple garments for his coronation as caesar by Constantius on 6 November 355; and on the slur cast on Danus, an inhabitant of Salona, alleged to have stolen a purple pall from the tomb of Diocletian; and also on the illicit use of purple by a certain Aquitanian (1:160–1 [16.8.4, 8]). This regulation was toned down by Leo VI in his *Novella* 80, but he retained strict rules on the trading of purple cloth and other specific types of clothing designated uniquely for the imperial court (see Avery 1940; Fauro 1995, 486–7 and n. 18; EPARCH, pp. $27^{2–7, 16–18}$, 35^{21}–36^{22}, $37^{9–11}$ [IV 1, 3; VIII 1–2, 4]; LIUDPRAND, 20–1 [53–6]). MacMullen (1964, 448–9) draws attention to the highlighting of symbolic elements of dress in Late Roman art; presumably this tendency also survived in Byzantium. See also Alföldi (1952, 69–72) on the purple *clavi* on the togas of Roman senators and the cloaks of *equites*.

be treated as a sort of attribute—it does not always allow a specific individual to be identified, but it generally indicates a person's membership of a defined social class or professional group. In Byzantine art it is possible to distinguish at least three such groups: the emperor with court dignitaries and state officials; the clergy; and members of the armed forces.[3] While the first two have seen extensive monographs dedicated to the methods of representation and meaning of their costumes,[4] attempts so far to analyze military 'uniform' in Byzantine art specifically in the context of the iconography of warrior saints have not yet produced satisfactory results.[5]

The 'warrior saints' or 'military saints' can be distinguished from the huge host of martyrs by the pictorial convention of cladding them in military attire.[6] The goal of this work is to answer the question of how far images of the warrior saints merely repeated antique models and were an artistic creation that differed from reality, and to what extent the iconographic canon was brought up to date under the influence of weaponry in use at the time the images were created.[7] Solving this problem seems to be of value not only from the point of view of describing the rules determining the evolution of images of the warrior saints, and it may also bring answers on the nature of their cults. We can assume that when the costume of a military saint depicted on an icon or a church fresco was made up of traditional elements that sought their origins in antiquity, such costume might be interpreted by the medieval observer as harking back to the 'old times' in

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[3] According to Żygulski (1974, 109) 'Military and police signals of authority' and 'signals of religious cults and rituals' are among the clearest messages communicated by clothing.

[4] On imperial iconography in Byzantium see Grabar 1936; Piltz 1986 and 1997 (largely on the basis of DE CER.); Parani 2003, 11–50 (on ceremonial robes and imperial insignia), and 51–100 (on official court dress and aristocratic clothing). Clerical vestments and their meaning are discussed by Walter 1982. A reconstruction of military dress on the basis of iconography was called for recently by Ball 2002.

[5] Cf. the general conclusions on the military equipment of the military saints as marginal notes to consideration of their iconography by Myslivec 1934, 317–20; Marković 1995, 597–9; and Górecki's more thorough study (1980, 196–218), which unfortunately refers only to a narrow group of Nubian representations.

[6] See below, n. 0.

[7] Armstrong/Sekunda (2006, 15) point out the archaizing style common in representations of warrior saints in 'high' art and suggest searching for 'realia' in folk art (especially ceramics), but without further investigating the fact that the 12th/13th-C. representation they are studying on a dish from Vrea on the Chalkidiki peninsula (as they themselves notice) exhibits fantastical features.

which the saint lived, but in extreme cases might also create a barrier of incomprehension. On the other hand the use of common elements of clothing that the viewer saw on a daily basis reduced the distance between himself and the holy patron who mediated in his contact with God. It should also be remembered that military clothing has always carried a rich semiotic and symbolic message. Deciphering this code may allow us to verify current interpretations of the representations of military saints, who are seen both as heroes defeating evil and as the heavenly bodyguard of the Almighty.[8]

In a wider aspect, the issue of iconographical innovation in the military costume of the saints is linked with the general discussion on the nature of Byzantine culture and civilization, its traditionalism and constant reference to antique models on the one hand, and the search for its original features created as an independent value on the other.

Therefore, the basic research problems concerning the images of the military saints seem to be to distinguish costume elements that: (1) were not used in the Byzantine army but were borrowed from antique art as a result of iconographical inertia; (2) that were known already in antiquity and continued in use during the Eastern Roman Empire's period of greatness; (3) new types of arms and armour which as a result of iconographical updating were introduced to reflect changes in medieval military technology; and finally (4) the fantastic and symbolic. A detailed examination of the military equipment on warrior saint images may therefore solve a question that has long been asked by Byzantine arms historians—how far is it possible to trust such images when attempting to reconstruct the arms and armour of the medieval Greeks?[9]

[8] See below, pp. 78 and 105. The related problem of the iconography of the archangels in military attire, especially Michael and Gabriel, is outside the limits of the present work and requires separate treatment, although general findings made here may be applicable in respect of their military gear. On the images of the archangel Michael in military equipment see for example: Rohland 1977, 136–48; Parani 2003, 154–5; and Ovcharov 2003, 21–8. The last author points out the genetic and ideological links with antique representations of Nike/Victory.

[9] The use of images of military saints (above all those on wall paintings) as a source in military equipment studies is proposed by Manova (1969, 187–8; who applies this method in her study). Her method in reference to arms of the Palaiologan era was questioned recently—no doubt justly—by Bartusis 1992, 326. Meanwhile, Kolias (1988, 33) advises students of Byzantine arms to maintain a certain scepticism towards works of art, warning of the effects of public bias on the popularity of military subjects. In particular he criticizes Manova's conclusions relating to the depiction of shields (on pp. 117, 121 n. 173). The archetypal character of depictions of weaponry

Scope of Research

Time-frame

For a full understanding of the phenomenon of armed saints in the art of the Eastern Roman Empire, especially its connection with Classical traditions, it is necessary to look back to representations from the era before Iconoclasm and even to the Hellenistic period. The changes that took place in how armour was depicted in art under Latin rule in the thirteenth century are the last examples of the updating of the clothing of military saints. For this reason the time-frame of the Middle Byzantine period adopted in the present work (customarily defined as the interval between the final suppression of the Iconoclast schism in 843 and either the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 or its recovery by Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1261) should be understood as the general time-span covered by this work, into which the majority of events described fit, although occasionally it is necessary to reach outside this period.

There were several reasons for the choice of Middle Byzantine art as the field for research. During this period of revival after Iconoclasm, figurative and anthropocentric art once again redefined certain pictorial formulas. The emergence of a new canon was also favoured by the Second Council of Nicaea (787), which imposed the use of specified formulas to represent the various saints.[10] On the other hand, the transformation of the Imperial army initiated by Constantine the Great led to the creation of a new military organization differing in organization and combat methods. The Roman legionary system gradually changed into one of *limitanei* frontier troops together with a mobile field army of *comitatenses* under the command of a *Magister militum* plus allied *foederati*. The army's reorganization continued after the defeat at Adrianople in 378,[11] and in succeeding centuries, directed

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in art is also mentioned by Haldon (2002, 66). Recently Ball (2002, 76) has returned to Manova's approach.

[10] Mansi, 13:252 (= English translation by Mango 1986, 172–3); for more on Byzantine iconoclasm, its origins and effects, see Grabar 1984, *passim*.

[11] Changes in the army's structure in the 3rd and 4th C. are discussed in the broader socio-economic context by Jones 1964, 2:607–48; see also Treadgold 1995, 9–11. Treadgold also analyses the structure of the army under the Iconoclast emperors on pp. 21–42.

by such reformist emperors as Maurice (582–602) and Heraclius (610–641),[12] and in the period under discussion by Nikephoros II Phokas (963–969).[13] These factors all influenced the image of the warrior saint, determining its originality and distinctiveness. Also of significance is that numerous military treatises and documents have survived from this period, and these allow us to reconstruct the arms and armour employed in the imperial army of this period,[14] which in turn permits us to examine the saints' images in the light of actual Byzantine equipment.

Our end date is the thirteenth century, specifically the appearance of a new style of depiction in the era of the Palaiologan dynasty which referred strongly to Classical traditions and made extensive use of fantastical motifs.[15] This process appears to have gone hand in hand with the decline and disappearance of native Byzantine military organization—replaced by mercenary bands and private formations of *pronoiars*,[16] which deserves separate treatment.[17]

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[12] The vast literature on this subject, concentrating largely on the origins of the thematic system (with two dominant opinions—linking the system's origins with Heraclius or suggesting a gradual transformation from the late Classical formations of *limitanei* frontier troops) is discussed by: Haldon 1993; and 1993a, 1–9 (especially the state of research on pp. 1–7 with bibliog. in the notes); Kaegi 1981, 120–36; and Treadgold 1995, 21–32, 98–108. The term τοῖς θέμασιν is used for the first time by THEOPHANES, 1:300[6], in reference to the reforms of Heraclius (and is discussed in detail by Oikonomidès 1975, esp. pp. 2–5).

[13] See Kolias (1993) who sees the main evidence for Phokas's reformatory activities in the attribution to him of the military manual texts and ordinances regulating the question of distribution of land to soldiers; Magdalino 1997, 16–26; cf. Shilov (2001) who regards as unsatisfactory the theories of Kolias and other students of this problem.

[14] see below, p. 34.

[15] Marković (1995a, 211–13) identifies the obvious classicizing of the uniforms of warrior saints from Manasija as well as discrepancies between their arms and armour and surviving weapons from the time. He is inclined to believe that images of military saints produced in the 10th and 11th C. are largely modelled on actual military equipment. In turn, Parani (2003, 111–12, 143) associates the lack of references to lamellar armour in Late Byzantine sources with fantastic depictions and regards this as evidence of the disappearance from use of this type of armour.

[16] On the disappearance of an independent military organization in Byzantium after 1204 see Kolias 1988, 27; for the sources of the *pronoia* system see Magdalino 1997, 32–6; and Karayannopoulos 1996. Parani (2003, 136, 143) even suggests, on the basis of iconographical evidence for edged weapons and lamellar armour, that weapons production ceased altogether in the Late Byzantine era.

[17] Andrea Baubin is currently writing a doctoral thesis on the iconography of warrior saints in the Palaiologan era, under the direction of Prof. T. Kolias at the University of Ioannina, Greece.

Selection of material

The term 'Byzantine art' once referred exclusively to the creative output of Constantinople, but in a broader sense covers works that came into being throughout the Eastern Roman Empire (in contrast to the wider term 'art of the Eastern Church'). It encompasses works that are diverse in terms of artistic quality and style, as well as in the conditions in which they came into being. Alongside works created at the imperial court in the capital that were strongly based in the Classical tradition, it includes others that arose in monastic circles, murals in the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia, and provincial frescoes in churches on the Mani peninsula, which are often coarse in terms of style yet innovative in terms of iconographic solutions. Besides art created within the Empire's frontiers, Byzantine art should undoubtedly include works executed by Greek artists under commission from foreign patrons; this includes mosaics adorning the Sicilian cathedrals of Cefalù (1148) and Monreale (1180–89) as well as the churches of Martorana (*c.*1143) and the Cappella Palatina (1143–54) in Palermo; similarly it should also take into account the mosaic decorations of the cathedral of St Sophia (1037, 1061–67) and the monastery of the Archangel Michael (*c.*1108–13), both in Kiev. To this group can be added smaller portable works such as manuscripts, icons, sculptures (which are normally of fairly modest dimensions), as well as minor items of applied art. These all make up part of the artistic heritage of Byzantium and are currently preserved in collections throughout the world. An example of one such collection assembled during the Byzantine period is the group of icons in St Catherine's monastery on Mt Sinai; for a modern collection it is enough to mention the museum at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C.[18]

When examining the iconography of the military saints one should not overlook artistic circles that, although not integral parts of the

[18] See Lazarev (1960) 152–7; Lazarev 1966. In truth NESTOR, pp. 120–1 describing the foundation of St Michael's Church under the year 1108 does not mention the part played by Greek artists in its construction, which he does in reference to the foundation of the Tithe Church by Vladimir in 989 (p. 52). He also fails to mention the role of Greeks in the building (p. 89) of the church of the Virgin in the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev (1088) which is attested by PATERYK, 152–8 [II, III]. On Byzantium's contacts with the West, esp. on icons brought to Western Europe in the 12th C., and mosaics in Sicily and Venice, see most recently W.D. Wixom in: *Glory of Byzantium*, 435–41 (includes key bibliog.). On the Mt Sinai circle see most recently the articles by K. Weitzmann, A. Paliouras & G. Galavaris in *Sinai*, 61–102.

Empire, were directly connected with those in it. Such is the case with Coptic art in Egypt, the roots of which hark back to before the Arab conquest (AD 640–642), and also with works originating in Nubia, Syria, Armenia and Georgia. The first two of these circles are especially important in the early development stage of the iconography of the military saints. These regions were untouched by the activities of the Iconoclasts, and as a result a number of early warrior saint depictions have survived,[19] allowing the evolution of their iconography to be followed. Images of Syrian origin, especially those dating from after the formation of the Crusader states, provide an example of the intermixing of Latin influences with those of Byzantium, Cyprus, Armenia, and with local traditions.[20] Meanwhile in Armenia and Georgia, which maintained strong military ties with Byzantium,[21] the penetration of artistic influences is very clear.[22]

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[19] Despite the edicts of 689 and 722 ordering the removal of external decorations from churches, Muslim leaders did not interfere with their interior décor (Wessel 1965; Bourguet 1991, esp. 27–39); since 1949 the Roman periodical *Orientalia* has published an extensive *Bibliographie copte*, ed. J. Simon. On the Christian kingdom of Nubia see D.W. Johnson & A. Kazhdan, "Nubia" in *ODB*, 3:1500. On warrior saints in Nubian painted works see Górecki 1980.

[20] On the artistic links between Byzantium, Cyprus, Syria and Armenia, most recently see Christoforaki 2001; Syro-Palestinian depictions of warrior saints are examined by: Dodd 1992, 84–7, fig. 29; Hunt 1991; Folda 1995, 403; Folda/French 1982, 194–5.

[21] Both regions served as centres of troop recruitment for the Empire, see for example: on the part played by Armenians in the defence of Constantinople during the Avar invasion of 626—ChPasch, 1:724$^{11-15}$; on recruitment see Praecepta, p. 12^{2} [I 1]; De Cer, p. 667^{3} [II 45]; and *Novella* 3 of Nikephoros Phokas—Basilika, 1:258–9 [VI 19,9] (= Leo the Deacon, pp. 318–20); on Georgians e.g. *Dai*, 1:192$^{100-01}$ [43]; De Cer, p. 435$^{13-15}$ [I 96] (on the Tornikios family); Attaleiates, p. 45$^{2-5}$; Skylitzes, p. 326$^{83-5}$ [9]; see also Dagron 1986; Jones 1964, 1:659–60. The role of Armenians in the Byzantine army is covered by Garsoïan 1998, 62–3, and Nicolle 1992, 24, 33–4. See the references by Sebeos (p. 107 [XLIV]) to the appointment in 643 Smbat Bagratuni, son of Aspet as 'first' over the *spatharioi* and a *kandidatoi* by Constans II, and (p. 109 [XLIV]) on his promotion to *droungarios*. Five military men of Armenian origin who appear in Byzantine sources from the time of Constans II until Basil I are listed in PBE I (Bardanes 3, Leo 15 [= emperor Leo V], Manuel 1, Stephanos 83, Tiridates 1). On the political contacts of Georgia with Byzantium see most recently Lomouri 2000.

[22] See Mouriki 1981; Matchabeli 2000. An example of Georgian influence on Byzantine artistic life is Bachkovo Monastery (1081–83), founded by the *sebastos* and *Grand Domestic* Gregory Pakourianos (see A. Chanidzé 1971; Bakalova 2003, 11–19); Pakourianos also provided support for the Georgian monastery of Iveron on Mt Athos, which in turn had been founded in 980 by the Georgian leader and monk John Tornikios (*Athos*, vol. B', 12–13). An example of Armenian artistic influence is the Adrianople *Tetraevangelion*, dated 1007 and executed by the scribe Kiriakos the Armenian under the patronage of Basil II's *protospatharios* John (Nersessian 2001,

Of lesser value in studies on the weaponry of the warrior saints is the art of Rus'[23] and the Balkan countries,[24] where such depictions appeared comparatively late, and should be treated largely as a derivative borrowing from Byzantine art. For this reason works originating from the artistic circles of Serbia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, Moldavia and Kievan Rus' have not been taken into account in the present work, except for comparative purposes.

The author's aim has not been to create a complete catalogue or corpus of preserved works depicting warrior saints from the entire territory of the Empire. In view of the considerable gaps in the material, the creation of such an oeuvre might seem pointless, and may even give a false impression of the phenomenon. On the other hand a multitude of

no. 110; who also covers relations between the Greek and Armenian churches on pp. 43–51).

[23] Among the earliest products of Rus' workshops are the relief-work stone slabs with equestrian images of Sts George, Theodore, Eustathios, Demetrios and the Kievan Grand Prince Izyaslav (*c.*1062) probably originating from the altar screen of the cathedral of St Demetrios in Kiev (Sidorenko 2000, figs. 1–3=Lazarev 1970, fig. on p. 83). Slightly later works include: 12th-C. icons with St George from St George's Monastery in Novgorod and housed in the cathedral of the Dormition (*Uspensky Sobor*) in the Moscow Kremlin, and a fresco in St George's Church (*c.*1170–90) in Staraya Ladoga (Lazarev 1970, figs. on pp. 55, 84–6). The Byzantine custom of adopting warrior saints as patrons over the ruling dynasty began in *c.*1130, initially in Kievan Rus', and in time also in the Suzdal Principality, and is examined by Ivanov 2004, 99, 103–04; and White 2004, *passim*.

[24] Bulgaria was brought under the control of Byzantium by Basil II and remained within its frontiers until 1185 (recently see Treadgold 1997, 522–33, 657; and Paul Stephenson, "Balkan Borderlands 1018–1204" in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire c. 500–1492*, ed. Jonathan Shepard, Cambridge 2009, 664–91). Works of art originating from Bulgaria should therefore be treated as part of the Empire's heritage, especially in the case of churches founded by imperial family members, e.g. St Panteleimon's in Nerezi (1164) which was financed by the son of Theodora Porphyrogenita, Alexios Komnenos. On Serbian territory, with the exception of an early representation of St George in the church dating to 1077–81 founded by King Michael in Ston (now Croatia) which shows strong Romanesque stylistic influences (Marković 1995, 602, fig. 45), the earliest Serbian images date from the 13th C. and can be treated only as comparative material. Examples include images in the church of the Virgin in Studenica from 1208; in the church of the Trinity in Sopoćani, *c.*1266–68 (Ćurić 1991, figs. 58, 59); in St George in Điurđievi Stupovi, *c.*1276–82 (Milošević/Nešković 1986, figs. 4, 30); and in St Kliment-Peribleptos in Ohrid, 1295 (Grozdanov 1991, figs. 13–15). On the cult and iconography of warrior saints in Serbia see Marković 1995, 600–7. On Georgian influences on warrior-saint iconography in the Late Byzantine art of Bulgaria see Manova 1976.

In Wallachia and Moldavia the oldest representations of warrior saints date from the Late Byzantine period and are therefore not considered here; see Dumitrescu 1989; and Batariuc 1992. The latter (figs. 1/1–4, 2/1–2, 3/1) reproduces images dating from the late 15th C. to 17th C. of St George on tiles from the Hospodar's court in Suceava.

images of military saints exist in various media: in monumental painting (where as a rule they appear in the western part of the church);[25] in miniatures, particularly in the decoration of *menologia* and psalters;[26]

[25] In mosaic technique, e.g. images in the narthex of the katholikons of Nea Mone on Chios (in blind cupolas) *c.*1049 (Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, figs. 58–61, 196–203); the monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phokis, *c.*1022–40 (Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 47, 48); as well as Daphni, *c.*1100 (Lazarides, figs. 40, 41); in the Sicilian cathedrals in Cefalù (1148 heavily restored) and Monreale and the Cappella Palatina (Borsook 1990, figs. 9, 35–36, 95). On the frescoes of the church of St Merkourios of 1074–75 on Kerkyra (Skawran 1982, fig. 119); in the chapel of St Panteleimon (991/992) and the 12th-C. church of the Hagioi Strategoi in Ano (Upper) Boularioi (Drandakes 1995, fig. 18 and figs. 8, 33, 34, 112); in the churches of St Stephanos (9th C.), St Nicholas tou Kasnitze (*c.*1175) and of the Holy Anargyroi (1160) in Kastoria (Pelekanidis 1953, figs. 21[1, 2], 23[1, 2], 27[2], 32[1], 55[1]); in the mid-12th C. katholikon of the Virgin-Kosmosoteira in Bera/modern Pherrai (Sinos 1985, figs. 121–124); in the church of the Holy Saviour in Megara, *c.*1200 (Skawran 1982, figs. 334, 335); and in the 12th-C. churches in Agitria and Episkopi on Mani (Drandakes 1995, figs. 21 and 59 on pp. 168 and 210). For depictions on murals in Cappadocian rock-cut churches: in the old church Tokali Kilise (910–20), and in chapel 2A (Sakli Kilise, church of St John?, *c.*1070) in Korama/Göreme (Epstein 1986, fig. 42; Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 21, 28–30, 32, 43, 44); St Barbara (1006 or 1021) in the Soandos valley (Soğanli Dere), (Restle 1967, vol. 3, fig. 436)—in the early-10th-C. Sümbülü Kilise chapel in the Ihlara valley (Restle 1967, vol. 3, fig. 493; Jolivet-Lévy 1991, pl. 168, figs. 1, 2); in Direkli Kilise chapel in neighbouring Peristremma, currently Berîsirama (end of 9th—end of 10th C.), (Thierry 1963, 186, fig. 89c); in the late 11th-C. church of St Theodore in Tağar (Jolivet-Lévy, pl. 130, fig. 3); as well as in many other Cappadocian churches (see e.g. Jolivet-Lévy 1992, figs. 108a, b, 109b, 112a, b).

[26] E.g. images of St Theodore in the *Menologion of Basil II* (after 979) *Vat. Gr. 1613*, fol. 383v and in the 11th-C. *Menologion Mosquensis gr. 376 (183)*, fol. 25v (Ševčenko 1962, figs. 11–12); representations of military saints in the *Menologion of 1056* (*Par. gr. 580*, fol. 2v; *Bodl. Barocci 230*, fol. 3v; *Vind. Hist. gr. 6*, fol. 3v); in the *Menologion* from the Historical Museum, Moscow, *Mosqu. Gr. 382* (1063), fol. 72v (see Spatharakis 1981, figs. 113, 116, 118, 142; and also pp. 22–3 where he combines fragments of menologia from Paris, London and Vienna with another fragment in Paris [*Par. Gr. 1499*] and dates the whole on the basis of a colophon); in the 11th–12th-C. codex *British Add. 11,870*, fol. 151 (Walter 1981, fig. 8); the bust of St Merkourios in the 12th-C. Athos *Menologion Docheiariou 5*, fol. 216r; and an illustration of the conversion of St Eustathios in the *Menologion Esphigmenou 14*, fol. 52 (*Athos*, vol. B', fig. 329; vol. Γ', fig. 265).

Additionally, St Eustathios's vision as an illustration of Psalm 96(97) is depicted in the following psalters: the late 9th-C. *Khludov Psalter no. 129d*, fol. 97 (Shchepkina 1977); the late 9th C. *Par. gr. 20*, fol. 5v (Dufrenne 1966, fig. 35; Velmans 1985, fig. 24); the 9th-C. *Pantokrator 61*, fol. 138 (Dufrenne 1966, fig. 21); *British Add. 19,352* dating from AD 1066, fol. 130v (Der Nersessian 1970, fig. 211); the 9th-C. *Barberini Vat. gr. 972*, fol. 136r; while in the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos* the motif of St Merkourios killing the emperor illustrates the text of a second homily against Julian the Apostate (for text see MPG, 35:663–720, esp. 680), e.g. in the following codices: *Par. Gr. 510* (of *c.*879–82 AD), fol. 409v (Bruebaker 1999, fig. 40); *Panteleimon 6*, fol. 242v; and *Iveron 271* (11th C.), fol. 252v (Galavaris 1969, fig. XXXIV/ 177). Illustrations of this legend in the 10th/11th-C. Coptic manuscript *Brit. Mus. Or. 6801* are published by Der Nersessian 1987, fig. 3, who also describes later examples from Western art.

on icons, painted in tempera on wood,[27] executed in enamel,[28] or sculpted in ivory,[29] on cameos and intaglios,[30] on steatite (soapstone),[31] wood,[32] and metal (including numismatic examples and seals);[33] and

[27] For example: an 11th/12th-C. icon with Sts Theodore, Demetrios and Philip the Apostle in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (Bank 1966, figs. 227–229); on the following Sinaian icons: of St Theodore (6th/7th C.); St Theodore and George on horseback on the wings of a 9th/10th C. triptych with the Pantokrator; St Merkourios on horseback (?10th C.); on the frame panels (*kleimo*) surrounding a 10th-C. icon of St Nicholas (Weitzmann 1976, nos. B.13, B.43–B.44, B.49, B.61, pl. X); Constantinopolitan icons with St Theodore, Demetrios and George (late 11th/12th C), and St George (2nd half of 12th C.), and also the double-sided Cypriot icon of St James the Persian (end of 12th C.), and an icon of St Theodore Teron of *c.*1200 from Patmos (*Glory of Byzantium*, figs. 69, 70, 75 and 76).

[28] E.g. the enamel panels set into the *Pala d'Oro* in San Marco, Venice (Hahnloser/ Polacco 1994, plates LIII 116, LIV 124–127, LV 128–130, LVI 139, 142); a 13th-C. panel from Bathys Ryax (Bank 1966, fig. 190); an 11th–early 12th-C. Constantinopolitan enkolpion with George and Theodore in the Cleveland Museum of Art, (*Glory of Byzantium*, fig. 111); and the enkolpion with relics of St Demetrios (Grabar 1954, fig. 24).

[29] Examples are published by Cutler 1994 with warrior saints on the wings of the following triptychs: *Forty Martyrs of Sebaste* in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (fig. 28); in the Vatican Museo Sacro (fig. 169); the *Harbaville Triptych* in the Louvre (fig. 170); in the Museum in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome (fig. 176); on a panel in the Museo Archeologico in Venice (figs. 44, 106, 122 and 123); in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (figs. 126 & 130); colour reproductions can be found in *Glory of Byzantium*, figs. 79–81); see also Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, nos. 9, 20, 32–33, 38, 195.

[30] Cameos, for example: with Sts George and Demetrios (11th–12th C.) in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris; and on a 12th-C. pendant with image of St Theodore slaying a dragon in the Dumbarton Oaks collection, Washington, D.C. (*Glory of Byzantium*, figs. 132, 136). Intaglios, e.g. signet with St Theodore on horseback slaying a dragon (*Byzanz*, no. III 9). For further examples see Spier 2007, nos. 698, 702, figs. 17–18.

[31] See Longuet 1961, fig. xxiv; Kalvrezou-Maxeiner 1985, vol. 2, figs. II/7, 6–11, 15, 21–23, 25–29, 100, 102 & 102c, as well as later dated examples.

[32] E.g the 11th–12th C. polychrome relief icons of St George from Omorphoklisias near Kastoria (Tsigaridas 2000, fig. 39); an 11th–12th C. example from Balaklava near Chersonesos on the Crimea, currently in the National Museum of Art, Kiev (Milyaeva, figs. 1–11); and an icon of approx. mid-13th-C. date from the vicinity of Kastoria, now at the Byzantine Museum, Athens (Potamianou 1998, fig. 5).

[33] E.g. the reliquary of St Demetrios from 1059–67 (*Glory of Byzantium*, fig. 36); image of St Theodore on the base of an 11th-C. silver bowl (Bank 1966, nos. 206–207). Seals with images of warrior saints are published in the following works: Laurent 1981, vol. 2/1, nos. 60, 92, 102, 104, 139, 141, 153, 157, 160, 192, 199, 342, 597, 702, 705, 706, 832, 833, 848, 855, 863, 869, 908, 923, 933–937, 941, 942, 968, 970, 971, 974, 991, 1018, 1019, 1126, 1133, 1137, 1139, 1143, 1147, 1183, 1186, 1192; Laurent 1963, vol. 5/1, nos. 92, 105, 136, 191, 196, 205, 209, 211, 216, 229, 269, 318, 361, 421, 452, 454–456, 459, 460, 463–466, 472, 473, 482, 494, 497, 501, 544, 561, 562, 564, 565, 696, 715, 721, 756, 767–770, 777–779, 784, 785, 802, 991; pt. 2, nos. 1038 , 1050, 1079, 1087, 1113, 1127, 1131, 1197, 1282, 1295, 1307, 1317, 1376, 1391, 1406, 1412, 1434, 1443, 1445, 1447, 1504, 1510, 1518, 1547, 1594, 1609, 1610; and also Zacos 1972, vol. 1/2, nos. 1283 a,

even in architectural stone sculpture.[34] This reservoir of data should permit us to establish a representative group of depictions, with typical, oft-repeating elements of arms and armour, as well as to identify examples that differ from them. The chosen selection should allow us to discuss the methods of depiction of the military equipment in the representative group without having to refer to all the known representations of the military saints.

State of Research

Research on the development of the cult and iconography of warrior saints[35]

Interest in the group of warrior saints in the Eastern Church and in Byzantine culture dates back to the start of the twentieth century although its roots should be sought in the works of the Bollandists, an

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b, c, 1284, 1285–1289 a, 1290 a, b, 1291; (vol. 1/3) nos. 1454–5, 1463–5, 1467, 1486–7, 1487–2, 2680, 2703–2711; Zacos 1984, vol. 2, nos. 352–357, 362, 371, 373, 382, 384, 393, 394, 421–423, 428, 437, 438, 447, 452, 454, 456, 464–472, 474, 476, 477, 478, 480, 481, 484, 488, 491, 494, 497, 501, 516, 519, 520, 523, 525, 526, 538, 540, 550, 566, 633, 636, 642, 649, 650, 661, 672, 685, 691, 703, 705, 713, 717, 722, 723, 727, 728, 731, 732, 733, 737, 738, 740, 761, 776, 778, 786, 817, 842, 843, 844, 847, 872, 873, 874. Military saints are first represented on coins in the reign of Alexios I Komnenos (Grierson 1982, nos. 1025, 1026, 1067, 1068, 1078, 1083, 1084, 1142 & 1210).

[34] E.g. on column capitals from Ayla-Aqaba in Jordan (Zayadine 1994, figs. 2 & 4); and as busts on capitals preserved in the Musée Cluny, Paris, and in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (Grabar 1976, figs. 109a, c = *Byzance*, no. 322); as decoration on *templa* (Sidorenko 2000, figs. 1–3, and fig. 7 showing a late example from Mistra); see also Mango 1994, fig. 16; *Byzance*, no. 323. Warrior saints also often appear as a motif in the relief-work decoration of Armenian churches, e.g. on the façade of the cathedral of AD 921 at Aght'amar (Der Nersessian 1965, figs. 49–50, Davies 1991, figs. 35–38; see also Thierry 1962, figs. 2, 3.) as well as in the Russian churches of Vladimir-Suzdal, e.g. at Yuryev-Polsky, 1230–34 (Lazarev 1970, fig. on p. 87). Also worthy of consideration are an early group of representations on baked clay; these include oil lamps with images of St Menas (Kiss 1966, figs. 1a & 2; Kiss 1970, figs. 1–3; *Byzanz*, no. I.75.2–I.75.3), and also a group of late 6th–7th-C. ceramic icons from Vinica, Macedonia (Balabanov/Krstevski 1993, nos. 44, 46, 54; Walter 2003, 98–99, figs. 12.4–6). Other examples are given by Kolias 1989, 18–19, n. 3.

[35] More detailed coverage of the unusually rich bibliography on the warrior saints is beyond the scope of the present work. The largest bibliog. of the subject is published by Marković 1995, 568–9, nn. 8–11, 13–15, and further while describing the saints in turn. For published depictions see also A. Chatzinikolaou, "Heilige" in *RbK*, 2 (1971): 1053–7. Information on the Western cult and iconography along with essential bibliog. is given by Riches 2000, 225–7. For information on published hagiographic texts see the appropriate volumes of *BHG*; and below, pp. 57–62.

association of scholars of hagiography, who alongside their interest in the 'lives', 'passions' and 'miracles' of the saints and martyrs also verified and published much material on the military saints.[36] It was a distinguished representative of this group, Hippolyte Delehaye, who in 1909 published the first monograph devoted to the most popular military saints, which also mentioned the existence of their likenesses in art.[37] His primary research was continued by Karl Krumbacher, Paul Peeters, François Halkin and many others.[38]

Alongside the trend for analysing and publishing hagiographic texts,[39] by the late nineteenth century interest had arisen in the links between the iconography of the warrior saints and Classical representational formulas.[40] Laying stress on the compositional similarities in art, all these authors ignored the material links between the Christian images and their pagan predecessors. It was only Ernst Kantorowicz who examined this problem from the angle of the ancient gods, and gave what seem to be satisfactory answers on the relationship between the two types of representation.[41]

Among the works devoted to the warrior saints, studies soon began to appear that were concerned with various aspects of their cults and their uniqueness, and even the social and political role of the saints in the life of the Eastern Roman Empire.[42] These works were exploited in the monographic descriptions of various saints which discuss their iconography, as well as the hagiographic sources and characteristics of their cults.[43] A subgroup among these works covers studies on the

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36 See the individual volumes of AS (from vol. *Januarius*/1 to *Novembris*/4), and also *AnBoll.*

37 Delehaye 1909, esp. 3–6.

38 Among them: Rystenko 1909; Krumbacher 1911; Aufhauser 1911; Loparev 1913; Peeters 1921; and Xyngopoulos 1950.

39 Aufhauser; Wallis Budge; Halkin 1962a; Halkin 1981.

40 Clermont-Ganneau (1876) linked the image of St George slaying the dragon with a Coptic bas-relief of Horus killing a crocodile; Kazarov (1938) meanwhile saw in it the so-called Thracian rider. (On the origins of equestrian images see also Walter 1989; and 1990; and in the context of Kazarov's thesis, Walter 1994).

41 Kantorowicz 1961. Problems connected with the origins of the warrior saints continue to attract the attention of researchers, e.g.: Howell 1969; Lemerle 1981; Charalampides 1991; and Walter 1990; 1994; and 1995.

42 See for example: Grégoire 1938; Vasiliev 1950; Howell 1969; Mango/Ševčenko 1972; Jääskinen 1981; Kazhdan 1983; Meimaris 1986; Magdalino 1990; Papamastorakes 1998.

43 Myslivec 1934; Velmans 1985; Mavrodinova 1969; Walter 1973; Walter 1999; Key Fowden 1999; Gabelić 2006.

cycles of lives, which are generally preoccupied with the martyrdom of the various saints.[44] A series of successful attempts have also been made to identify more unusual iconographic themes relating to the warrior saints.[45] The custom of combining several military saint depictions into a single work of art (usually a mural, icon or ivory triptych) has led to the writing of monographs on these groups, which are treated as a unified whole of joint significance.[46] Research has also been undertaken on the iconography of the military saints and how it varies artistically in individual regions.[47]

Despite the varied and extensive literature, because of the diversity of issues associated with military saints' images, there remain many unsolved puzzles. In recent years this has encouraged a number of scholars to tackle the subject of the warrior saints in the art of the Eastern Church.[48] Along with the new works have come suggestions on useful methodologies. Christopher Walter's proposal of the need to return to the hagiographic texts in order to study the images of the military saints[49] would seem insufficient for an adequate analysis of their appearance and attire in art. In hagiographic works descriptions of their arms and armour are usually limited to isolated terms of the type δόρυ, ἀσπίς, θώραξ[50] (describing respectively, lances, shields and cuirasses), or the

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[44] Binon 1937; Xyngopoulos 1970—who discusses only Late Byzantine cycles in the life of St Demetrios from codex *Gr. th. 1* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford from the time of Demetrios Palaiologos, a 16th-C. icon from Mykonos in the Cyclades, and Serbian frescoes adorning the church of the Patriarchate in Peć and the katholikon of the monastery in Dečani; Mark-Weiner 1977; Walter 2003a, 132–8.

[45] Theotoka 1955; Meinardus 1973; Privalova 1963; Privalova 1977; Kretzenbacher 1983; Hunt 1991; Chatzidakis 1994; Walter 2003a, 138–44. For an unsuccessful interpretation see Howell 1968.

[46] Privalova 1963; Mirzoyan 1987; Dumitrescu 1989; Marković 1995 and 1995a; on the adaptation of the cult of the warrior saints as a group in the Principality of Vladimir–Suzdal see White 2004.

[47] Lazarev 1970; Manova 1976; Górecki 1980; Coumoussi 1985; Saltykov 1985; Jolivet-Lévy 1992; White 2004.

[48] Recent works include the important monograph by Walter (2003a), summing up his many years of research on the hagiography and iconography of the warrior saints, and two smaller monographs by the Bulgarian academics Ovcharov 2003 and Ivanov 2004.

[49] Walter 1999; Walter (2001a).

[50] See e.g. THEOPHANO, p. 10[12]; MALALAS 257[55] [XIII 25] who mentions the iron *thorax* of St Merkourios. The shield (σκουτάριον) of St George is mentioned in a description of his combat with the dragon, see AUFHAUSER, p. 1265 (in marginal text). Secular texts and poetry would seem to be more important for an analysis of the public perception of warrior saints images; see e.g. the epigram by John Geometres in

even more general ὅπλα.[51] When removed from their context these do not provide full answers on the character of their military attire as it appears in artistic depictions. For this reason it is necessary to look to other primary sources and to the critical literature that concentrates on the arms and armour of the Byzantine army.

Research on the military equipment of the Middle Byzantine army

Scholarly interest in Byzantine arms and armour is a relatively new phenomenon, especially when compared to the arms and armour of ancient Rome and medieval Western Europe, subjects that have both generated a vast array of literature.[52] Undoubtedly, a major reason for this state of affairs is the very small number of preserved artefacts that can be reliably linked with the Byzantine army.[53]

As with every field of knowledge, the study of Byzantine weaponry has required the creation of its own terminology, and early research was dominated by works intended to reconstruct this terminology from the written sources.[54] In parallel with this linguistic research, and

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the collection *Paradeisos* in GEOMETRES, 488, 490 [CCXC 135–38] (= MPG, 106:974 [153]): Ἐξομολόγησις

Δοῦρας ἐμὸν Θεόδωρον, λόγχην, ἀσπίδα, τόξον,
Καὶ κόρυθα βριαρὴν, καὶ ξίφος ἀμφίκοπον,
Καὶ λόγον αὐτόχυτον νιφάδος πλέον ἔμφλογα ῥεῖθρα,
Καὶ στόμα, καὶ χεῖρα, καὶ θράσος ἐν πολέμοις·

Descriptions of images of warrior saints which appear in the poetry of Manuel Philes, Nicholas Kallikles, Theodore Prodromos and Theodore Palaiologos are published by Maguire 1996, 76–8. On the military attire of St Theodore Teron worn during his second miracle in which he repels a Persian attack on Euchaita [BHG 1764], see Delehaye 1909, 195; Walter 2003a, 60.

51 The epithet ὁπλιτικοὺς is used for example by Gregory of Nyssa in his homily in honour of St Theodore, see CAVARNOS, 10/1:65[4] (= MPG, 46:740). The inadequate informational value of the hagiographic texts on the arms and armour of the warrior saints is pointed out by Parani 2003, 150–1.

52 On arms and armour in ancient Rome see: Robinson 1975; Bishop/Coulston 1993, esp. 122–82 on Late Roman weaponry; and more generally: Gamber 1978, 241–4, 263–300, 347–83; and Żygulski 1998, 11–72 (Greek weaponry), and 75–144 (Roman). Sander (1963) covers Roman ceremonial uniform mainly on the basis of literary sources, for which see also Rankov 1994. Of the extensive literature on medieval European arms and armour see, e.g. Blair 1958; France 1999 (includes further bibliog.); Nicolle 1988; and for Russia, the highly detailed works on archaeological finds by Kirpichnikov 1966, vols. 1–2; 1971; and 1973.

53 See below, pp. 19–33.

54 On Justinian's army as described in the chronicles of Procopius and Agathias see Müller 1912, 122–5; on Early Byzantine armies on the basis of Maurice's treatise see Aussaresses 1909, 48–53. On the *skaramangion* and *kabadion* see Phourikes 1923; and Mihăescu (1968 and 1969), whose main interest was the remnants of Latin in Greek

sometimes closely connected with it, attempts were made to define the relationship between the arms of Byzantines and those of the barbarian peoples, and on transfers from one to the other.[55] Especially fruitful in this respect was the work of Peter Schreiner, who discussed the northern literary and iconographic sources for Byzantine arms and armour research.[56]

As the next stage of research one can regard works that sought to provide a synthetic presentation of the whole range of Byzantine military equipment. The first of these was by Ada Bruhn Hoffmeyer in 1966; as her main source she used the miniatures in the manuscript of the chronicle of John Skylitzes in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (*Vitr. 26-2*).[57] By examining the equipment depicted in the battle scenes in this codex, in conjunction with archaeological and literary sources, she was able to create the first full study of the arms and armour of Byzantium in the light of the weaponry of medieval Europe and the Near East. Her findings were verified and expanded in an article by John F. Haldon, who analysed the written sources, particularly the Byzantine military manuals.[58]

The fundamental work for Byzantine military equipment studies was the monograph of Taxiarchis Kolias, the first work to discuss in detail all the individual items of arms and armour of the Byzantine warrior.[59] Although some of his proposed interpretations have since

military terminology. This research continues: Kolias 1993a (on the use of Latin and Greek in the Byzantine army); Kazhdan 1995; and 1997 (the military terminology of Niketas Choniates). On the adaptation of the Latin term *caballarius* during the Palaiologan era, see Bartusis 1988. See also Wiita 1979, 72–3.

[55] Kondakov 1924; Cumont 1925; Darkó 1935; and 1937; Battisti 1968.

[56] Schreiner 1981.

[57] Hoffmeyer 1966. Painted representations (including many of a religious character) were examined slightly earlier in a monograph on Serbian, Dalmatian and Bosnian arms and armour by Škrivanić (1957). His work, which concerns arms used in states neighbouring the Empire, also has some bearing on Byzantine military equipment studies. A slightly earlier work by Alexander Kazhdan was unavailable to me: А. Каждан, "Византийская армя в IX–X веках", *Ученые записки Великолукского гос. педагогического института*, Великие Луки 1954, although its ideas are summarized by Darkevich 1975, *passim*.

[58] Haldon 1975.

[59] Kolias 1988. This work is an expanded version of his doctoral dissertation on Byzantine defensive arms entitled *Die Schutzwaffen der byzantinischen Armee. Ein realienkundliche Untersuchung der schriftlichen Quellen*, Wien 1980 (typescript Universitätsbibliothek, Wien), which was prepared under the supervision of H. Hunger at Vienna University.

been challenged in brief articles discussing narrow topics,[60] his study, on the whole, remains to date the most essential and complete work on arms and armour in the Middle Byzantine era.

Among the works devoted to reconstructing the full martial equipment of the Byzantine soldier from the various available sources, an important role is played by studies on the equipment of specific branches of the army. For understandable reasons, researchers' interests have concentrated on troop-types that are specifically Byzantine, such as the heavily armoured cavalry—the *kataphraktoi* and *klibanarioi*[61]—and the artillery, in particular 'Greek fire'.[62] Although the artillery has no great relevance to the iconography of warrior saints, the cavalry is of great significance, especially in the interpretation of equestrian representations. The weaponry and uniforms of palace guards and army units based in the capital is discussed by John Haldon in his monograph on the organization of the *tagmata*,[63] while a prosopographic list of officers of the *tagmata* from the tenth and eleventh centuries was compiled from the sources by H.J. Kühn.[64] Of the works concerned with specific military formations also worthy of note is an article by Eric McGeer on the *menaulatoi*, an infantry formation that employed heavy spears as a defence against enemy cavalry charges.[65]

The increased interest in military aspects of Byzantine civilization over the last few years has brought a series of general works that also tackle the problem of arms and armour.[66] In defiance of earlier judge-

[60] See e.g. Dawson (1998) on the elements of body armour known as *kremasmata*, *kabadion* and *klibanion*; and Dawson (2001/2) on the typology of the *klibanion*. On the *menaulion* (a type of infantry pike used to defend against cavalry) see McGeer 1986; McGeer 1988; and Anastasiadis 1994.

[61] On Late Roman and Early Byzantine *kataphraktoi* and *klibanarioi* see: Gamber 1968; Michalak 1987; Bivar 1972, and Diethart/Dintsis 1984. On the influence of the eastern nomadic tribes on Byzantine cavalry see Tobias 1979; and on heavily armoured cavalry in the Late Roman period see Mielczarek 1993. There is nothing comprehensive as yet on the evolution of Byzantine equestrian equipment; the only useful work concerns Nubia (Steinborn 1982), while marginal observations appear in Hyland's study of the medieval warhorse (1994, 18–53).

[62] An extensive bibliog. on Greek fire with source extracts can be found in the fullest current monograph: Korres 1995, 27–32, 133–69; and in a study of the Byzantine navy: Pryor/Jeffreys 2006, 607–31.

[63] Haldon 1984, *passim*.

[64] Kühn 1991.

[65] McGeer 1988.

[66] For the Middle Byzantine period see McGeer 1995, 203–17; Haldon 1999, 128–38 (with coverage of recent findings); Haldon 2002; Dawson 2002; and for the Late Byzantine period Bartusis 1992, 322–41; and Babuin 2002. Despite its title Treadgold

ments on the traditionalism and calcification of Byzantine art, Maria G. Parani returned to an examination of iconographic works as a reliable source for reconstructing the 'realia' (secular contemporary artifacts) of everyday life in the Empire. She devoted a major part of her monograph to military equipment, recognizing that it is often possible to observe a mimetic tendency in the work of Byzantine artists when depicting arms and armour.[67]

The recent monograph on the imperial navy by Pryor and Jeffreys cannot be overlooked in view of its monumental character, although the work is less useful in a study of warriors who are mainly depicted on foot or on horseback.[68] A number of publications of popular character have also appeared,[69] and these are not without value in attempts to reconstruct the appearance of Byzantine arms and armour.

Many items of Byzantine military gear were at first reconstructed erroneously.[70] The sheer diversity of Byzantine military terminology, borrowed on more than one occasion from foreign languages, the changes in meaning of various terms over the course of the centuries,[71] and ultimately, the unique character of Byzantine war gear has meant that discussions on the appearance of various items continue, although

(1995) does not cover the army's equipment. See also the relevant entries in *ODB*, esp.: E. McGeer & A. Cutler, "Armor", 1:182–3; E. McGeer, A. Kazhdan & A. Cutler, "Weaponry", 3:2192–3. Also worth mentioning is the recent compendium of earlier essays devoted to the problem of war in Byzantium: *Byzantine Warfare*, (The International Library of Essays on Military History) ed. J. Haldon, Aldershot 2007.

[67] Parani 2003, 101–58. The text of the present work came into being in outline before the publication of Parani's book. All the more noteworthy is the convergence in our assessment and interpretation of many research problems, not due to any earlier collusion, but as the result of our similar lines of investigation. Places in my text that are in agreement have been noted in the present, supplemented version.

[68] Pryor/Jeffreys 2006, esp. 380–2.

[69] Nicolle 1988; Gamber 1993–1995; and also in the Osprey series: Heath 1979; Nicolle 1992; Heath 1995; and more recently D'Amato 2005; Dawson 2007; and 2009.

[70] One such incorrect interpretation was the *solenarion*, which is mentioned for the first time in Maurice's *Stratēgikon* as the σωληνάρια ξύλινα, which was accompanied by small missiles and a small quiver, μετὰ μικρῶν σαγιττῶν καὶ κουκούρων μικρῶν (STRAT., p. 422$^{4-5}$ [XIIB 5]). These were initially identified as a crossbow and bolts (Haldon 1970; Dennis 1981; Kolias 1988, 242). A satisfactory identification—as a type of wooden arrow-guide that assisted in shooting short arrows from a bow—was proposed by Nishimura (1988) after analysis of ancient, Near-Eastern and Korean archery customs. On Anna KOMNENE's description (2:217^{7}–218^{8} [X 8]) of the Norman crossbow see Staquet 1938; Michailidis 1967. On the crossbow in Byzantium, albeit mainly based on Late Roman and 12th-C. sources, cf. Kolias 1988, 239–53; and Pryor/Jeffreys 2006, 381.

[71] E.g. on the changing meaning of the term *zaba* see Kolias 1980.

the emphasis now is on adding more detail to knowledge of individual items of equipment and studying their use at specific moments in the history of the Empire.[72]

In ending this survey of the present state of knowledge on Byzantine military equipment it is not possible to overlook the emerging science of vexillology, which attempts to reconstruct the appearance and typology of Byzantine flags and standards on the basis of literary and iconographic sources.[73]

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[72] See for example on the *menaulion*: McGeer 1986; McGeer 1988; Anastasiades 1994. Military equipment on the Byzantine–Arab frontier immediately prior to the arrival of the Turkic peoples along with the changes this brought about are tackled by Nicolle 1995. Sketches of a more general nature are published by Kolias 1989; 1989a; and 1997.

[73] On depictions of flags in psalter illustrations see Velmans 1974; and also the more general works: Grosse 1924; Dennis 1982; Babuin 2001; Dawson 2007, fig. on p. 42; and 2009, fig. on p. 12.

CHAPTER ONE

SOURCES

Material Sources (Archaeological)

The basic raw materials for costume and uniform research are individual items of arms, armour and costume that have survived down to our time. Unfortunately, preserved items of Byzantine arms and armour are very rare compared to the quantity of finds in Western Europe and, paradoxically, those from the more distant ancient period.[1] Many factors have contributed to this situation, and these can be followed thanks to historical references.

Of decisive significance in elucidating the shortage of surviving artifacts appears to have been the system for manufacture and distribution of arms and amour in state factories called *fabricae*, which was introduced by Diocletian, and fully controlled by the imperial administration.[2] The imperial monopoly is mentioned in *Novella* 85 in the *Codex Justinianus*, which not only prohibited the private production of bows, missiles and all types of sword, armour, spears and shields,[3] but clearly designated the imperial workshops as the proper place for manufacture of these types of arms.[4] Even so, weapons were not only produced in the imperial factories, but also by the soldiers themselves

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[1] Parani (2003, 101) reached the same conclusions in her analysis of the surviving material.

[2] The Late Roman system of arms production is covered in detail by James 1988, *passim* (with source references and earlier bibliog.). The standardization of weaponry as a result of Diocletian's introduction of a centralized system of manufacture is also commented upon by Dawson 2001/2, 89.

[3] CIC, 3 *Novellae*, pp. 414^{24-27} [LXXXV 1], 417^{22-34}, [LXXXV 4]: Ὅπως δὲ δῆλα κατασταῖεν τὰ παρ' ἡμῶν κεκωλυμένα παρὰ ἰδιωτῶν ἤ καὶ ἑτέρων τινῶν, πλὴν τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμῶν φάβριξιν ἀναφερομενων, γίνεσθαι ἤ ἰδιώταις πιπράσκεθαι ὅπλα, καὶ τοῦτο διὰ τοῦ παρόντος νόμου σημῆναι συνεῖδομεν. κωλύομεν γὰρ τοὺς ἰδιώτας ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ὠνεῖσθαι τόξα καὶ βέλη σπάθας τε καὶ ξίφη (ἅπερ καλεῖν εἰώθασι παραμήρια), καὶ τὰς λεγομενας ζάβας ἤτοι λωρίκια, καὶ κοντοὺς καὶ καθ' οἱονδήποτε τρόπον ἤ σχῆμα γινομένας λόγχας, καὶ τα παρὰ Ἰσαύροις ὀνομαζόμενα μονοκόντια, καὶ τούς τε καλουμένους ζιβύννους ἤτοι μισσιβίλια, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ ἀσπίδας ἤτοι σκουτάρια καὶ περικεφαλαίς ἤτοι κασσίδας· (Similarly, in relation to workshops outside of Constantinople see CIC, 3 *Novellae*, p. 416^{1-7}).

[4] CIC, 3 *Novellae*, p. 418^{1-2}, [LXXXV 4].

when in winter quarters.[5] Evidence for independent workshops, which seem perhaps to have been associated with garrisons, is provided by seventh- and eighth-century stone stelae mentioning bowyers.[6] The historical sources also contain information on workshops as well as armouries, where arms were not only stored but also manufactured.[7]

According to the Edict and *Novella* of Justinian I (527–65) and Theophanes' *Chronicle* there appear to have been three armouries in sixth-century Constantinople—a large one and two smaller ones.[8] At least one of these (perhaps the main one) was erected in around 588/89, as part of the palace complex in the Magnaura.[9] In the first period of Iconoclasm, the church of St Euphemia was also converted into an armoury.[10] During excavations on the site of the Great Palace

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[5] STRAT., p. 76[5] [I 2]: καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια δὲ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ παραχειμαδίου παρασκευάζεσθαι. STRAT., p. 424[6–7] [XII B 7] (≈ LT, 1:73[973–75] [IV 53 (50)]) also lists armourers, bowyers and fletchers (ἁρματούρους or σαμιάτορας, τοξοποιούς, and σαγιττοποιούς) as part of the baggage train. Dawson (1998, 47–8) states that the time-consuming process of 'knitting' mail was carried out in medieval Europe by women; it is impossible to say if this was also the case in Byzantium.

[6] See Haldon 1984, 321. Bowyers are also mentioned in the *Miracles of St Artemios.* Archery equipment evidently enjoyed exceptional demand as a result of Maurice's order obliging all young Romaioi (i.e. Byzantines) to own a bow (STRAT. 78[28–30] [I 2]: Χρὴ πάντας τοὺς νεωτέρους Ῥωμαίους δίχα τῶν ἐθνικῶν τοὺς μέχρι τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν ἀναγκάζεσθαι, εἴτε κατὰ λόγον οἴδασι τοξεῦσαι εἴτε μετρίως, τοῦ πάντως τοξοφάρετρα φορεῖν·). On private arms manufactories functioning up to the 6th C. see Bishop/Coulston 1993, 183–8. Haldon (2002, 72) argues that small workshops in border fortresses also produced weapons for local needs.

[7] According to Haldon (1984, 322), the Constantinople armoury produced axe-heads and spearheads of high quality, partly from iron received from the *Eidikon* (imperial treasury and storehouse). The *Armamenton* was primarily to produce arms for its own needs, at high intensity during preparations for a campaign, and at a lower level in peacetime.

[8] CIC, 3:415[1–11] [LXXXV 1]; Edict VIII 3 (*proem*).

[9] THEOPHANES (1:274[22–24]) writes: Τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει ἔκτισεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ ἡλιακὸν τῆς Μαγναύρας τὸ στρατογγύλον· καὶ ἔστησεν ἐν τῷ μεσιαύλῳ τὴν ἰδίαν στήλην, καὶ ἀπέθετν ἐκεῖ τὸ ἁρμαμέντον. ("In the same year [588/9] the emperor [Maurice] constructed a round terrace in the Magnaura. He set up his own bust in the main courtyard and placed an arsenal there.") KEDRENOS (1:698[20–24], 709[1–11]) gives a different version, according to which the statue was set up by Maurice, but the armoury was founded by Phokas who reigned after him. Savvaitov, in his commentary to the description of Constantinople by ANTONY (cf. 104–5 n. 117), erroneously believes that the palace already served as an arsenal in the time of Constantine the Great, and had been built specifically for that purpose.

[10] THEOPHANES (1:440[4–5]) states that when Irene and Constantine VI took power (according to the chronicler already after the death of Constantine V) in 780 they had the church reconsecrated. See also Haldon's interpretation of this source (1984, 322) where he supposes that the arsenal of the *tagmata* and of the capital's garrison was located there.

over the years 1935–38, items of weaponry dating to the twelfth century were found in workshops located in a peristyle neighbouring the *Chrysotriklinos* (in the south-east sector of the former palace area).[11] This suggests that weapons were being produced in metallurgical workshops on the site.

Supervision over the armoury was exercised by an official subordinate to the eparch of Constantinople.[12] Theophanes states that in 609/10 'the supervisor of the armoury' (ὁ ἐπάνω τοῦ ἀρμαμέντου) took part in a plot on the life of the usurper Phokas (602–610).[13] The title of this office evolved, so that in a ninth-century *Taktikon* it appears in the form ὁ ἄρχων ἀρμαμέντου, and by the eleventh and twelfth centuries it is χαρτυλαρίος καὶ ἄρχων τοῦ βασιλικοῦ ζαβαρείου and ζαβαρειώτης.[14]

Outside Constantinople there was also a network of imperial arms-manufacturers, inherited from the Roman Empire. Towards the end of the fourth century there were workshops in the East, at Damascus, Antioch, Edessa, Nikomedia, Sardis, Adrianople, Marcianopolis, Thessaloniki, Naissus (Niš), Ratiaria and Horreum Margi (Ćuprija), all of which were engaged in the general production of arms and shields, while further workshops in Cappadocian Caesarea and Antioch (the second in that city) supplied the needs of the heavily armoured *klibanarioi*, and another at Irenopolis in Cilicia manufactured spears.[15]

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[11] See Brett 1947, 21–7, fig. 58.7; Dawson 2007, fig. on p. 62 and also the reconstruction by Beatson 1998. About 200 lamellar scales were found together with a coin from the time of Manuel I which had melted in with them in a fire (no. 292, 580); also uncovered were about 50 arrowheads, a spearhead, bridle cheekpieces, a fragment of a yoke and spurs.

[12] See Porph., p. 86[60–71]; and also Haldon 1984, 318.

[13] Theophanes 1:297[17]; Haldon 1984, 319. The etymology of the word *armamenton* is discussed by Mihăescu 1968, 490–1.

[14] In the Taktikon Uspensky, *archontes* and *chartoularioi of the armamenton* are listed with the rank of *spatharios* (Oikonomides, pp. 57[26], 61[14]). See also De Cer 673[20]–674[4] [II 45], where during preparations for John I Tzimiskes' expedition to Crete in 949 a certain Joachim is described as ἄρχων τοῦ ἀρμαμέντου. The title of *zabareiotis* is also listed among the court ranks in Ibn Hawqal's description of the world (Vasiliev, 2/2:412). On the *archon of the armamenton* see also Kolias (1980, 32; with detailed source references), who also reproduces seals (31–4, figs. 1 & 2) bearing the titles of *chartoularios of the zabareion* and *zabareiotis* belonging to a certain Constantine (with bust of St Theodore on the obverse) and to George (Dumbarton Oaks no. 58, 106. 2687), and points out that the change was influenced by the renaming of the *armamenton* as the *zabareion*.

[15] Not. Dign., pp. 32–3 [Or. XI]; see also Jones 1964, 2:834–5; Żygulski 1998, 117–18 (who also mentions workshops discovered along the *limes* in modern-day Germany and Britain); and also the list of *fabricae* for the western part of the Empire (Not.

The bulk of these workshops probably resumed operations after the invasion of the Avars, Slavs and Persians (after 628), although the territorial losses suffered soon afterwards, in the seventh and eighth centuries as a result of the wars with the Bulgars and Arabs, curtailed production.[16] The slump was so deep that until the reign of Constantine V (741–775) we have no references to workshops producing weapons, except on a single seal from Seleucia in Cilicia.[17] In the period after Iconoclasm, besides the capital's workshops, factories also seem to have been functioning in Sardis (where 'Lydian shields' were being produced),[18] in Cappadocian Caesarea,[19] and also on Rhodes (to satisfy the needs of the maritime *theme* of Kibyrrhaiotai).[20] A *zabareion* operating in Thessaloniki during the siege of the city by the Normans in 1185 is referred to by the city's bishop, Eustathios.[21]

The arms produced in these workshops were distributed by the emperor to his troops as a supplement to cash payments of their annual salary as *annona militaris*, both to his own units and to allied forces.[22]

Dign., pp. 145–6 [Occ. IX]). Southern/Dixon (1996, 89) state that the network of factories was probably set up under the Tetrarchy, but was based on existing production centres.

[16] Haldon (1984, 319) believes that the factories at Caesarea, Nikomedia, Sardis, Adrianople and Thessaloniki continued to operate, albeit on a smaller scale; he later corrects this (1999, 141 and n. 5), admitting that production can be attested for certain only at Caesarea. Meanwhile, Kaegi (1975, 66) cites Theodore of Sykeon's reference (pp. 134–5) to the weapons-makers Theodore, Anthimos and Protasios taking part in a procession in the Optatianae quarter of Nikomedia, and concludes that the *fabrica* there was still operational in the 7th C.

[17] Haldon 1984, 319.

[18] De Cer., p. 669^{19} [II 45]: σκουτάρια Λυδιάτικα appear in a list of equipment on the dromons of Tzimiskes (see also the commentaries to this passage by Kolias (1988, 95) who believes that weapons production resumed in Lydia in the 10th C.; and Koutava-Delevoria 1991, 223 and n. 307). The functioning of an armoury in Constantinople during the 11th C. is attested by a reference in Psellos, 2:$23^{9-11, 18-20}$ [VI 112] (on the equipping of the army by Constantine IX Monomachos, 1042–55) and Attaleiates, 116^{23}–117^{2}, 126^{4-7}, 134^{13-14}, 140^{7-8} (and its re-equipping by Romanos IV Diogenes, 1068–71).

[19] Haldon 1993a, 17, n. 44; Haldon 1999, 141 and n. 5.

[20] In an account of the history of Alexandria, the Arab chronicler Al-Masʿūdī writes: "Currently, in the year 332 [AD 954] on the island of Rhodes there is an arsenal of Rûm and warships are built there" (Vasiliev, 2/2:39 [II 423]). The fleet of the *Kibyrrhaiotai* theme appears in the sources for the last time in 1043 (C.F.W. Foss, "Kibyrrhaiotai" in *ODB*, 2:1127), which may indicate that the Rhodes armoury was transferred to Constantinople after this date.

[21] Eust. Thes., p. 86^{19-20}

[22] Regulations on salary and the equipping of soldiers are gathered in Cic, 2 *Codex Iustiniani*, pp. 469–75 [XII 33–40], esp. p. 475 [XII 40]; and also, e.g. in Kedrenos 1:753^{18-22}. Soldiers' salaries and changes in the army's wage structure are examined by Southern/Dixon 1996, 76–82 (for the Late Roman period, with special considera-

Justinian I replaced these handouts of clothing and arms by their monetary equivalent, but already Maurice reverted to the free distribution of arms from the imperial *armamenton*, though not without provoking the army's objections.[23] Constantine Porphyrogennetos in his part of the continuation of Theophanes' chronicle, describing Basil I's reorganization of the units of *tagmata* in the capital, states that the emperor mustered and armed the soldiers.[24] The outfitting of the army by the emperor is also mentioned by many other Middle Byzantine sources,

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tion of *annona*—for which, see also E. McGeer, "Annona Militaris" in *ODB*, 1:106.); Haldon 1993a, 12–17 and nn. 24 & 25 (with exhaustive bibliog. on the subject as well as a critique of the idea that arms were distributed via private merchants. See also LT, 1:113^{1387}–114^{1400} [VI 23]; $285^{3112-14}$ [XI 7] on the control exercised by the *strategos* over trade with the army; and also Treadgold 1995, 181–5); Treadgold 1995, 118–57. From Treadgold's calculations it is evident that salaries diminished during the 9th and 10th C., although compared with other trades they had not been especially large earlier. In 905 Leo VI introduced payments once every four years, which must have been accompanied by increased support for the army passed on in kind (sample prices of arms and horses are given by Treadgold 1995, 151). On the equipping of armies exclusively from imperial resources see also Justinian's edict in Basilika 7:2625 [LVII 9]. Weaponry as a component of soldiers' income is also considered by Haldon 1984, 319 (citing Nikephoros Apologetes) and Schreiner 1997, 82. It is true that *theme* units which were temporarily incorporated into the *tagmata* had to supply themselves with weapons from their own *roga-prochreon*, yet even then the poorest soldiers had to be equipped from *metata*, like the regular *tagma* (De cer., pp. 657^{20}–658^{8} [II, 44]), the more so since the *roga* had already been significantly reduced since the time of Heraclius (ChPasch, 1:706^{9-11}) and was cut further under Nikephoros I (Theophanes, 1:486^{23-26}); see also Mihăescu 1969, 166 and nn. 45 and 269). Payment of *roga* to *tagmata* units by the Empress Zoe before the expedition against Bulgaria in 917 is mentioned by Symeon Logothetes 304^{134-37} [CXXXV 18], (see also Theoph. Cont., 388^{19-20} [10]). The poor equipment of *thematic* troops is mentioned in the *Ecloga* (Basilika, 2:815–17 [XVI 2]). On the order for soldiers to present themselves for service with their own weapons see also E. McGeer, A. Kazhdan & A. Cutler, "Weaponry" in *ODB*, 3:2193; Haldon 1993a, 21–3. See also Oikonomides 1988, who writes on how the method of payment (in cash or in kind) affected the equipping of the army and gives examples of percentages of salaries spent on horses, armour, etc. It is nevertheless evident that the state was responsible in principle for supplying and equipping the army.

[23] The introduction in 595/6 by *Strategos* Peter, on Maurice's order, of payments 1/3 in coin, 1/3 in clothing and 1/3 in arms and armour initially met with protests from the troops, and the emperor was forced to promise additional benefits in the form of a state pension and the hereditary succession of ranks by individual soldiers, see Theophanes 1:274^{5-9}: Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς Πέτσῳ τῷ στρατηγῷ, ὥστε τὴν τρίτην μοῖραν τῆς ῥόγας διὰ χρυσοῦ τοὺς Ῥωμαίσυς λαβεῖν· καὶ τὴν διὰ ὅπλον· τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν τρίτην δι' ἐτθῆτος παντοίας. Justinian introduced payments in coin in place of issued weapons, as is evident from references in Procopius (V 28/14, VII 12/1–10, 26/13–14), collected by Southern/Dixon 1996, 76–7. Meanwhile, Maurice made the *archontes* responsible for supplying the army with weapons (Strat., p. 76^{3-4} [I 2]): δεῖ ὁπλισθῆναι τοὺς στρατιώτας διὰ τῶν ἰδικῶν αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων.

[24] Theoph. Cont., p. 266^{6-7}: γυμνάσας καὶ καταρτίσας τὰ τάγματα τὰ στρατιωτικά. On the development of the *tagmata* as guard units stationed in the capital from the time of Maurice see Haldon 1984, 88–100.

particularly when expeditions were being prepared or in situations of particular danger.[25] Leo VI (886–912) in his *Taktika* entrusts control over the state of equipment of the various soldiers to the *archontes*.[26] In the event of lack of horses or weapons in the imperial *armamenton* he also recommends acquiring these from magnates who were not participating in the expeditions.[27] Nikephoros II Phokas introduced high taxes for the maintenance of the army during his campaigns against the Arabs.[28] The army's equipment was to be strictly inspected during regular reviews. The neglect of these by Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80)

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[25] See for example PORPH., p. 84^{38-39} (B), who during a campaign orders the *strategoi*: "thirdly, to equip the army with everything that concerns horse and weaponry" (τρίτον, ἀμφιᾶσαι τὸν στρατὸν τὰ δέοντα καὶ δυνατὰ περί τε ὅπλα καὶ ἵηπους·); BRYENNIOS (p. 247^{16-18} [III 20]) writes that Alexios I Komnenos advised arming the axemen of the emperor's bodyguard and employing them to suppress the rebellion in the city: Χρὴ γοῦν πελεκηφόρους καθοπλίσαντας βασιλέων φύλακας κατ' ἐκείνων ἐπιπέμπειν σὺν στρατηγῷ. Also on the forming of a regiment of 'Immortals' by the emperor Michael VII Doukas (1067–1078), p. 265^{20-21} [III 4]: καὶ ἐπὶ μισθῷ δουλευόντων συλλέγων θώρακάς τε ἐνέδυε καὶ θυρεοὺς ἐδίδου καὶ κράνη φέρειν καὶ δόρατα. On Manuel Komnenos's reaction to news of the approach of the Second Crusade, CHONIATES, p. 62^{95-1}: τῇ δὲ στρατιᾷ χιτῶνας φολιδωτοὺς χορηγεῖ κοντοῖς τε καθοπλίζει χαλήρεσι καὶ ἵπποις. (On bronze weapons mentioned by Choniates see below, n. 106 on p. 151).

[26] LT, 1:$98^{1250-52}$ [VI 1]: Δεῖ τοίνυν ὁπλισθῆναι τοὺς στρατιώτας διὰ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τὰ <ἐν> τῷ καιρῷ εἴτε παραχειμαδίου; {LT, vol. B', p. 268 [XX 128]}: Ἴσθι γάρ ὅτι τοιούτους ὀφείλεις προβάλλεθαι ἄρχοντας, οἵτινες τῶν υποχειρίων αὐτῶν κρείττονες ἔσονται· φιλοῦσι γάρ ἀεὶ τὰ φρονήματα τῶν ἀρχομένων συνδιατίθεσθαι τοῖς ἄρχουσιν. Οὕτως γάρ ὁ αρχαῖος πληρωθήσεται λόγος, μη ἐλάφους αρχειν λεόντων, ἀλλά λέοντας ἐλάφων.

[27] {LT, vol. B', p. 302} [XX 205]: Ὅταν ἀπορῇς ἐξοπλίσεως τῶν στρατιωτῶν, τοῖς εὐπόροις μέν, μὴ στρατευομένοις δέ, κέλευε, ἐὰν μὴ βούλωνται στρατεύεσθαι, παρέχειν ἕκαστον ἵππον ἀντί ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἄνδρα· καὶ οὕτως οἵ τε πένητες ἀνδρεῖοι ὁπλισθήσονται, οἵ τε πλούσιοι καὶ ἄνανδροι δουλεύσουσι κατ' ἰσότητα τῶν στρατευομένων. Money for equipping the army was also obtained from the Church. Heraclius, for example, was granted an extraordinary loan by the patriarch of Constantinople to reorganize the army and deploy it against the Persians, see THEOPHANES 1:302^{34}–303^{3}; Treadgold 1997, 239–40. In DAI, p. 256^{1-15} [52] Constantine Porphyrogennetos lists the numbers of horses that were to be supplied to the army by the metropolitans of Patras, Corinth as well as the lesser bishops, monasteries and magnates of the Peloponnese (see also PORPH., pp. 100^{104}–101^{135}, and further until p. 112^{285} (C)—on the contingents of pack animals supplied by the episcopal sees and monasteries for the needs of the army, and also other types of goods, such as textiles, and clothing designated for gifts; see also Haldon 1999, 139–48, and Hyland 1994, 21 on state stud farms in the 6th C., and Haldon 1999, 141–2, on the system for supplying horses in the Late Byzantine period). The emperor's requests did not always meet with sympathetic responses from the Church authorities, and for example Alexios I was accused of seizing monastery property, see KOMNENE, 2:46–7 [VI 3/3]. On the obtaining of supplies for the army see also ZONARAS, 3:504^{12-16} [XVI 25/15] and KEDRENOS, 2:368^{7-10}.

[28] See Magdalino 1997, 20–1 (with quotations from Zonaras, Ibn Hawqal and the *Novellae* of Phokas).

is mentioned by Niketas Choniates, who also criticizes his frittering away of taxes designated to pay the troops.[29]

Between the eighth and tenth centuries the state partly transferred the obligation of equipping a soldier onto his family.[30] In view of the hereditary nature of military service,[31] when a soldier retired, his arms did not return to the armoury but were passed on to his replacement, usually his descendent.[32] There is evidence that from the mid-seventh century arms and armour produced for the needs of the state in workshops in the capital or in the provinces were sold to soldiers (also in barter transactions) through *kommerkiarioi.* Seals of these fiscal officials appear in considerable numbers until about 840, when as a result of the increased money supply, soldiers were able to return to outfitting themselves from the imperial armouries, thereby cutting out the middle-men. The return, in this period, to the state distribution of weapons is attested by the numerous surviving seals of state armouries which were scattered across the Empire.[33]

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[29] CHONIATES, 208^{16-18}: Θεσμοῦ δὲ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις κειμένου, οἶμαι δὲ καὶ παρὰ βαρβάροις αὐτοῖς κρατοῦντος, ὀψώνια τοῖς στρατευομένοις παρέχεσθαι καὶ τούτων πολλάκις ἔκταξιν γίνεσθαι, εἰ εὐοπλοῦσιν, εἰ τῶν ἵππων ἐπιμεμέληνται. Haldon (1984, 322) believes that the weapons reviews mentioned frequently in the military manuals took place in months when salaries were paid.

[30] This change was introduced either by Leo III or by Constantine V, see Haldon 1999, 141; and 1993a, 20–5 (together with a discussion of sources, hagiographic evidence and earlier literature). Haldon nevertheless stresses that in the event a soldier was unable to acquire the necessary gear by himself—particularly in the case of new recruits—he would continue to be supported by the state. Kolias (1988, 53) cites an entry in the *Ecloga* stating that after ten years' service a soldier still did not own his *lorikion.* Meanwhile, DE RE MILITARI (318^{14-16} [28]) advises anyone leaving military service to sell his military equipment and horse in order to purchase cows and other items needed for running a farm.

[31] On the hereditary nature of army posts see Jones 1964, 2:670–4.

[32] It is hard to accept Haldon's view (1984, 318) that a reference in THEOPHANES (p. 462^{12-13}) is evidence of the empress Irene providing additional arms in 786/7 to Asian units summoned from Thrace that were faithful to her, with weapons taken from veterans of the *tagmata.* The capital's units would appear to have been disbanded rather because of their disloyalty; in taking away their weapons and passing them on to trusted units the empress removed the threat of an Iconoclast army coup. The event nonetheless remains unusual since the confiscation of weapons in the army was rare, and when the person doing so was an officer there was even a fine stipulated for this act, see LT 1:206^{2415}–207^{2424}[VIII 26]. On the influence of the schism on the army see Schreiner 1997, 90–1.

[33] See Treadgold 1995, 181–6 (includes a discussion of Hendy's earlier findings); Zacos 1972, vol. 1/1, no. 213–33, 249. On *kommerkiarioi* and their warehouses (ἀποθῆκαι) that were used especially for military purposes see Brandes/Haldon 2000,163–9; Brandes 2002, 239–426, 511–610 (appendices with collected seals).

This cursory survey of the production and distribution of Byzantine arms and armour already provides some explanation of the different character of the Eastern Empire's armouries compared to the arsenals of the royalty, dukes and knights in Western Europe. The system of weapons distribution in Byzantium, which remained constantly under state control, differed from that in feudal Europe, where private armouries were the basis of their owners' military power (and in later days often became the seed for modern collections of arms and armour).[34] With the capture of Constantinople it would appear that the Empire's enemies were able to seize the bulk of the weaponry assembled in the capital's armouries.[35]

Although no archaeological surveys have yet been made of Byzantine battlefields, one should not expect such work to bring satisfactory results: the customs of equipment usage in the imperial army would seem to rule this out. The military regulations unambiguously treated the discarding of weapons in battle (ῥίψασπις) as treachery.[36] Maurice in the *Strategikon* states: "If a soldier casts down his weapons in battle, we order that he should be punished for disarming himself and at the same time for arming the enemy".[37] The great weight attached to the discarding of weapons is evidenced by an incident described by Anna Komnene. When a servant of Alexios I, Goules the Cappadocian, broke his sword in battle by striking the helm of the rebel Basilakios so hard that only the hilt remained in his hand, he was reprimanded by the Great Domestic for losing his weapon. It was only when Alexios

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[34] Examples of modern arms and armour collections that were formed on the basis of royal collections include the Waffensammlung in Vienna and the Real Armería in Madrid. The armoury of the Moscow Kremlin holds a richly decorated Byzantine *chapel-de-fer* helmet of late-13th or possibly 14th-C. date, its form reminiscent of the tops of Georgian pre-altar crosses (Gamber 1995, fig. 10); this object may have reached Rus' together with Ivan III's wife, Sophia Palaiologina. However, its late date, as well as the custom in Middle Byzantine art of depicting warrior saints with their heads bared, means that it has no great significance for our research on their iconography.

[35] Although neither Robert de Clari nor Geoffrey de Villehardouin mention the looting of Constantinople's armouries, it is very likely that these were liquidated during the Latin occupation. This is suggested by the form of the arms and armour captured by the Turks in 1453 and later stored in the armoury in the Hagia Eirene church (currently held in the Topkapı palace armoury and the military museum in Istanbul), which indicates origins in late medieval western Europe. Equally this weaponry may have been imported or could have belonged to mercenary formations which were very popular in the Palaiologan era.

[36] On the ancient origins of this law, see Kolias 1988, 89 and n. 5.

[37] Strat., p. 100^{31-33} [I 8 (20)] (= LT, $1{:}206^{2413-15}$ [VIII 25]): Ἐὰν στρατιώτης τὰ ὅπλα αὐτοῦ ῥίψῃ ἐν πολέμῳ, κελεύομεν αὐτὸν τιμωρεῖσθαι, ὡς γυμνώσαντα ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὁπλίσαντα. See also Haldon 1984, 114.

was shown the blade-less hilt that his anger was assuaged.[38] Obviously weapons left on the battlefield were gathered along with other booty, as was universal in the ancient world and in the Middle Ages, and Maurice and Leo VI even prescribe appropriate formations to look after the wounded and collect booty (and therefore weapons) from the battlefield.[39]

On the march the discarding of equipment was severely punished. During Nikephoros II Phokas's march to Tarsos in 965 one of the lightly armed infantrymen threw away his shield during a difficult hill crossing. The emperor spotted the abandoned buckler and ordered a passing soldier to pick it up. At a halt Nikephoros found the shield's owner and condemned him to have his nose cut off, and then to parade in front of the army. An officer who delayed carrying out the sentence was reprimanded by the emperor with the following words:

> I gave the order that the person who threw away his own equipment should suffer punishment as a lesson to others, so that none of them would do anything similar, and through copying his negligence and laziness be captured without their equipment in battle, but above all, so that he would not be killed by the enemy.[40]

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[38] KOMNENE, 1:33$^{9-19}$ [I 8/4].

[39] The distribution after the battle at Dara in 586 of Persian horses, gold helmets, scabbards (or quivers), shields, armour and spears (no doubt captured from the enemy) is mentioned by SIMOCATTA, p. 81$^{9-14}$ [II 6/11]; while THEOPHANES (1:312$^{1-3}$, 319$^{5-7, 14-17}$) describes the looting (in 623/4 and 624/5) of weapons from the camp of the defeated Persian commander Shahrbarāz, and the stripping by the Greeks of Persian corpses of all armour, helmets and other weaponry after victory over another Persian general, Razates, during the Persian campaigns of Heraclius. STRAT., 128$^{12-16}$ [II 9]: Εἶτα δὲ μετὰ τὸ τὴν δευτέραν τάξιν παρελθεῖν καὶ τραπῆναι τοὺς ἐχθρούς, τὰ σκύλα τῶν εὑρισκομένων ἐν τώ τόπῳ τῆς πρώτης συμβολῆς αὐτοὺς συνάγειν καὶ τοῖς δεκάρχαις ἤτοι πρωτοστάταις τοῦ ἰδίου τάγματος διδόναι, εἰς παραψυχὴν μοῖράν τινα καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπὲρ τούτου παρὰ τῶν δεκαρχῶν λαμβάνοντας. See also LT, 2/1, pp. 40^{3827}–42^{3840} [XII 51 (52)]· Εἶτα δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι μετὰ τὸ τραπῆναι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ παρελθεῖν τὴν δευτέραν παράταξιν τότε τὰ σκύλα τὰ εὑρισκόμενα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῆς πρώτης συμβολῆς αὐτοὶ συνάγουσι καὶ τοῖς δεκάρχαις ἤγουν τοῖς πρωτοστάταις τοῦ ἰδίου τάγματος μετὲ τὸ λυθῆναι τὴν μάχην παρέχουσιν αὐτά. λαμβάνουσι δὲ καὶ αὐτῶν μοῖράν τινα· τοῦτο γὰρ τοῖς πρωτοστάταις ἐν ταῖς μάχαις προνόμιον δίκαιον καὶ ἁρμόδιον ἐν ταῖς ἐπιτυχίαις ἔχειν κελεύομεν, καθότι πλέον τῶν λοιπῶν τῆς ἀνάγκης μετέχουσιν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ συμβολῇ τοῦ πολέμου ἀγαζὸν δὲ καὶ ἕτερον γίνεται, ἵνα μὴ διὰ τὸ σκυλεῦσαι τοὺς πίπτοντας ἐχθρούς τινες ἐκ τῶν ἵππων κατέρχωνται καὶ τὴν παράταξιν διαλύωσιν. Oakeshott (1991, 4–5) records similar events in relation to north European battlefields, and as an exception mentions the battle at Visby on Gotland in August 1361, after which bodies lay unburied for three days and eventually had to be interred along with their armour.

[40] LEO THE DEACON, pp. 57$^{4-18}$, 58$^{3-8}$ [IV 2].

The military tracts provide evidence of the considerable attention afforded to military equipment when the army was on the march, even down to designating persons responsible for collecting lost items.[41] This all goes some way to explaining the scarcity of weaponry of the Byzantine era in archaeological finds.[42]

Yet, the scavenging of weapons from the battlefield—as valuable tools and a source of raw materials—and also the state-controlled system for manufacturing and distributing them (known from the Hellenistic period, and in the Roman Republic at least from the time of Marius)[43] does not fully explain the dearth of finds from the Byzantine period. Large quantities of ancient weaponry have survived down to our times, especially in Greece, thanks to being deposited as votive offerings. In this way many weapons were laid up at the stadium in

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[41] LT 1:73[976–78] [IV 54 (51)]. See also the advice in STRAT., p. 288[153–56] [VIII 2, 53]: Πλείονα τῶν ὅπλων τὴν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων περὶ τὰ ὅπλα πρόνοιαν ὁ στρατηγὸς τιθέσθως, εἰδὼς ὡς τὰ ἐπιτήδεια μὲν καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν πολεμίων χώρας πορίζεσθαι δυνατόν, ὅπλων δὲ χωρὶς τῶν δυσμενῶν οὐ κρατήσομεν.

[42] Modest collections of Byzantine arms obtained by excavation are exhibited in the Byzantine Museum in Thessaloniki (axeheads, spearheads and arrows from the early period, and axes and spears from the time of the Palaiologoi); the Cathedral Museum in Mistra (a spearhead, probably from a *menaulion*); and in the National Historical Museum, Athens (spearheads, small four-pointed iron caltrops, a possible fragment of a sword, and grenade pots for Greek fire). A group of mace heads has also been uncovered in Greece and Bulgaria (Parushev 1998; Momchilov 1994, figs. 38, 39), along with spearheads and arrowheads (Momchilov 1994, figs. 1–37); and mace-heads of similar form were found on Rus' territory (Kirpichnikov 1966, vol. 2, figs. 25–29). In most cases it is uncertain whether these weapons are of Byzantine origin. A similar problem occurs with the attribution of groups of helmets from the 6th/7th centuries (Gamber 1993, figs. 4–11), and 11th to 13th-centuries (Gamber 1995, figs. 9, 10; Nicolle 1988, vol. 2, fig. 73B). Early examples of excavated arms and armour that may have passed as Byzantine are also published by Buyukliev 1991, figs. 10–14; and also Nicolle 1992, figs. A–S on p. 11. Furthermore, Haldon (2002, 74) links with Byzantium a number of weapons (mostly swords) discovered in Italy: in the Balbi Crypt in Rome; in the Romano-Lombardic cemetery at Castel Trosino in northeastern Italy; in S. Antonino di Perti in Liguria; and in Nocero, Umbria, southwest of Spoleto.

Numerous items of military gear from Bulgaria, both offensive (swords, spearheads, axeheads and heads of war flails), and defensive (including fragments of lamellar armour), as well as horse furniture of 7th to 11th–C. date are published by Iotov 2004, 17–185 (together with an unpaginated catalogue of finds at the end of the work). The location of the find sites, most of them in north-eastern Bulgaria in the region of Pliska and Preslav, indicate that the bulk of these objects probably date from the first Bulgar state.

[43] On the equipping of mercenaries from state arsenals in antiquity see A. von Domaszewski, "Bewaffung" in *PR*, 3:376–7.

Olympia,[44] and at the sanctuary at Delphi.[45] Also of a votive character was the richly decorated weaponry adorning the tomb of Philip II of Macedon in Vergina.[46] The custom of interring weapons in soldier's burials was also known in ancient Rome.[47] With the spread of Christianity, however, the deposition of arms in graves ceased.[48] The fragments of weaponry that found their way into a few isolated graves seem to have done so accidentally. The spearheads found in an early thirteenth-century interment in a cemetery near the theatre in Nicaea may have been lodged in the corpse of the deceased. The presence

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44 On the numerous finds of military equipment (including trophies, especially Persian) given as votive offerings at the stadium since the Bronze Age, see Hermann 1972, 107–112, figs. 59, 75, 79, 80, 82, tab. 32a–c, 33, 34ab, 36b. Further bibliog. is given by Völling 1991, nn. 1–2.

45 See for example Maass 1995, 137–9, fig. 80. Older opinions on the custom of offering captured weapons in temples in the context of the *tropaion* are discussed by Gansiniec 1955, 11–15, 59–61, 110–114. See also Droysen, *Weltreichs*, pp. 112–13, who states that after entering Asia Minor in 334 BC Alexander the Great laid up his arms in the Temple of Athena in Troy, and took from there a sacred shield said to have belonged to Achilles. Traces of this custom can also be found in the Old Testament, see 1 Sam. 17:54; 31:9–10 (on the arms of Goliath and Samuel); 1 Kings 10:25; 1 Chron. 10:10; 1 Macc. 6:2 (on the panoplies left in the temple by Alexander the Great).

46 The main chamber of 'Philip's Tomb' at Vergina contained a helmet, three cuirasses, four pairs of greaves, three shields, four swords, 13 spears and javelins, a bow with 74 arrows, a bowcase and a horse harness; while the nearby 'Prince's Tomb' produced a cuirass, a pair of greaves and four spearheads (Drougou et al. 1994, 104–12 and figs. on pp. 108, 109 & 111). The gold weaponry employed in Alexander the Great's burial ceremony is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus in his *Bibliotheca historica* XVIII, 26, section 4^1–5^3: ἐπάνω δὲ τῆς θήκης ἐπετίθειτο καλυπτὴρ χρυσοῦς, ἁρμόζων ἀκριβῶς καὶ περιλαμβάνων τὴν ἀνωτάτω περιφέρειαν. ταύτης δ' ἐπάνω περιέκειτο φοινικὶς διαπρεπὴς χρυσοποίκιλτος, παρ' ἣν ἔθεσαν τὰ τοῦ μετηλλαχότος ὅπλα, βουλόμενοι συνοικειοῦν τὴν ὅλην φαντασίαν ταῖς προκατειργασμέναις πράξεσι. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παρέστησαν τὴν τοῦτο κομιοῦσαν ἁρμάμαξαν, ἧς κατεσκεύαστο κατὰ μὲν τὴν κορυφὴν καμάρα χρυσῆ, ἔχουσα φολίδα λιθοκόλλητον. The custom of hanging weaponry on tomb walls was common in Macedonia (e.g. the tombs in Lefkadia, Sindos, Pella, Langada, Verginia, Dreveni and Agia Paraskevi). The method of hanging such weapons is depicted in painted decoration (figs. 1a & 1b) in the 3rd-C. BC tombs of Lyson and Kallikles in Lefkadia (Miller 1993, 51–8).

47 See e.g. Rostovtzeff (1935, 222–33), who mentions Roman and Sasanian soldiers interred along with their weapons at Dura-Europos in a cemetery near the main gate.

48 Kolias (1988, 134) draws attention to the lack of swords in Byzantine burials, in stark contrast to funerary rites in parts of Europe that were still pagan. Wołoszyn (2006, 267–8) cites the numerous objects (jewellery, olive lamps, crosses) found in Byzantine and Rus' graves—the result, in his opinion, of the less restrictive character of eastern Christianity towards funerary ritual (the number of similar finds in Latin Europe is considerably smaller). Nevertheless, he rules out the presence of intentional offerings in Christian burials.

of spearheads in burials near the southern gates of Philadelphia (currently Alaşehir) might have a similar explanation.[49]

Christianity did not, however, alter the custom of laying up weapons in the interiors of churches. First and foremost these appeared in the guise of holy relics connected with the warrior saints. Weapons as holy relics associated with a saint's *martyrion* (shrine) are mentioned for the first time by Amphilochios, bishop of Iconium in his *Life of Basil of Caesarea*. In his description of the miraculous disappearance from a church of the body of St Merkourios, who had been called by God to kill Julian the Apostate, Amphilochios adds a new element to the earlier version of the story. Woken by a vision in his dream, St Basil entered the church at night and noticed that the saint's remains had disappeared, along with his weapons that had been laid up there.[50] Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in his work *On themes* writes that St Theodore Teron's shield was hung as a relic under the dome of the church dedicated in his honour at Dalisandos in Seleucia, in the Isauria region.[51] In turn, according to the account of Archbishop Antony of Novgorod (a former monk known as Dobrynia Jadreikovich) who was on a pilgrimage from Rus' to Constantinople in around 1200, St Theodore Stratelates had been laid to rest in the Blachernai Church and his sword and shield were to be found there.[52]

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[49] Both cases are discussed by Ivison (1993, 1:35–6, 197–8 and n. 28, fig. 320). Citing the account of Theodore Spantounes (Spandugino) from the period of the fall of Constantinople, Ivison indicates that robberies of high status graves by the Turks in search of golden spurs and other precious objects may possibly explain the lack of ceremonial weaponry in graves. Meanwhile, a 6th/7th-C. grave discovered in Corinth in 1938 containing a knife and a long iron *spatha* sword with a short guard, still in its scabbard, which can be identified as Avar, or perhaps Slav—in view of the accompanying pottery (Weinberg 1974, 517–20, diagrams 1–4, figs. 112a–f). The archetypal character of the custom of depositing weapons in rulers' graves is confirmed by archaeological finds from such distant cultures as the pre-Incan Mochica Indians in Peru, e.g. the tomb of the so-called Lord of Sipán of *c.*500 BC. Christianity inhibited this type of practice (Haldon 2002, 65 and n. 2). Żygulski (1984, 85, 87) comments on the custom's existence also in the Latin cultures of medieval Europe.

[50] MPG, 29, p. CCCV [II]: *venitque ad sancti martyris Mercurii martyrium, in quo et ipse et arma eius posita erant*. See also Binon 1937, 10. Der Nersessian (1987, esp. 157–8) and Curta (1995, 111–15) compare Amphilochios' account of the miracle with other versions and with the iconography of Merkourious killing the Apostate.

[51] De Thematibus, p. 77^{20-21}: Δαλισανδός, ἐν ᾗ τὸ σκουτάριον τοῦ μεγαλομάρτυρος Θεοδώρου ἐν τῷ τρούλλῳ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀποκρέμαται. Or as version R has it: ἡ ἀσπὶς ἤγουν τὸ σκουτάριον. See also Delehaye 1909, 14; Walter 2003a, 49.

[52] Antony, col. 34 [101] *А у Лахерны во церковныхъ полатахъ святый Феодоръ Стратилатъ лежитъ, и щитъ и мечь его ту же*. This passage is commented on by Marković 1995, 585, n. 137 (listing the remaining relics of warrior saints described

In his description of the Great Palace, Antony also mentions the shield of the emperor Constantine I set up on the templon of the Nea Church (erected by Basil I in the region of Pharos),[53] and also a lance, stored in the *Chrysotriklinos* together with the *Arma Christi* and relics of martyrs including St Theodore Teron.[54] This lance can doubtless be identified with the one that supposedly pierced Christ's side seen by Robert de Clari in the same place a few years later.[55] The so-called lance of St Maurice, rescued from Jerusalem when the army of Chosroes II of Persia commanded by Shahrbarāz looted the city on 28 October 614, was brought to Constantinople and placed in the Hagia Sophia by the *patrikios* Niketas.[56] However, already in the first part of *De ceremoniis* the adoration of the holy lance in the *Chrysotriklinos* and in the church at Pharos is described as taking place during the Good Friday procession.[57] The lance of St Maurice cannot, however, be identified

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by Antony in the churches of Constantinople) and 597, nn. 240, 241. On Antony of Novgorod/Dobrynia Jadreikovich see S. Franklin & A. Cutler, "Antony" in *ODB*, 1:124.

[53] ANTONY, col. 32 [93], see also below, p. 93.

[54] ANTONY col. 30 [85–87]; see also Kalavrezou (1997, 56–7, figs. 1a–b), who locates the relics listed by Antony in the neighbouring church of the Virgin (in the quarter popularly known as Pharos after the nearby lighthouse) and links with them a two-sided 12th-C. icon depicting the Mandylion and the *Arma Passionis*, currently in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. The lance preserved in the church of the Virgin in Pharos along with remaining instruments of Passion are also mentioned in an early 12th-C. English pilgrim's account and in an inventory drawn up by Nicholas Mesarites in *c.*1220 (Belting 1994, 526–7; and Magdalino 2004, 18–22, 26–7, who also reconstructs the history of the holy lance and other relics of the Passion in the Pharos church).

[55] DE CLARI, p. 103 [LXXXII].

[56] The information on the transporting of the *Arma Passionis* comes from CHPASCH (1:705$^{3-6}$): καὶ τῇ δι᾽ γορπαίου κατὰ Ῥωμαίους σεπτεμβρίου μηνός, τῆς τρίτις ἰνδικτιῶνος, ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ ὑψώσει ἀποδεθεὶς τῷ ζωοποιῷ σταυρῷ ὁ τίμιος σπόγγος καὶ αὐτὸς συνυψοῦται αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ἁγιωτάτῃ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ, πεμφθεὶς παρὰ Νικήτα πατρικίου; On the robbery of the True Cross and the imprisonment of the Jerusalem clerics, see CHPASCH, 1:704$^{13-20}$; on the recovery of the relic see THEOPHANES, 1:326, 328. After recovery it was kept in Constantinople, in the palace chapel of St Stephanos, while from the 10th C. a replica of the cross was exhibited in the church of the Virgin in Pharos (Cotsonis 1994, 32). On the Persian general see W.E. Kaegi, "Shahrbarāz" in *ODB*, 3:1887.

[57] DE CER. [VOGT], 1:167^{24}–168^{8} [I 34]: καθυπουργῆσαι τῇ διακαινησσίμῳ ἐν τῷ Χρυσοτρικλίνῳ, καὶ εἶθ᾽ οὕτως τελοῦσι τὴν τριτοέκτην, <καὶ> προσκυνεῖ τὴν τιμίαν λόγχην. Ὁμοίως εἰσέρχονται καὶ οἱ πατρίκιοι ἀπὸ κελεύσεως μετὰ τοῦ κουβουκλείου, πρωτοσπαθάριοί τε καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκειακῶν, προσκυνήσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν τιμίαν λόγχην, καὶ ὑπερευξάμενοι τὸν βασιλέα, ἐξέρχονται. Εἰ δὲ μετὰ τῆς τριτοέκτης ὑποστρέψει ἀπὸ Βλαχέρνας, ως τελέσας ἐκεῖσε πρῶτον τὴν τριτοέκτην, προσκυνεῖ τὴν τιμίαν λόγχην μετὰ τῶν ἀνωτέρω εἰρημένων ἐν τῷ Φάρῳ. It is thought that this section of the treatise derives from the time of Michael III, but was re-edited during the reign of Constantine Porphyrogennetos. On the lance of St Maurice and its

for certain with the imperial lance described in the same work that, along with the imperial shield, was preserved in St Theodore's chapel next to the *Chrysotriklinos*.[58] We learn of the laying up in this holy place of insignia and richly decorated weapons of imperial guard officers from an inventory appended to the second part of *De ceremoniis*. The same source mentions that standards and military insignia were kept in the church of the Lord.[59]

It was not only weapons closely linked with the Empire and the 'Byzantine' saints that were preserved in Byzantine churches. The Nordic *Heimskringla* saga relates how after the death of the Norwegian king St Olaf in the battle of Stiklestad (1031), his sword *Hneitir* was taken to Constantinople by one of the Varangians, after his own sword had been broken. On hearing that one of the Varangian guardsmen possessed the weapon of a saint, the emperor confiscated it and deposited it as a relic in the church of St Olaf in the city.[60]

The above examples all provide evidence of the presence in Byzantine churches of items of weaponry that were treated as relics or insignia. Unfortunately, none of these items have survived down to our time. This is perhaps understandable in view of the many centuries of Turkish rule over the imperial lands. The one territory that enjoyed relative autonomy in this period was the monastic complex on the Athos Peninsula in Greece. It is no surprise that it is precisely here that fragments of weaponry are preserved: the most precious items

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significance during the First Crusade, see Runciman (1950, esp. 197 n. 1; citing an earlier but fundamental work on the problem by Mély). Runciman also refers to information in the *Book of Ceremonies* but cites it incorrectly (cf. 200, n. 3).

58 De Cer. [Vogt], 1:4$^{19-20}$ [I 1]: τὰ βασιλικὰ αἴρουσιν ἅρματά τε καὶ σκουτάρια καὶ τὰ δόρατα, καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν ἀλλαξίμων τάξις φέρει τὴν βασίλειον στολήν, καὶ ἀποτίθησιν ἐν τῷ ὀκταγώνῳ κουβουκλείῳ[...]; this weapon was carried as insignia by the Imperial *spatharioi*, see p. 4$^{23-4}$: οἱ δὲ τὰ ἅρματα φέροντες σπαθάριοι...

59 De Cer (1:640$^{10-15}$, 641$^{1-2}$ [II 40]) states that among other things stored in St Theodore's Chapel were: *maniakia* of the *protospatharioi*, gilded swords of the *spatharioi*, gold-incrusted shields, and two gilded silver lances: μανιάκια πρωτοσπαθαράτα χρυσᾶ. σπαθαροκανδιδατίκια ὁλᾶχρυσα, καὶ ἀργυρᾶ διάχρυσα. σπαθία σπαθαράτα ὁλόκανα διάχρυσα. στρατωρίκια διάχρυσα. σκοῦτον χρυσοῦν χειμευτὸν ἠμφιεσμένον ἀπὸ μαργάρων. ἕτερον σκοῦτον χρυσοῦν χειμευτὸν ὀμφιεσμένον ἀπὸ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων. κόντα ἀργυρᾶ διάχρυσα β. Meanwhile, among the insignia laid up in the church of the Lord were twelve (probably military) standards, twelve *draco* standards, and eight *bandon* standards (belonging to smaller formations): σίγνα ιβ'. δρακόντια ιβ'. βάνδα η', see also below, n. 469 on p. 247 and p. 340 (on military insignia and *draco* standards).

60 See Hoffmeyer 1966, 99–100. The doubtful historical value of the sagas is commented upon by S. Franklin, "Sagas" in *ODB*, 3:1827. On the custom of removing swords from tombs which also occurs in other sagas, see Oakeshott 1991, 4.

include a mail-shirt, probably of the eleventh to twelfth century from the Dionysiou Monastery, and fragments of two later mail-shirts, possibly of Turkish origin, from the Great Lavra Monastery.[61]

In completing this survey on archaeological survivals of Byzantine weaponry it is worth noting that the increased interest in medieval archaeology witnessed in recent years,[62] along with the new techniques being employed, is likely to bring fresh discoveries in the future. A recent example is the wreck of an eleventh-century Byzantine ship discovered in 1973 off the south coast of Asia Minor at Serçe Limani. Found on its deck besides a cargo of amphorae were the remnants of two swords; a decorative bronze sword hilt without a cross-guard, possibly of Indian origin; heads of Bulgar axes; as well as 12 spearheads and 50 javelin heads (figs. 91b–c).[63] One can only hope that further weapons will come to light in the excavations currently underway at the port of Theodosius which began in 2005 as a result of work on the Istanbul metro, and where to date no less than 20 eleventh-century shipwrecks have been found including two military dromons.[64]

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[61] The Athos mail-shirts are as yet unpublished, neg. Dionysiou 757 in the collections of the Byzantine *Ephoreia* in Thessaloniki. One of them may be identical with the armour 'of St George' which legend says was rescued from a 16th-C. fire in the Dionysiou monastery.

[62] The lack of coherent archaeological programmes directed at Byzantine sites, above all in modern Greece and Turkey, where most discoveries have been made incidentally to work on ancient sites and to a lesser extent on medieval urban centres, is noted by T.E. Gregory and A. Kazhdan, "Archaeology. An Overview" in *ODB*, 1:152–3; Wołoszyn 2006, 261–2. An improvement has been observed in recent years in respect of archaeology of the 6th–8th C. period according to Mango [M.] (2006, 85–9), although she comments that excavations in the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin continue to be concentrated on urban centres and are not producing arms and armour finds. Of the archaeological monographs that have appeared in recent years, of special interest is Iotov (2004) who assembles an impressive collection of weapons found on Bulgarian territory.

[63] On the weapons found on the Serçe Limani wreck, see Schwarzer 1991, 328–32, figs. 2–10; Doorninck 2002, 145–6. Dating was aided by coins of Basil II 'the Bulgar-Slayer' (ruled from 963, and independently 976–1025), and glass weights from the rule of the Egyptian caliphs, Al-Hakim (996–1021) and Al-Zahir (1021–36). The finds are all exhibited in the Bodrum Museum of Underwater Archaeology. For discoveries on other Byzantine shipwrecks, see T.E. Gregory & A. Cutler, "Archaeology. Underwater Archaeology" in *ODB*, 1:154.

[64] See Başaran/Kocabaş 2008, 5–9; *Old Ships, passim*. The author was a guest at the excavations in the port of Theodosius on 9–10 October 2006; see also Mango [M.] 2006, 88.

Written Sources[65]

In view of the scarcity of archaeological material, a particular important role in research on the costume and armament of the warrior saints falls to the written sources. These contain considerably more information than the actual preserved objects, not only on symbolism and customs connected with weaponry in Byzantium, but also of value when reconstructing its appearance.

Military treatises (Taktika *and* Strategika)[66]

The basic resource for research on the arms and armour of the Middle Byzantine army is a group of manuals written for generals and emperors who were commanding armies in the field. The so-called *Taktika* and *Strategika* continued the tradition of Classical military treatises by such writers as Aeneas, Aelian, Asclepiodotus and Onasander, Athenaios, Biton, Philon and Polyaenus.[67]

The changes in the Late Roman legionary army after its defeat at Adrianople in AD 378 are described most fully in the treatise *Epitoma Rei Militaris* by Vegetius;[68] this was composed in Latin in *c.*AD 400 and

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[65] References to source texts discussed in this chapter can be found in the bibliography on p. 407ff.

[66] Details of the ancient and Byzantine *Taktika*, and the interdependence of the various treatises, as well as adaptations and paraphrased texts are discussed by Dain (1967). The general problem of the *Taktika* in Byzantine literature is tackled by Hunger 1978, 2:323–38 (with earlier literature on 339–40). A basic outline is given by A. Kazhdan and E. McGeer, "Strategika", *ODB*, 3:1962.

[67] The *Taktika* of Aeneas (*c.*400–346 BC), Onasander's 'General's manual' (of AD 49), and the treatise of Asclepiodotus which was written in the 2nd or 1st C. AD under the influence of Aelian are published for example in the collected work: *Aeneas Tacticus, Asclepiodotus, Onasander, with an English translation by members of the Illinois Greek Club*, ed. E. Capps, L.A. Post, W.H.D. Rouse & E.H. Warmington (Loeb Classical Library) London & Cambridge, Mass., 1948. Meanwhile, Aelian's 'Tactical Theory' (of *c.*106 AD) was published in H. Köchly & W. Rüstow, *Griechische Kriegsschriftsteller* 2/1 (Leipzig 1855), 241–471. The technical treatises of Biton and Philon of Byzantium from the 3rd C. are available in *Bau von Belagerungsmaschinen und Geschützen*, ed. & transl. E. Schramm (München 1929), and *Philons Belopoiika*, ed. H. Diels & E. Schramm (Berlin 1918). The text of Polyaenus (*c.*AD 200) which is arranged by successive military leaders is summarized by Leo VI, see: "Leonis Imperatoris strategemata e codico florentino nunc primum edita" in *Polyaeni strategematon libri VIII*, ed. E. Wolfflin (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Taubneriana*) Stutgardiae 1970. For more detailed bibliog., including other ancient treatises that contain military information, see Dain 1967, 319–40. The classicizing language of the *Taktika* by Byzantine authors is commented upon by Haldon 2002, 76.

[68] On the treatise and its supposed author, see A.R. Neumann, "Vegetius" in *PR*, Supplement 10:992–1018.

dedicated to the emperor, identifiable as either Theodosius I (379–95) or Valentinian II (382–92) who ruled in the West.

The anonymous work Περὶ Στρατηγίας was already fully Greek in character, and was written in about the mid sixth century, probably in the time of Justinian, as is evident from the major role ascribed to archer formations.[69] The author's familiarity with military problems suggests he served as an army officer. Of greatest importance for the reconstruction of Byzantine arms and armour are chapters 16 (Περὶ ὁπλίσεως) and 17 which deal with the equipment of infantry and cavalry.

Half a century later, when Latin was still the main language of command in the Eastern Empire, one of the most important and original works of Byzantine military literature came into being, the *Strategikon* attributed to the emperor Maurice (582–602).[70] In book I (chapter 2) the author considers the equipment of cavalry formations, while in the second part of book XII, which constitutes a separate whole devoted to infantry, he covers the equipment of foot soldiers. Maurice's treatise became a model for later writers active in the tenth century at the court of the Macedonian dynasty. It had an especially strong influence

[69] See Hunger 1978, 2:327–8. Rance (2008) has recently proposed a much later eighth or even ninth century date for the treatise, which he believes was authored by Syrianus Magister as part of a larger 'military compendium'. He points out that chapter 17 is borrowed from Aelian's *Tactica Theoria*.

The importance of archers in 6th-C. Byzantine warfare is evident, for example, in the raiding tactics of Belisarius during the siege of Rome by the Goths (536/7) for which he employed mounted archers (PROCOPIUS 2:130[23]–31[6] [V 27/5–6], 134[5–11] [V 27/28]); and also in the heavily-armoured archer's equipment described by PROCOPIUS (1:5[24]–7[11] [I 1/8–16]). See also Bivar 1972, 286–7; Haldon 1975, 12. Cf. also Baldwin (1988), who would also prefer to redate the text to a later period.

[70] Initially the *Strategikon* was attributed to the poet Ourbikios who lived in the time of Anastasius. The error was due to a mistake in the title of the MS preserved in the Biblioteca Laurenziana in Florence: Οὐρβικίου τακτικὰ - στρατηγικά. This error, resulting from the omission by a copyist of the letter M from the start of the title, was corrected by Aussaresses (1906), who nevertheless was unable to state categorically whether the author Maurice should be identified with the emperor of that name. Later editors, taking their lead from the title of Ambrosiana MS: *The tactics of Maurice, who later became the emperor Maurice*, are unanimously in favour of his authorship, although John Wiita (1979, 15–49) believes the author may have been Maurice's brother-in-law the military commander, Philippikos, who was imprisoned in a monastery by Phokas in the later part of his life (603–10) and died in 615; see the introduction to STRAT., pp. 16–17. Certainly the author was an experienced soldier. It cannot be ruled out that Maurice commissioned someone else to write the treatise, just as Porphyrogennetos was later to do, and personally supervised the work; this does not diminish Maurice's role in the creation of the text. See also Dain 1967, 344–6; on the *Codex ambrosianus* see Dain 1967, 363; Haldon 2002, 68. The Classical models that Maurice made use of are discussed in detail by Kuchma 1982; 1984; and 1986.

on the oeuvre of the first Byzantine tactician after the so-called 'Dark Centuries', the emperor Leo VI the Wise (886–912). Leo's *Problemata* was a reworking of Maurice's treatise in the form of questions and answers, which were word-for-word citations from the *Strategikon*;[71] this work by Leo is therefore of no great value for studies on the changes taking place in Byzantine equipment between the sixth and tenth centuries. Also of little importance for Byzantine military studies are Leo's imitations of passages from Polyaenus's *Strategemata*. Leo's next treatise, the *Taktika* was far more independent, though not without influence from Classical authors and Maurice's text.[72] It is an unusually important source for Byzantine weapons' research, above all because of its rich military terminology and the synonyms used to describe the same items of equipment in books V and VI of the work.

From the same period is the *Sylloge tacticorum* an anonymous tract, which was also once attributed to Leo or to his brother.[73] The information in chapters 37 and 38 which are devoted to Byzantine arms and armour (always an important indicator of originality in the *Taktika*)[74] is quite different from that in other Byzantine treatises, which suggests that care must be taken when using it to reconstruct Byzantine military equipment.

The tradition of military manual writing was continued by Leo VI's son, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (913–959, independently from 945). Unfortunately, only fragments remain of the treatise he commissioned, which was intended as a handbook for his son, Romanos, and was written down probably around 952. One of these passages is regarded as an excerpt from a now lost manual by the

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71 See Dain 1967, 354. Dawson (2002, 81) believes that Maurice's treatise was still being copied and read in the time of Leo VI.

72 Sections copied or paraphrased from Maurice's manual, as well as from other Classical authors such as Onasander, are printed in the upper register of the edition published by R. Vári, LT, *passim*.

73 The thesis on authorship by Leo VI's brother, Alexander, is suggested by R. Vári 1927, 265–7; see also Hunger 1978, 2:333; meanwhile Dain 1967, 357 (and also E. McGeer, "Sylloge tacticorum" in *ODB*, 3:1980, who also does not rule out authorship by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos), dates the tract to the early 10th C. and is inclined to attribute it to Leo himself.

74 G. Dagron and H. Mihăescu identify three basic criteria of innovation and independence in military treatises: descriptions of changes in the equipment of Byzantine armies; characterization of enemies and their tactics; descriptions of the social relations between the army and the rest of society (see the introduction to their edition of De velitatione, Paris 1986, 141–4; and also McGeer 1994, 194).

monk Leo Katakylas from the monastery of Sigriane (c.903–12), which was to serve as a model for Porphyrogennetos's scribes.[75] Constantine also appended to his text descriptions of the imperial triumphs of Theophilos and Basil I, which also contain valuable information on weaponry and ceremonial attire.

The next important military author is the emperor Nikephoros II Phokas. From his pen emerged a treatise known as *Praecepta militaria*, a title chosen by the text's first modern editor.[76] Although the work's author relies to a certain extent on ancient treatises and, in the part covering arms and armour, borrows from the Sylloge, he nevertheless makes an important attempt at unifying the Classical terminology with that of his own day.[77] Of special value for the study of Byzantine arms and armour is Phokas's extensive description of the equipment of the heavily armoured cavalry known as *kataphraktoi*. Also attributed to Phokas is another treatise, *De velitatione bellica*; written between 967 and 969, it concentrates on the principles of raiding warfare on the eastern frontiers of the Empire against the Arabs, but contains little information on arms and armour.[78]

The next important manual, *De re militari*, came into being shortly before the year 1000, and relied on the author's experience in the wars in the Balkans against the Bulgars, Rus' and Pechenegs. The text's authorship, once putatively ascribed to the commander of Basil II's armies, Nikephoros Ouranos (c.950–1007)[79] who defeated the Bulgars at the river Sperchios in 997, is yet to be firmly established.[80] A treatise

[75] This attribution is proposed by John Haldon in his latest edition, see PORPH., p. 84—redaction (B) by Leo Katakylas, and p. 96 (C) by Constantine. One cannot rule out that the treatise remained uncompleted and what has survived is merely a working copy of the fragments. Dain (1967, 361) discusses the treatise under the title *Praecepta Imperatori*. See also Cameron 1976, 112, n. 3.

[76] See Kulakovskij's edition. The date of Phokas's death in 969 as an *ante quem* for the treatise is accepted by Hunger 1978, 2:336.

[77] McGeer 1995, 181–7; A. Kazhdan & E. McGeer, "Praecepta Militaria" in *ODB*, 3:1789.

[78] The treatise was recently attributed to Phokas by Kuchma (2000), who reviews arguments on the subject to date. For dating of the treatise see the introduction to DE VELITATIONE, pp. 139–40.

[79] Nikephoros Ouranos was a diplomat, bureaucrat and soldier, and is known also as the author of poems, letters and hagiographic texts (see e.g. HALKIN 1962); he appears for the first time in sources of *c*.980; two of his seals have also been preserved (McGeer 1991, 129–31 and 139–40). See also, E. McGeer, "Ouranos, Nikephoros" in *ODB*, 3:1544–5.

[80] The question of authorship, with detailed discussion of Vári's and Kulakovskij's opinions, is considered by G.T. Dennis in the introduction to DE RE MILITARI,

that is unquestionably connected with Ouranos, his *Taktika*, was probably written in the period when he was serving as governor of Antioch (December 999 until his death in 1007). Ouranos's manual, which has never been published in full, is a compilation of the texts of Leo and Nikephoros Phokas and various Classical authors, expanded with a few personal observations.[81] Even so, in view of the author's detailed comments and the additional section, it is of some value in the reconstruction of Byzantine arms and armour.[82] Ouranos's *Taktika* is the last Byzantine military treatise that has survived in its original Greek form.[83]

Two final groups of treatises are devoted to specialist branches of military science that are of a lesser importance in the analysis of images of the military saints. The first group concerns naval warfare, both at sea and on rivers, and includes five short treatises, namely: the sixth-century *Naumachika* reused by Syrianos Magistros in the 9th C.; the *Naumachika* of *Patrikios* Basil (c.961); an extract from Maurice's *Strategikon* on fording rivers, *De fluminibus traiciendis*; excerpts titled *De navali proelio* and *Excerpto nauticum* from Leo VI's Taktika; and extracts from Nikephoros Ouranos's tactical manual. These are published together by Alphonse Dain under the joint title *Naumachica*.[84]

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p. 242 (with bibliog. of Kulakovskij's views in n. 1). Dennis himself regards the text as anonymous.

[81] Chapters 1–55 rely heavily on Leo VI's *Taktika*; chapters 56–66 are a revised and expanded version of Nikephoros Phokas's treatise, while chapters 66–175 and 176–78, make use of the *Hermeneia* and ancient texts of "Commentaries" to the treatise of Aeneas (Dain 1937; and 1967, 373); cf. also the slightly different breakdown proposed by McGeer 1991, 132–3; and 1995, 80.

[82] McGeer 1991, 134–8.

[83] See e.g. Hunger 1978, 2:337. The *Strategikon* of KEKAUMENOS which appeared in the third quarter of the 11th C. is a collection of instructions and advice for his son and for high-born children in general; the work contains no information on methods of warfare and no detailed notes on military equipment, and does not therefore strictly qualify as a tactical manual (Hunger 1978, 2:337–8). The tract's author should not be confused with Kekaumenos Katakalon, *strategos* of the *theme* of Armeniakon, *doux* of Iberia, Antioch, Chaldia and Ani, and *domestikos* of the eastern *scholai* (Kühn 1991, 98, 129, 150, 176–77, 186, 190, 202–03, 255, 264 and 266).

A short military treatise by Theodore Palaiologos (1291–1338) was written down in Greek in 1326 and is preserved only in an early 14th-C. French translation (Bartusis 1992, 323–9; Parani 2003, 101, n. 2). For a modern edition see *Les enseignements de Théodore Paléologue*, ed. Ch. Knowles, London 1983.

[84] Dain 1967, 342, 363, 365–66. On the naval manuals also see E. McGeer, "Naumachika" in *ODB*, 2:1441–2. Treatises on naval warfare add a little information on arms and armour of individual soldiers, for example Leo VI's work recommends manning the wooden tower (*xylokastron*) around the ship's mast with *kataphraktoi* armed

The second group concerns siege warfare: the preparations that a fortress commander should make when expecting a siege are described in the anonymous mid-tenth-century *De obsidione toleranda*; in turn the subject of laying siege to towns and castles is covered by the *Parangelmata poliorketika* by Pseudo-Heron of Byzantium, which was written at about the same time.[85] Heron's treatise is in large part dependent on the Classical authors Aeneas, Biton, Hero of Alexandria and Apollodoros; in contrast, the tracts on naval warfare can be regarded as independent works since, in the words of Leo VI, this type of *Taktika* was unknown to the ancients.[86]

In summary, it is possible to state that Byzantium left an unusually rich literary legacy on warfare. At its core are the *Taktika* written at the imperial court in the tenth century with the assistance of older texts. The appearance of this substantial group of military tracts during the time of the Macedonian dynasty can be put down to the intellectual revival clearly visible in the whole literary output of the tenth century.[87] Yet the complete absence of this category of works in the following centuries remains a puzzle. In other fields of knowledge, culture and literature, the traditions of the Macedonian intellectual renaissance continued into the eleventh and twelfth centuries, producing such personalities as Michael Psellos, Anna Komnene, Eustathios of Thessaloniki and Niketas Choniates, but the custom of writing *Strategika* completely died out, although texts of this type continued to be read.[88] A possible explanation is proposed by Eric McGeer, who believes that one of the objectives behind Phokas's work was to create a new Greek military terminology, an invented language to replace Latin, which after all had still been in use in the army of Maurice's

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with shields (*skoutaria*), *menaulia*, bows with additional arrows (*toxa, sagittas ek perissou*), swords (*spathia*), javelins (*rhiptaria*), *lorika* and *klibania* (with scales at the front if not at the back), helmets (*kassidas*) and arm-guards (*cheiropsella*)—NAUMACHICA, p. 21 [I 14] (= version of Ouranos published by Pryor/Jeffreys 2006, 578 [I 12]).

[85] See HERON, intro., pp. 2–4; cf. also Dain 1967, 358–69.

[86] Leo VI states this in his *Taktika*: {LT, vol. B', p. 178} [XIX 1]: Ἤδη καὶ περὶ ναυμαχίας διαταξόμεθα οὐδὲν μὲν ἐν τοῖς παλαιοῖς τακτικοῖς περὶ αὐτῆς κεκανονισμένον εὑρόντες, see also Hunger 1978, 2:323.

[87] On the effects of the 'Macedonian renaissance' on the cultural and scientific life of Byzantium, see e.g, Treadgold 1997, 558–65. Treadgold suggests the development of literature was boosted by the Iconoclast controversy as a result of the need to conduct polemic disputes, and also by the introduction of miniscule script.

[88] For example Aelian's *Taktika* is mentioned by KOMNENE, 3:198$^{5-6}$ [XV 3/6], while the treatises of Arrian and Biton are cited, e.g. by EUST. IL., 1:159$^{15-16}$, 525^{13}.

day.[89] If McGeer's theory could be extended to cover the entire output of military writers who laid stress on terminology from the time of Leo VI's *Taktika*, this may explain the popularity of military treatises in the tenth century, and at the same time solve the problem of their demise once a homogenous Byzantine terminology had been established.

Taktikons and Books of Ceremony[90]

The next important group of texts, especially for research on officers' attire and ceremonial uniform, are the lists of officials, or so called *Taktikons*, and also the collections of ceremonial regulations on matters relating to court etiquette.

Belonging to the first group is the register of military and civil officials for both parts of the empire known as the *Notitia dignitatum*. This work came into being in the first quarter of the fifth century (although it includes fragments of earlier lists), and was written in Latin.[91] The importance of the *Notitia* is all the greater thanks to the miniatures preserved in early modern copies of the manuscript. These illustrate the insignia of the various offices, including items of arms and armour, and in particular the shields patterns of numerous Roman military units. Although the credibility of the miniatures as sources has been questioned,[92] one can assume that the artist based them, at least to some degree, on illustrations in an earlier codex that is no longer extant.

Roman ceremonial etiquette during its phase of adaptation by Byzantium is described in a treatise by John Lydos Περὶ Ἀρχῶν τῆς

[89] McGeer (1995, 192) believes that in attempting to replace the Latinized military terminology the military aristocracy created an artificial language of commands and terms, which was in effect a type of *katharevousa*. As an example of the new terminology he also cites the chronicle of Bryennios.

[90] On the written sources relating to court ceremony see also K. Wessel, "Insignien" in *RbK*, 3:369–70.

[91] Jones (1964, 2:1417, 1423) indicates that the list of officials for the Eastern part of Empire came into being before 395, whereas the text on the Western offices reached its final form only around 420.

[92] The accuracy of the legionary shield patterns has been criticized by Grigg (1983, 132–41; with older bibliog. in nn. 1 and 2) who points out that they do not correspond with devices known from other sources. Many shield patterns repeat themselves (especially in the final chapters on the Empire's western provinces), while the emblems of the few units that are shown twice—after transferring from the 'Eastern' to the 'Western' half of the Empire—do not match. This may be evidence of careless and inaccurate copying by the artists, who also drew on imagination to fill out sections of text in the original that lacked illustrations.

Ῥωμαίων Πολιτείας, or simply, Περὶ Ἐξουσιῶν, better known by its Latin title, *De magistratibus*. Born in around 490 in Asian Philadelphia, Lydos worked for many years as an official and teacher at the court of Justinian I. In the work he presents a picture of the court, with detailed descriptions of the dress of officials, along with the origins and significance of the various items of attire. Writing at the watershed between the Late Roman culture and the Greek Middle Ages, Lydos attempted to translate the new Greek terminology that he himself helped introduce by reference to the Latin equivalents.[93] He sometimes gives fantastical or false etymologies, but his work is nevertheless of great assistance in clarifying the complexities of weapons terminology.

Linked in form and purpose to the tradition of the *Notitia dignitatum* are a group of lists of court officials written down in the ninth and tenth centuries. First and foremost, these were lists of dignitaries in order of precedence, and were intended to assist the imperial steward (*atriklines*) prepare seating for the various notables at table during palace banquets. Four such lists have survived, namely: the *Taktikon Uspensky* (842/3), so called after its first modern editor, Fyodor Uspensky; the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (of September 899), which is the most extensive of the group and contains the most information; the *Beneševič Taktikon* (934–44); and the *Escorial Taktikon* (971–75).[94]

In turn, the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos was appended to the most extensive work devoted to Byzantine court ceremonial, namely Ἔκθεσις τῆς βασιλείου τάξεως, better known by its Latin title, *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae.*[95] This encyclopedic compendium on the customs of the imperial court was commissioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and added to in the reign of Nikephoros II. We must assume that only a single copy existed, stored in the palace library. When reading *De ceremoniis* it should be borne in mind that the work derives from a variety of periods: starting with an extract from

[93] John Lydos's attempts to Hellenize the military terminology are discussed by Kolias 1993a, 42.

[94] All four texts are published by Oikonomides; further information on the *Taktikons* can be found on pp. 27–38, along with datings for the various lists, *passim*. See also Bury (1889, 214, 216); and the introduction to Lydos, p. xxxviii.

[95] The *Kletorologion* was inserted as chapters 52–53 in book II of De Cer., 1:702–91; similarly, the military treatise attributed to Porph. was appended as a supplement to De Cer., 1:444–508.

a treatise on the office of the *magister officiorum* by Peter Patrikios compiled in *c.*548–65 in chapters 84–95 of book I; followed by various fifth and sixth-century texts, and by numerous letters from the time of the Isaurian dynasty (especially the reign of Michael III, 842–886); and finishing with chapters 96 and 97 of book I, which were added by Nikephoros II Phokas already after the death of Constantine VII.[96] Besides the descriptions of ceremonial attire, an especially interesting section for research on Byzantine military equipment is an account of the preparations for the unsuccessful expeditions to Crete (911 and 949) and Lombardy (935) in chapters 44 and 45 of book II.[97]

The next work on court etiquette is a treatise by an anonymous author known customarily as Pseudo-Kodinos. The text was written between 1347 and 1368,[98] and although outside our period, contains a number of references to earlier customs and terminology; the work may therefore prove useful in our research on the Middle Byzantine era.

Lexicography[99]

The next category of written sources that provides information on Byzantine arms and armour is the lexicon. Among the earliest of these is the late sixth-century work by Hesychios, probably 'of Miletus', which in view of its early origins makes widespread use of earlier models, namely the works of Pamphilios and Diogenianos of Herakleia. The lexicon is unfortunately incomplete and survives only in an abridged fifteenth-century version, which limits its value for the research on arms in the post-Iconoclasm era.[100]

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[96] On the structure and sources of the treatise see M. McCormick, "De ceremoniis" in *ODB*, 1:595–7, esp. the table on 596–7 (includes bibliog.). The military content of the work, and also of *De Administrando Imperio*, are analysed by Treadgold 1992, 84–124.

[97] Treadgold (1992) challenges the veracity of information on troop numbers taking part in these campaigns on the basis of other Byzantine and Arab data. See also his proposed corrections (p. 146) to the transcription of numbers in the relevant chapters, on the basis of the Leipzig manuscript. The texts relating to both expeditions was edited with extensive commentaries by Haldon 2000. See also Featherstone 2003 for the manuscript structure.

[98] This dating is proposed by the treatise's modern editor (Ps. Kodinos, pp. 27–30); see also Grabar 1971, *passim*. Meanwhile, Parani (2003, 103 and n. 5) points out that the poetic descriptions of court ceremonies in the Komnenian era, such as those by Theodore Prodromos, are not entirely reliable.

[99] On Byzantine lexicography see *Lexikographie*; and Hunger 1978, 2:33–50.

[100] On the author (who is occasionally identified with Hesychios of Alexandria) and his *Lexicon* see Hunger 1978, 2:35–6; Janiszewski 1999, 46–47, 169–171.

A far more important work is an anonymous lexicon from the 970s entitled Σοῦδα, usually referred to by its Latinized form *Suda* (or *Souda*).[101] This extensive dictionary, which makes use of Classical texts and the Lexicon of Hesychios as well as later Byzantine works, came into being during the Macedonian Renaissance.[102] It provides us with copious information on the terminology of various items of arms and armour and their function.

The next lexicon of interest is attributed to Zonaras, and came into being in the thirteenth century. It was one of the most popular texts of the Late Byzantine period and survives in more than 100 copies. Inevitably, the text has been heavily mangled by copyists, and should be used with great care.[103]

Historiography

Historical works contain a great deal of information on weapons and the customs connected with them, as well as on the outfitting of armies. Byzantine historiography has left an unusually rich legacy, of which it is worth listing the works that describe wars and military customs in the greatest detail.

In the period before Iconoclasm of special note are the works of Procopius of Caesarea (*c.*490/507–after 562) who served as secretary to Belisarius from 527.[104] His works cover Justinian I's wars on the Persian frontier, in North Africa and on Sicily, and above all against the Goths in Italy. The most extensive of Procopius's works is *History of the Wars* which describes the army before the introduction of the

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[101] Although we can assume that '*Souda*' was the title adopted by the original anonymous author, its meaning remains unclear. As early as the 12th C., Eustathios of Thessaloniki interpreted it, probably incorrectly, as the author's name. See: Eust. Il, 1, p. 703^{3}; Eust. Od, 1, p. 38^{5}; A. Steiner, "Byzantinisches im Wortschatz der Suda" in *Lexikographie*, 149–81.

[102] On the lexicon's sources and dating see Hunger 1978, 2:40–41; Janiszewski 1999, 219–20.

[103] On the lexicon of Pseudo-Zonaras see Hunger 1978, 2:42, who considers that it may have originated between the 10th and 13th C., and certainly makes use of sources from that period. Hunger also stresses the strong dependance of Pseudo-Zonaras on earlier literature.

[104] His selection by Belisarius for the position of personal advisor is mentioned at the start of the work by Procopius 1:5^{9-10} [I 1/3] as well as, e.g. on pp. 59^{10-11} [I 12/24], 373^{7} [III 14/3]. On the works of Procopius see Hunger 1978, 1:291–9 with bibliog. on 299–300.

thematic system,[105] and therefore allows the Late Roman arms and armour as used by Justinian's army to be compared with Medieval armour from the post-Iconoclasm period.

A continuation of Procopius's *History* is the work of Agathias of Myrina in Asia Minor (*c.*532–580), which covers the years 552–558.[106] A valuable source for the late sixth century is the *History* of Theophylact Simocatta, who wrote under Heraclius.[107] Information on methods of warfare in the Heraclian period is provided in the final sections of the *Chronicon Paschale*, written down in the 630s,[108] recounting the Avar invasion of Thrace in 617, the siege of Constantinople by the Persians and Avars in 626, and continuing up to 628.

Information on warfare in seventh and eighth centuries is provided by the extensive chronicle by the son of the *strategos* of the Aegean Sea, Theophanes Homologetes ('the Confessor'), written in the years 810–14 during his exile on the island of Samothrace, as a continuation of the annals of George Synkellos. His *Chronography* starts from AD 285 (which Synkellos had reached in his annals) and continues up to 813, borrowing from many sources that are little known today, including a number of Iconoclastic works.[109] Although Theophanes

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105 The first two books are devoted to the Persian wars of 527–31 (with a discussion of the history of the conflict since the time of Anastasius); the next two describe Belisarius's victorious campaign against the African Vandals; while the remaining four books cover the wars in Italy against the Goths conducted with mixed fortune between 535 and 553, and also the new Persian campaign. On the *History of the wars* see Hunger 1978, 1:294; and also Hannestad (1960) for a discussion of the data (esp. numerical) in the books covering the Gothic wars.

106 See Hunger 1978, 1:303–8. AGATHIAS, pp. 11^{8}–14^{10} (*Praefatio*) himself cites Procopius as his model and declares himself as his continuator.

107 On Simocatta's work see Hunger 1978, 1:313–19. For the early period the chronicles of John Malalas and John of Nikiou (preserved only in a corrupt Coptic translation from the Arabic) are of lesser importance for Byzantine arms and armour research. Similarly, the church histories written down in early Byzantium provide little relevant information, see Krupczyński 1993; and cf. EUSEBIUS and EVAGRIUS, *passim*.

108 The customary title, lit. 'Easter Chronicle', originates from the text's first editor, Du Cange, who adopted it because of the tables it contained for calculating the date of Easter. The work is also known as the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. The form of annals adopted by the anonymous author differs from the continuous narrative of Procopius and Agathias, and is closer to that used in the *Chronicles of John Malalas*. On the *Easter Chronicle* see E. Schwartz, "Chronicon paschale" in *PR*, 3:2460–77; Hunger 1978, 1:328–9; Janiszewski 1999, 178–80.

109 On Theophanes' work, its sources and influence on later historiographers see Hunger 1978, 1:334–9; A. Kazhdan, "Theophanes the Confessor" in ODB, 3:2063; and also Mango (1978), who demonstrates that Theophanes was merely the editor of material collected by George Synkellos. The works of the Patriarch of Constantinople Nike-

describes the Persian wars of Heraclius in a fair amount of detail, the Arab conquests are treated quite sparsely, and it is only accounts of the period closer to that of the author that provide more detailed information on armament. Naturally, it is in these final sections that our research should concentrate.

Information on warfare from the final period of Iconoclasm and the early years of the Macedonian dynasty can be found in the historical writings of Constantine Porphyrogennetos. Of particular note among these is *Vita Basilii*, which was included in an anonymous collection of historical works covering the years 813–961 entitled *Scriptores post Theophanem*, more widely known as *Theophanes Continuatus*.[110] Another important work by Porphyrogennetos is a treatise known in modern times by the title *De Administrando Imperio*; this was dedicated to his son, Romanos II, and has the character of a contemporary description of the Empire and its neighbours.[111] The capture of Thessaloniki by the Arabs under the command of the pirate Leo of Tripoli on 31 July 904 was described by an eyewitness of the event, John Kaminiates while imprisoned in Tarsos. The authenticity of his work has, however, been questioned in view of chronological inaccuracies.[112] Of lesser value meanwhile are the historical works of Joseph Genesios and Symeon Magistros (Logothete).[113]

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phoros (Historia syntomon) and George the Monk (called Hamartolos, 'the sinner'), which were written down after 867, do not provide many new details, partly because they rely on the same sources as Theophanes (Hunger 1978, 1:347–51). The text of George's Concise Chronicle is published as Georgii Syncelli, *Ecloga chronographica*, ed. Alden A. Mosshammer, Leipzig 1984 (see also MPG, 110:41–1260 and the English translation by W. Adler and P. Tuffin, The *Chronography* of George Synkellos, Oxford–New York 2002) while the anonymous 'Continuation' of George's chronicle covering the years 810–948 (redaction A), which came into being in the time of Nikephoros II Phokas, is to be found in Theoph. Cont., pp. 763–924.

[110] The collection of chroniclers' accounts known as the 'Continuation of Theophanes' is preserved in a single 11th-C. MS (*Vat. gr. 167*). Its structure is discussed by Hunger 1978, 1:339–43; with a broad bibliog. and discussion of the military information in the work on p. 342.

[111] See Hunger 1978, 1:360–7 (with bibliog.).

[112] It has been proposed, among other things, that the description was written after the city fell to the Turks in 1430, when similar incidents from the city's past would have enjoyed special popularity (Hunger 1978, 1:357–9; Kazhdan 1978). In the present work *The Capture of Thessaloniki* is cited after the older edition in Theoph. Cont. pp. 487–600; a newer edition is CFHB 6: *De Expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. G. Böhlig, Berlin 1973.

[113] See Hunger 1978, 1:351–7 (and also Pseudo-Symeon's *Chronicle* in Theoph. Cont. 603–760).

It is only the extensive histories from the second half of the tenth century until the twelfth century that provide plentiful and detailed information on the army's weapons and armour. The significance of these works is all the greater since they were generally written down by individuals who were retelling their own experiences and the events of their own day. The first of these is the *History* of Leo the Deacon. This work, which is divided into ten books covering the years 959–76, together with an account of the unsuccessful campaign of Basil II against the Bulgars in 986, describes in detail the wars conducted by John I Tzimiskes (969–76) against the Arabs in Asia Minor, the sea battles and campaign to Crete in 961, as well as the invasion by Sviatoslav, prince of Kievan Rus' in 969/70.[114]

The next valuable resource for the student of arms and armour is the *History* of Michael Attaleiates (*c.*1020–85), senator and Constantinople judge, who recorded the events between Michael IV's accession to the throne in 1034, and 1079.[115] The greatest amount of information on arms is contained in his description of the expedition to Asia Minor against the Seljuk Turks. The same campaign is also described by a contemporary of Attaleiates (who undoubtedly made use of his work), John Skylitzes in his *Synopsis historiarum*, which was conceived as a continuation of Theophanes' chronicle to cover the years 813–1057.[116] The surviving miniatures in a twelfth-century manuscript of Skylitzes work in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, give it huge importance as an iconographic source.[117]

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[114] On Leo the Deacon's *History* see Hunger 1978, 1:367–71 (with bibliog.), esp. 369 on military aspects. Military matters in the work are also analysed by A.M. Talbot and D. Sullivan in the introduction to the English translation: *The history of Leo the Deacon. Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*, intro., transl., and annotations A.-M. Talbot and D. Sullivan (DOS 41), Washington 2005, 36–47.

[115] On Attaleiates as a historiographer, lawyer and founder of the monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon (the All Merciful) in Constantinople and an almshouse at the monastery in Rhaidestos, and above all on the controversies relating to his origins in Constantinople or Attaleia (modern Antalya) and his life dates see Tsolakis 1965; on his *History* see Hunger 1978, 1:382–9. For the foundation see also Lemerle 1977, 65–112; "Attaleiates: Rule of Michael Attaleiates for his Almshouse in Rhaidestos and for the Monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon in Constantinople", transl. A.M. Talbot, [in:] *BMFS*, 1:326–76.

[116] On the sources for and structure of the *Synopsis* see Hunger 1978, 1:390–3 (with bibliog.), esp. 391 (on the value of Skylitzes' work for military historians). See also Hunger 1978, 1:393–4 on the use of Skylitzes' work by Kedrenos. See also the English translation: *John Scylitzes: a Synopsis of Byzantine History 811–1057*, transl. J. Wortley, Cambridge 2010.

[117] On the miniatures in the Madrid MS see below, p. 38.

The third of the great historians of the second half of the eleventh century is Michael Psellos (1018–*c.*1081), a great erudite and minister of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–1055). His extensive *Chronographia*, which covers a single century (976–1078),[118] contains very little on military affairs, and what there is mainly concerns forces stationed in Constantinople. This may be a result of his affiliations with the 'peace' faction in the imperial palace, as well as his lack of familiarity with the soldier's trade.[119]

The next generation of Byzantine historians include the aristocrat Nikephoros Bryennios (*c.*1064 or 1081–1136/7)[120] and his wife, the eldest daughter of the emperor Alexios I, Anna Komnene (2 December 1083–*c.*1153/4). Bryennios's work *Historical Material* was written down after 1118 and covers the years 1070–79. Bryennios, a general who was eventually elevated by Alexios to the dignity of *caesar*, does not appear to have completed his work, but the surviving four books still contain a wealth of details and are of great significance for the study of Byzantine warfare.[121] Meanwhile, Anna Komnene's *Alexiad*, which was conceived as a panegyrical biography of her father, contains many detailed descriptions of weaponry in the course of her accounts of the various rebellions, campaigns in Asia Minor against the Turks, in the Balkans against the Normans, Bulgars and Pechenegs, as well as the First Crusade's march across imperial territory.[122] Anna had been living in enforced seclusion as a result of her unsuccessful attempt with her mother Eirene Doukinia to seize the throne from her brother John II (1118–1143) after their father's death. Her book is nevertheless a trustworthy source, despite being written down from 1148, a long time after the events described. Besides her own memory she made use of accounts of a number of important persons who visited her, as well as available texts and documents.[123]

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[118] On Psellos's work see Hunger 1978, 1:372–81 and bibliog. on 382.

[119] Even Psellos's description of the battle of Mantzikert on 19 Aug. 1071 is unusually sparse, probably because he did not personally take part in the campaign, see PSELLOS, 2:162[1–10] [VII 22].

[120] For a broader bibliography on Bryennios and his relationship to the rebel of 1077/8 of the same name, see A. Kazhdan, "Bryennios, Nikephoros the Younger", *ODB*, 1:331.

[121] On Bryennios' work see Hunger 1978, 1:394–400 (with earlier bibliog.).

[122] On the treatment of military matters in Anna Komnene's work see Buckler (1929) *passim*, esp. 97–108, 353–81, 387–417

[123] On the *Alexiad* in general see Hunger 1978, 1:400–9 (with bibliog.). Komnene's sources are covered in detail by Buckler (1929) 225–39.

Of considerably lesser value for students of Byzantine warfare is the chronicle of John Zonaras, which was written after 1118. It is a largely derivative work that follows earlier historians for the period up to 1081.[124]

The changes that took place in the Byzantine army in the time of John II and Manuel I Komnenoi (chiefly as a result of contacts with Western knightly armies) can be observed thanks to the *Epitome* of John Kinnamos (*c.*1143–after 1185), which covers the years 1118–76, and the *Chronike diegesis* of Niketas Choniates (1155/57–1217) which relied on Kinnamos's text. Both works have shortcomings. Kinnamos's *History* which ends with a description of Manuel's army marching out to Myriokephalon is preserved only in an abbreviated form and borrows linguistically from Procopius.[125] Choniates' work, meanwhile, came into being after the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 and is infused with sentimentality for the days of the early Komnenoi. Choniates has a negative view of Andronikos I and succeeding rulers, whom he saw—in part justly—as responsible for the fall of the Empire. The work shows considerable dependence on Classical models, which may have influenced the descriptions it contains of arms and armour.[126]

A similar problem arises in the output of Choniates' teacher, the great twelfth-century humanist Eustathios (after 1115–*c.*1195/8). Eustathios, who was Archbishop of Thessaloniki from 1178, personally witnessed another conquest of that city, this time by the Sicilian Normans in 1185, and his work was written shortly after the events it

[124] Books 1–12, covering the period from Adam to Constantine the Great, borrow from ancient authors and the Bible and are of no value in our research; books 13–18 are based mainly on the texts of Malalas, Procopius, Theophanes, the Patriarch Nikephoros, George the Monk, Kedronos, Symeon Logothete, Attaleiates, Skylitzes and Psellos. See Hunger 1978, 1:416 and the introduction by E. Trapp (listed in the bibliography to the present work under ZONARAS) to the extracts that he translated into German. See also Grigoriadis 1998.

[125] On the work of Kinnamos and his part in the battle of Myriokephalon (1176) see Hunger 1978, 1:415–16. Kinnamos' use of Procopius's *History of the Wars* as a model for his work may have resulted from unconscious imitation of descriptions of the same theatre of military operations (e.g. the description of Brindisium by KINNAMOS, p. 159 [IV] follows that of PROCOPIUS, 2:374[12–19] [VII 18/6]). More likely is that Kinnamos stylized his history to make the reign of Manuel resemble that of Justinian (see e.g., p. 174 [IV]). Kinnamos himself (p. 218[19] [V]) admits his familiarity with Procopius's work.

[126] See Hunger 1978, 1:429–41. On the military terminology employed by Choniates see Kazhdan 1995; and 1997.

describes (probably before the Easter of 1187). His account contains much valuable information, although it is necessary to carefully separate the *realia* described from the classicizing literary style.[127]

Of considerably lesser importance for research on Greek arms in the twelfth century are the chronicle penned by Michael Glykas and the chronicle of Constantine Manasses which, respectively, cover a period from the creation of the world until the death of Alexios I, and 1081.[128]

Many of the Byzantine chronicles and histories are all the more trustworthy in that the authors were often professionally connected with the army or at least participated in the events they describe. Procopius writes that he accompanied Belisarius on his campaigns, carried out military missions on Sicily, and was even sent by Belisarius to Naples at the head of a unit in order to fetch supplies and food.[129] Leo the Deacon accompanied Basil II on his abortive campaign against the Bulgars in 986 and was even captured during it. Attaleiates took part in an expedition against the Seljuk Turks and also served as *systrategos* (i.e. 'lieutenant') in the time of Nikephoros Botaneiates,[130] while Kinnamos accompanied Manuel I on campaign as his secretary and witnessed Manuel's siege of Zemun in 1165.[131] Nikephoros Bryennios (according to Anna Komnene) commanded the defence of the walls of Constantinople during a Crusader assault in the Easter of 1097.[132] Anna Komnene herself made use of accounts from a veteran of the army of Alexios.[133] In turn, John Skylitzes and John Zonaras held high civil rank in the imperial palace guard (*droungarios of the vigla*),[134] and

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127 See Hunger 1978, 1:426–9. On realism in the writings of Eustathios see also Hunger 1968, 66–7.

128 On both works see Hunger 1978, 1:419–26.

129 PROCOPIUS, 1:365$^{16-17}$ [III 12/2–3]; 373$^{6-13}$, 374^{7}–375^{11} [III 14/3–4 and 7–13]; 488$^{20-21}$ [IV 14/41]; and 2:164^{17}–165^{19}, 168$^{4-9}$ [VI 4/1–5 and 19–20]; see also Hannestad 1960, 138, 182.

130 On the participation of Leo the Deacon and Attaleiates in military expeditions see McGeer 1995, 360 and Hunger 1978, 1:384–5.

131 KINNAMOS, p. 241 [V]. Neumann (1888, 93–5, 98–9) believes that Kinnamos may also have fought as a soldier in the campaign of 1155/56.

132 KOMNENE, 2:223$^{9-14}$ [X 9/6].

133 KOMNENE, 3:175–6 [XIV 7/7]: γερόντων ἀνθρώπων στρατευσαμένων κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ, καθ' ὃν οὑμὸς πατὴρ τῶν σκήπτρων Ῥωμαίων ἐπείληπτο,

134 See Hunger 1978, 1:389, 416; A. Cutler & A. Kazhdan, "Skylitzes John" in *ODB*, 3:1914; A. Kazhdan, "Zonaras, John" in *ODB*, 3:2229 with further bibliography. In truth, the post of *droungarios of the vigla* had lost much of its military character by the mid-11th C., see A. Kazhdan, "Droungarios tes viglas" in *ODB*, 1:663.

although their historical accounts are not free from fantastical hyperbole in description of weapons,[135] with due care it is possible to make successful use of them. The military connections of many such authors greatly raise the value of the descriptions they left behind.

Literature

Much information on Byzantine arms and armour can be found in poetry and epic literature. The Persian wars of Heraclius, his expedition against the Avars and the defence of Constantinople in 626 by the patriarch Sergios are described in the epic poems of George of Pisidia. His panegyrics which were written in iambic trimeter: *Expeditio Persica*, *Bellum Avaricum*, *Heraclias* (praising the victory at Nineveh in 627), and other, shorter works served Theophanes as sources for the reign of Heraclius.[136] George of Pisidia, who served as *chartophylax* (archivist) at the church of Hagia Sophia, participated in certain of the events that he describes, namely the first Persian campaign (622–23) and the defence of Constantinople against the Avars in 626.[137]

A particularly valuable source of information on Byzantine weaponry is the heroic poem *Digenes Akritas*, which came into being between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. Of the surviving versions the most precise in terms of military terminology is the manuscript written in folk Demotic at the Escorial Library (*Ms Gr. 496*), dating from the end of the fifteenth century,[138] but containing much earlier text, from the thirteenth century or even earlier tenth-century prototype for the

[135] See e.g. Komnene's account ($3{:}115^{7–9}$ [XIII 8/3]) of Normans so solidly armoured that they could break through the walls of Babylon (Κελτὸς γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἔποχος μὲν ἀκατάσχετος καὶ κἂν τεῖχος διατετρήνειε Βαβυλώνιον, ἀποβεβηκὼς δὲ τοῦ ἵππου ἄθυρμα τοῖς ἐθέλουσι γίνεται.) See also the description of Bardas Skleros's duel with a brawny Rus' during the war of 970 left by Leo the Deacon, p. $110^{15–22}$ [VI 13]: μήπω δὲ γεγενημένης λαμπρᾶς τῆς διώξεως, τῶν ἐπιφανῶν τις Σκυθῶν, μεγέθει σώματος καὶ ὅπλων λαμπρότητι πεφυκὼς τῶν ἄλλων ἀριπρεπὴς, κατὰ τὸ μεταίχμιον περιῄει, ἐπ' ἀλκὴν τοὺς ἑταίρους ἐπιῤῥωννύς. τοῦτον Βάρδας ὁ Σκληρὸς ἐξιππασάμενος παίει κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς, καὶ μέχρι τοῦ ζωστῆρος τὸ ξίφος διήλασε, μήτε τοῦ κράνους αὐτῷ ἐπαρκέσαντος, μήτε τοῦ θώρακος τὴν τῆς χειρὸς ἐπισχόντος ἰσχὺν, ἢ τὴν τοῦ ξίφους τομήν.

[136] For the use of George of Pisidia's works in later Byzantine literature see George Pisid., intro., pp. 59–62, 65–7. On the new metaphorical image of the ruler created by George of Pisidia in his works see Whitby 1994.

[137] See George Pisid., pp. 12–15.

[138] Watermarks on fols. 22–213 are dateable to 1485 and 1493, see the introduction to Dig. Akr., p. xx.

remaining versions.[139] Despite the controversy surrounding its origins and dating, the epic gives a unique opportunity to view the image of a warrior saint through the lens of the heroic culture of the Empire's eastern frontiers.

A number of other literary works have similar value in reconstructing the weaponry of the Byzantines and the symbolic meaning they attributed to it. Most important are the scholia to the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* compiled by Eustathios of Thessaloniki; the *Capture of Crete* written in *c.*962/3 in honour of Nikephoros II by Theodosius the Deacon;[140] and also the poetry of John Geometres (Kyriotes) dating from the late tenth century,[141] and of Theodore Prodromos (*c.*1100–70) who was active under John II and Manuel I Komnenos.[142]

Non-Greek sources

Sources from foreign states that were in direct contact (and often conflict) with the Empire provide a useful supplement to information on weapons in Byzantine literature. Of these, Arab sources are of the greatest importance. From the time of the battle of Yarmuk (636) until the ninth century the Arabs were Byzantium's chief opponent, and left behind numerous descriptions of Greek soldiery. Of special interest is the work of Al-Mutanabbi (915–965), regarded in the Arab world as one of the greatest poets of all time. While at the court of the Hamdanid emir Sayf al-Dawla (lit. 'Sword of the State') during the years 948–57, he composed numerous panegyrics extolling the almost annual wars fought by this ruler in the years 950–56 against

[139] The primal character of the popular Escorial version in relation to the contaminated Grottaferrata redaction was proposed by S. Alexiou in the introduction to his edition of the work, see Βασίλειος Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτας (κατὲ τὸ χειρόγραφο τοῦ Ἐσκοριάλ) καὶ τὸ Ἆσμα τοῦ Ἀρμούρη (Φιλολογικὴ βιβλιοθήκη 5) Αθήνα 1985. As is evident from the findings in the conference report: *Digenes Akrites. New Approaches to Byzantine Heroic Poetry*, ed. R. Beaton and D. Ricks, London 1993, all the versions may have developed independently, and the Escorial version should not be regarded as the model for the others.

[140] See *De Creta capta*, ed. U. Criscuolo, Leipzig 1979 (= Leo the Deacon, 261–306).

[141] In his epigrams John Geometres describes the wars with the Rus' and the Bulgars; of even greater interest to us are his descriptions of the images of warrior saints. On his works see Scheidweiler (1952); for biographical information see Hunger 1978, 1:83.

[142] On Theodore's poem devoted to the sword of one of Manuel I Komnenos's officers, Alexios Kontostephanos, see Kolias 1988, 147.

the Byzantines and their commander, whom he calls 'the *Domestikos*' (probably Domestic of the *scholai*, Bardas Phokas).[143]

A description of the Great Palace, the capital's churches, and the imperial guards participating in court ceremonies was left by Harun ibn Yahya, who was held prisoner in Constantinople in around 913.[144] His account is a valuable supplement to the descriptions of court ceremony left by Porphyrogennetos.

A late (written towards the end of the twelfth century) but important source for us is the military treatise dedicated to Saladin: *Tabsira Arbab al-Lubab*, the author of which was an Armenian from Alexandria, Murda ibn Ali ibn Al-Tarsusi.[145] Unlike Byzantine authors his work has much on the methods of weapons' manufacture, and also contains information relating to the equipment of the Greek army.

Among the Armenian sources of note is the *History of Heraclius* written by Bishop Sebeos towards the end of the seventh century.[146] This work covers the period from Maurice to the reign of Constans II (641–668) and describes Byzantium's wars against the Persians and the Arabs. Sebeos presents the Byzantine army from an Armenian perspective and mentions items of Imperial military attire that appeared unusual to his eyes.

The early Russian literature and works by western authors, which are in Latin and Old French, provide only a little information, and this is of limited value for research on the equipment of the Byzantine army. The *Russian Primary Chronicle* was edited in around 1113 by Nestor, a monk from the Monastery of the Caves in Kiev, and provides much of interest on the customs of the Rus' (for example the oath sworn on their weapons by Oleg, Igor and Sviatoslav along with their pagan troops when concluding peace treaties with the Greeks

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[143] A French translation of Al-Mutanabbi's verse is published by VASILIEV, 2/2:304–48.

[144] See VASILIEV, 2/2:379 and a French translation of his account on 380–94. For an English translation see A. Vasiliev, "Hārūn ibn Yaḫya and his description of Constantinople", *SemKond*, 5 (1932): 149–63.

[145] On the author and his work see AL-TARSUSI, pp. 103–5. As a source for studies on Byzantine weaponry, Al-Tarsusi's text has so far been used only by Kolias 1988, 196; and recently by Nicolle 2002, 179, 203–5 (with translation of a few extracts).

[146] On Sebeos's work, its importance, and related bibliog., see R.W. Thomson, "Sebeos" in *ODB*, 3:1863 and also the introduction by Thomson and Howard-Johnston, SEBEOS, pp. xxxiii–lxxvii.

in 907, 945 and 971),[147] but it contains no useful descriptions of the Byzantine army. A little information on customs relating to the laying up of weapons in the churches of Constantinople is contained in the account of Antony of Novgorod's visit to the city.[148] Of similar character is the description by Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona (*c.*920–972), in an account, rather critical of the Greeks, of his second embassy to Byzantium (4 June–2 October 968); the mission ended in a fiasco for Liutprand, who was negotiating on behalf of Otto I (962–73) for the hand of Nikephoros Phokas's daughter for his son, the future emperor Otto II (973–83). Also useful in this respect are the accounts of two participants of the Fourth Crusade, Robert de Clari and Geoffrey de Villehardouin.

From our cursory survey of the written texts it is evident that they constitute our basic resource for reconstructing the appearance of soldiers in Byzantium, essential for any analysis of the images of warrior saints. To supplement this we may be able to use images of weaponry in art, but only where the depicted items do not rely on an older iconographic tradition but instead represent the actual equipment of soldiers used in the imperial army. In view of this, we will need to establish which categories of representations in Byzantine art can be regarded as faithful illustrations of real military equipment.

Iconographical Sources

In our search for historically reliable iconographical representations in Middle Byzantine art, which is known to be strongly infused with Classical elements,[149] the most useful approach would seem to be to

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[147] Nestor, p. 13 [The Greeks] *цъловавше сами кресть, а Ольга водиша и мужій его на роту; по Русскому закону клашася оружьемъ своимъ, и Перуномъ богомъ своимъ, и Волосомъ скотнимъ богомъ, и утвердиша мир.*; (p. 22) А *некрещеная Русь полагають щиты своя и мечъ своъ наги, обруч своъ и прочая оружья, да кленутся о всемъ, яже Суть написана на харатьи сей, хранити отъ Игора*...; (p. 31) *Аще ли отъ тъхъ самъхъ прещереченыхъ не съхранимъ, азъ же и со мною и подо мною: да имъемъ клятву от Бога, въ его же въруемъ, въ Перунаи въ Волоса скотя бога, и да будемъ колоти яко золото, и своимъ оружьемь да псъчени будем.*

[148] See above, n. 52.

[149] Many Byzantine artists who reached back to the styles and iconographic formulas established in antiquity are enumerated, e.g. by Weitzmann 1981, and Maguire 1994, the latter esp. on classicizing depictions in bas-reliefs, with a bibliog. of the problem in n. 1. On mythological subjects in the art of the Macedonian renaissance in book illustration (and on ivory caskets) see also Weitzmann 1984. Parani (2003,

look for miniatures that illustrate the events described in historical works. The character of this type of depiction is, by nature, closest to the realities of life.[150] Unfortunately, in the art of the Eastern Empire and its cultural milieu only three sets of miniature illuminations to historical texts have survived. Of these, only the illustrations in the *Synopsis historiarum* of John Skylitzes can be of any great assistance in establishing how soldiers of the Komnenian period were armed and attired. The other two works: the illuminated manuscripts of Slavic translations of George the Monk's *Historia syntomos* which dates from the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,[151] and of the *Chronicle* of Constantine Manasses from the fourteenth century[152] in view of their late date and the environments in which the illustrations were executed can serve only as comparative material when analysing the Skylitzes manuscript.

The manuscript codex of the *Synopsis historiarum* of John Skylitzes is currently in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (*Matritiensis Vitr.* 26–2). The work, which for the sake of brevity is commonly termed the *Madrid Skylitzes*, contains 574 miniatures that directly illustrate the text, which is written on the same pages. More than half of the miniatures depict armies in battle, pursuits after the enemy, retreats, sieges, and individual warriors in military attire appearing at the imperial court. The Codex's origins have been linked with Constantinople (miniatures on fols. 1–87 and 230–32) and southern Italy (fols. 96–186 and 195–229). It is currently believed that the miniatures were painted in the 1130s by three or four illuminators at least, and were modelled on a sumptuous example in the imperial library. The manuscript then appears to have reached the Sicilian court of the Normans as a gift

143–4) points out the limited information value of military figures depicted in Old and New Testament scenes (typically Massacre of the Innocents and Passion cycles). On the reception and use of models from antique sculpture see Mango (1963), who however (pp. 64–6) points out the mimetic function of art as especially valued in intellectual circles.

[150] Parani (2003, 102 and n. 4) is sceptical of the value of the *Madrid Skylitzes* miniatures, regarding them as conventional.

[151] The Russian MS was commissioned by Grand Prince Michael of Tver, and is held in the collections of the Theological Academy in Moscow, shelf mark no 100, see Popova 1984, no. 17.

[152] The codex, which is stored in the Vatican Library (*Cod. Slav. II*), is dated by Duichev (1962, 27) to the mid-14th C. (probably *c.*1344) and is connected with the patronage of Ivan Alexander of Bulgaria.

from John II Komnenos to Roger II (1130–54), where the decoration of the codex was completed.[153]

The arms and armour depicted in the Madrid manuscript do not, of course, illustrate objects from the time of the events described by Skylitzes, nor from the period in which the chronicle was written down; they may refer only to the period when the miniaturists were working on the codex (or its prototype). A similar mechanism can be observed, for example, with the Bulgarian manuscript of the Manasses manuscript, where the fourteenth-century miniaturist depicted warriors at ancient Troy fighting in plate armour, bascinets with mail aventails and kite shields that were contemporary to him. (He also portrays, in similar equipment, the armies of Heraclius and the Persians, the troops of Nikephoros I and Leo the Armenian during their struggles with the Bulgars under Krum, the Rus' and Greeks during the wars of 967–72, and finally Basil II's expedition against the Bulgarian tsar Samuel.)[154]

Ihor Ševčenko has also shown on the basis of five images of Sviatoslav in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, that the illuminators did not reproduce the actual physiognomical features and costume of the Russian prince, which are described by Leo the Deacon and even by Skylitzes himself;

[153] The hands of three artists working in Constantinople or Sicily have been discerned by Pomar (1964), a division accepted by Hoffmeyer (1966, 36–40); Cirac Estopañan (1965, 1:29–31, 37–40) prefers a (perhaps excessive) total of six artists, while Tsamakda (2002, 373–8) sees seven, two of whom she links with Byzantium and five with the western school. Grabar (1971) and after him Walter (1975, 138) and Grabar/Manoussacs (1979, 12–14, 174, nn. 3 and 9 on p. 8) believe the codex was created towards the end of the 13th C. and is an original work that probably came into being in Palermo, as is suggested by Western and Arabic elements in the miniatures. This dating is corrected, on the basis of the palaeographic findings of Wilson (1978) and the unpublished comparative studies of G. Cavallo, by Ševčenko (1984), who believes the miniatures were painted in the mid-12th C. and should be treated as faithful copies of a Byzantine original. The dating was further narrowed by Cavallo (2000, 150–1) who besides illuminators workshops in Palermo admits that the codex may have originated in the *scriptoria* of the Monastery of San Salvatore in Messina, or even in Calabria. Recently, Havice (2002, 35) has proposed that the miniatures of Master I were painted in Constantinople, and the additional illustrations were added to the codex by two other, less independent illuminators. Boeck (2009, 41) points out the un-orthodox treatment of themes connected with the end of the Iconoclast controversy and so argues in favour of a Sicilian origin for the whole manuscript.

[154] The Trojan War is illustrated on fol. 41r; the wars of Heraclius on fols. 122r-v; the wars with Khan Krum on fols. 145r, 147r, 148v, 150r, 172v, 174r; the wars with the Rus' on fol. 178r and v; Basil II at Pliska on fol. 183r and in battle against Samuel's army on 183v. See Duichev 1962, figs. 20, 42–43, 50, 53–54, 60–61, 63–66, and also the pseudo-facsimile of the codex: *Manasses, passim.*

instead he is portrayed as a Varangian mercenary, borrowing from a model known to the artists from their everyday life.[155] It can therefore be assumed that the *Madrid Skylitzes* miniatures, particularly the portion of them originating in Byzantium, constitute a reliable source on the appearance of the imperial army in the days of the Komnenoi, and that they can be used for comparative research on the images of the warrior saints.[156]

An important study resource on the role of weapons as insignia is provided by the illustrations in the *Notitia dignitatum*. These show items of weaponry attributed to the various Roman offices and shield emblems of the numerous Roman military formations stationed throughout the Roman Empire. Although the oldest surviving miniatures are in manuscripts in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (*Ms. Canon. Misc. 378*) and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (*Ms. lat. 9661*)[157] that were painted in the Renaissance or early-modern period and which are themselves copies of a now lost Carolingian manuscript, the close relationship of the images to the text allows one to assume that they follow rather faithfully the illustrations that must have accompanied one of the late Classical redactions of the treatise.

[155] See Ševčenko (1965, esp. 711–12), who believes that in certain cases the miniaturists may have made use of older models or even of pure invention. The stylistic similarities of the *Madrid Skylitzes* miniatures to those in Greek codices (*Par. gr. 510*; *Vat. gr. 746*; and *Topkapi* 8) as well as in 12th-C. Coptic works is noticed by Hoffmeyer 1966, 36–7.

[156] The weaponry depicted in the MS is analyzed by Hoffmeyer 1966, 41–152. In the present work I refer mainly to Tsamakda's 2002 edition, although there is a useful earlier study by Cirac Estopañan with a full set of monochrome reproductions in vol. 1 "Reproductiones y miniatures". For doubts on the reliability of the miniatures cf. Bjørnholt/James 2007, 52–3.

[157] For reproductions of the Paris miniatures see: *Notitia Dignitatum Imperii Romani*, ed. H. Omont, Paris 1911; C.N. Faleiro, *La Notitia Dignitatum: nueva edición crítica y comentario histórico*, (Nueva Roma 25), Madrid 2005.

CHAPTER TWO

ORIGINS OF THE IMAGE OF THE WARRIOR SAINT

The turn of the third and fourth centuries saw the intense persecution of Christians, particularly during the reigns of Diocletian (284–305), Maximian (285–310) and Maximinus Daia (306–13), the last of whom is regularly equated in the hagiographic accounts with Maximian.[1] Among the Christians martyred at this time there were, according to the hagiographic texts, a number of soldiers who had refused to worship the gods or the emperor (though they had not refused military service). Members of this group include Theodore Teron,[2] George,[3]

[1] Walter (2003a, 266, 292) also lists these emperors along with Julian the Apostate as prototypes for the character of Maximian; he further points out that a long period usually passed between a saint's martyrdom and the writing down of his *Passion* or *Miracles*, thereby reducing the reliability of such texts.

[2] According to Gregory of Nyssa's homily [BHG 1760], Theodore was a military recruit, who came from the East along with his *tagma* to where Gregory was living, Cavarnos, 10/1:65^{4-6} (= MPG, 46:741): δὲ ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς ὁπλιτικοὺς καταλόγους, οὕτω μετὰ τοῦ ἰδίου τάγματος πρὸς τὴν ἡμετέραν διέβη χώραν, τῆς χειμερινῆς ἀναπαύσεως τοῖς στρατιώταις ἐνθάδε παρὰ τῶν κρατούντων διαταχθείσης. There, after setting fire to the Temple of Cybele in Pontic Amaseia he was himself burnt to death on the order of the emperor Maximian. According to the later texts of Chrysippos, presbyter of Jerusalem (died 479) [BHG 1765c, d], John Mauropous (mid-11th C.) [BHG 1770–1772], Ouranos [BHG 1762m] and other authors, Theodore is already widely called 'Teron' (recruit—on the military class of τείρωνας and the opinions of ancient authors on it see Lydos, pp. 74^{25}–76^{20} [I 12/48]), see AS *Novembris*, 4:23, 40, 59; Halkin 1962a, 314; while certain versions of his passion state that he was martyred during the rule of Maximian and Maximinus (Delehaye 1909, 127^{1}, 136^{1}). The latest findings on the dating of the various hagiographic accounts are presented by Walter 1999, 165–70; and 2003, 45–8, esp. n. 7 (where he is in favour of the authenticity of Gregory of Nyssa's *Encomium*).

[3] According to the earliest preserved, 10th-C. version of the legend of George, he was the grandson of John, the governor of Cappadocia, and son of Kira Theognosta, daughter of the *doux* of Diosopolis (Lydda) (or according to another version, the son of Anastasius from Cappadocia and Theobasta from Lydda). Despite his young age he commanded a formation of five thousand troops, equivalent in numbers to a legion (see the English translation of the Coptic text by Wallis Budge, p. 57, and also 33–4); meanwhile in the Syrian text he appears as tribune of the army serving in Cappadocia, see the summary in Wallis Budge, p. 50, on the basis of the English translation by J.E. Matzke, "Contributions to the History of the Legend of Saint George", vols. 1–2 in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, vol. 17 (1903). In the Greek version of his *Passio* [BHG 670g] George is called a *komes* (by Dadianos ὁ κόμης) see Canart 1982, 98^{8} (= Krumbacher 1911, 160), while Symeon Metaphrastes in his

the five martyrs of Sebaste,[4] Sergios and Bakchos,[5] Hieron,[6] Merkourios,[7]

Menologion even describes him as κόμης τοῦ νουμέρῳ (MPG, 115:144 and *Synaxarium CPL*, 623–6). On the earliest passage of George's *Life* (including the dependence of the Ethiopian redaction on an earlier, lost Greek version) see Myslivec 1934, 304; Mazal 1990, 102–4; Frend 1982; while on early references in the *Life of St Theodore of Sykeon* see Walter 1995, 296–9, 317; and 2003, 115–17. The saint's executioner, the pagan king Dadianos (who appears in various references) is not a historical figure and is sometimes identified with Maximinus Daia or alternatively with Diocletian who appears in later versions of the *Passio*. On the martyrdom of George see also the reference by KEDRENOS (1:464[14–23]); and for more on the early references, e.g. by Ammianus Marcellinus, by Pope Gelasius (from 494), and in Syrian church inscriptions, see WALLIS BUDGE, pp. 8–17; and Marković 1995, 583. Both Rystenko (1909, 459) and Walter (2003, 111–12, 122, n. 85) draw attention to the popularity of George in Georgia, noticing his connection with the local moon-war god, although Walter rules out an identification with St Nino. More generally on St George's hagiography and cult see also Ivanov 2003, 59–67.

4 According to legend Eustratios Kyriskes served as *skinarios* in the army of the *comes* of Lysia in the time of Diocletian, and after confessing his faith was tortured and killed along with four companions, the priest Auxentios and his converts Eugenius, Mardarios and Orestes (see the short description by Metaphrastes, MPG, 116:468–505 [BHG, 646–646c], and also on the five martyrs: Mouriki 1985, 1:144–7; Weitzmann 1979 and Halkin 1970). Orestes is depicted in art as a military saint and is venerated on 13 December like the others of the group, but he should not be identified with the Cappadocian martyr from Tyana of that name (a physician by trade, venerated in Constantinople on 10 November); cf. AS *Novembris*, 4:391–9, and also the legend included in it on the martyrs of Sebaste on p. 392.

5 According to the *Passio* [BHG 1624] written shortly after the erection of their first *martyrion* by Alexander of Hierapolis (before 431), Sergios and Bakchos held the posts of *primicerius* and *secundarius* in the *schola gentilium*, and after refusing to offer sacrifices to Zeus were beheaded on the order of 'Maximian', who is identified with Maximinus Daia rather than with Galerius or Julian the Apostate, see Gheyen 1895 (although Woods [1997, 344] favours Julian); Key Fowden 1999, 8–17; Walter 2003a, 147–55 (together with a description of the spread of the cult and early iconography), esp. 147–8, where he draws attention to the vision described in the *Passio antiquior* where Bakchos (who had been beheaded earlier) appears clad in military attire to Sergios. See also the version of the *Passio* according to Metaphrastes (MPG, 115:1005–32). A third version of the *Passio* is preserved in the 10/11th-C. *Cod. Sinait. 497* and also in *Cod. Athon Laurae Δ 50*, which dates from AD 1039 [BHG 1624b].

6 The earliest (possibly 6th-C.) text of the *Passio* of Hieron (BHG 749)—according to which he was a vineyard labourer who was forced to serve in Diocletian's army, was converted in jail and suffered death along with his companions in Melitena in Cappadocia—is published in *Passio S. Hieronis et sociis martyribus Melitinae in Armenia*, AS *Novembris*, 3:329–39; see also *Synaxarium CPL*, 199–201, 203–4, which states they were venerated in Constantinople on 7 November, and also a later version in Metaphrastes (MPG, 116:109–20). Walter (2003a, 177–8) summarizes the legend, which he considers as a completely false compilation of various hagiographic threads. Hieron's cult always had a local character connected with Cappadocia (Jolivet-Lévy 1992, 205–08, 218). Parani (2003, 154) notes the existence of a hagiographic tradition that Hieron was a 'vine-dresser' rather than a soldier.

7 According to the Greek versions of his *Passio* ([BHG 1274] Delehaye 1909, 234–42; and [BHG 1275] BINON, pp. 27–39, and also Metaphrastes [BHG 1276] Dele-

Menas,[8] Eustathios,[9] Artemios,[10] and many others.[11] Although in the

haye 243–58), Merkourios was a soldier serving in the guard of the *Noumera* (BINON p. 29[3–4]) or in the *arithmos Martisis* (Delehaye, 235[14–20]) during the time of the emperor Decius (249–51) and Valerian (probably the consul of that name). After refusing to make a sacrifice to Artemis, Merkourios was tortured and killed in Palestinian Caesarea. Traces of his military function can be found already in the *Legend of the slaying of Julian the Apostate*, see the Latin translation of the Syrian legend dated to 502–32 published by Peeters (1921, 79–81) and also the earliest Greek version in MALALAS, 257[50]–258[69] [XIII 25–26]. The blood-stained spear with which Merkourios appeared to Basil after killing Julian is also mentioned by John of Damascus (*c.*650–753) in his *First homily on images* (KOTTER, 2:161[1–10] [I 60]). Walter recently (2003a, 107–8) proposed linking the legend not with Merkourios but with Kyrion, one of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste (Syrian 'Mar' meaning 'Lord' [a sign of respect given to bishops and saints] + Gk. Kyrios, from which Merkourios). See also the Coptic version of his *Passio* preserved in a 9th-C. MS (although its prototype may date back to the 6th C.) and the *enkomion* of Acacius of Caesarea, which also contains an account of the death of Julian the Apostate (ORLANDI, 20–40 and 50–70[11]). The early sources are discussed by Curta (1995, 111–13) and Walter (2003a, 101–2). On the development of the cult of Merkourios in Benevento (from the 7th C.) and Egypt, and also on the doubts as to his historicity see Delehaye (1909, 91–102, esp. n. 1), who discusses the various legends.

[8] Romanos the Melodist (who died after 555) in his hymn (probably based on an earlier source) and successive versions of the *Passio*, including the earliest attributed to Athanasios of Alexandria ([BHG 1250–1271d]; MELODOS, vol. 2, song 75; Krumbacher 1909, 2, 5; ACTA MEN; and *Synaxarium CPL*, 211, 470) state that Menas was an Egyptian who served in Phrygia during the reign of Diocletian (in the cohort of Rutiliaci), and after adopting the Christian faith, was beheaded in 295 in Kotyaion in Phrygia, or alternatively in Alexandria during the rule of Maximinus. Walter (2003a, 181–2, 188–9) distinguishes as many as four saints of this name, but recognizes the 'Egyptian' Menas as the most popular of those depicted in art. In a later, perhaps 11th-C., redaction [BHG 1251] Menas is said to be of noble birth (Kazhdan 1985). On the two chief saints of this name and the connection of the Egyptian Menas to ancient mythology, as well as his (Egyptian) cult, and also the transfer of relics to Constantinople by Basil I see Delehaye 1910 (with extensive bibliog.); and Marković 1995, 611–14. See also Ward Perkins 1949; Kiss 1967; and Kiss 1970. The post-Iconoclast non-military iconography of the Egyptian Menas and Menas *Kallikelados* (the 'well-speaking') has recently been analysed by Woodfin (2006, 132–42) who claims there were only two Menases.

[9] According to the legend of Eustathios preserved in late redactions [BHG 641] (AS *Septembris*, 6:123–35), of Metaphrastes [BHG 642] (ACTA EUST) and in the 9th/10th C. *laudatio* of Niketas the Paphlagonian [BHG 643] (MPG, 105:376–417) he was originally an army commander (ὁ ἄρχων τῶν στρατιωτικῶν) under Trajan (98–117) with the name Placidas, who after seeing a vision of Christ while out hunting, converted along with his whole family, changing his name to Eustathios (in reality merely a Greek translation of his Latin name) and thereby fell into the emperor's disfavour. Rehabilitated, he took part in an expedition, during which he was called on to make a sacrifice to the gods, but refused, and after numerous tortures, was burned on the emperor's order in a bronze bull (See also *Synaxarium CPL*, 61). On the popularization of the cult of St Eustathios in Georgia in connection with Persian persecutions and the appearance in the 6th C. of a Persian martyr from Mtskheta of the same name, see Velmans 1985, 41–2. On links with Sasanian iconography and connections of the

case of certain of this group of saints one can observe a very rapid growth in their popularity and cult,[12] initially their military status was hardly drawn attention to in the hagiography, and even less so in art.[13]

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image of the saint with Zoroastrianism see Saltykov 1985, 9–12; while on the use of Indian tales from the 3rd C. BC (authored by Yataki) and from the 5th C. AD on the incarnation of Bhudda as a stag and the king who hunted him see Delehaye 1966, 234–7. The iconography of Eustathios' vision in Cappadocian art and in Byzantine MSS is discussed by Coumoussi 1985. Walter (2003a, 163–5, also n. 6 with further bibliog.) regards the legend as untrue, and sees the popularity of Eustathios's vision depicted in early (7th-C.) Cappadocian and Georgian art as evidence that the roots of his cult should be sought beyond the Empire's eastern frontiers.

[10] According to his *Passio* composed in the period 660–68, Artemios was the administrator of Egypt and suffered a martyr's death on the order of Julian the Apostate ([BHG 169y–174e]; AS *Novembris*, 8:856–84; Kotter, 5:183–245; and Walter 2003a, 191–4).

[11] Several groups of military saints have been identified: Callistratus, Probus, Tarachus and Andronicus, Victor, Juventinian and Maximian, and Maurice along with the Theban legion (Delehaye 1909, 2–3); also Varus, Christopher, Theagones, Ignatios of Antioch and Marcellus (Woods 1996, 177–85; with core bibliog.); additionally, Alexander of Rome, Niketas, Lupus and Trophimos (Marković 1995, 607–11, 617–19); these and many other military saints who enjoyed lesser popularity are covered in Walter's monograph (2003a, 213–60).

[12] E.g. in the case of the cult of St George, the spread of which from the 4th to 6th centuries is described by Howell 1969, 124–8; Walter 1995, 302–10, 314–19; and 2003a, 112–14. Many early Palestinian inscriptions with the names Theodore, George and also Bakchos and Sergios are published by Meimaris (1986, 117–19, 124–28 and 131–32). Sergios was martyred in the town of Resafa, which the *Passio* of 514 and Evagrius, p. 228 [IV 28] call 'Sergiopolis', after it had been renamed in his honour by Anastasius I (Walter 1999, 179, n. 74). Resafa, and Lydda where George died, were termed Sergiopolis and Georgioupolis by George of Cyprus in his 7th-C. *Descriptio orbis Romani* (Key Fowden 1999, 92–3, n. 150; Delehaye 1909, 47). These names did not ultimately catch on, but they are evidence of the status of the *martyria* of these saints in the 6th and 7th centuries. St Menas's cult centre was at Abu Mina ('St Menas') in Egypt, where the Emperor Zeno (474–91) erected a new basilica over his *martyrion* in ordered to revive the pilgrim traffic (Kaufmann 1910; Hahn 1997, 1088, fig. 4); while St Menas's church in the third region of Constantinople is listed in the Not. Dign. (p. 233) among the earliest twelve churches in the capital, see also Janin (1934, 340–2; and 1969, 333–5, 443–4) on the churches dedicated to Menas in Constantinople in the 5th or 6th C. (on the legend of the translation of the relics to the capital see Delehaye 1910). The Coptic collection of *Miracles* of St Merkourios (Orlandi, 56^{25}–57^{4} [13]) states that the emperor Constantine ordered the erection of *martyria* of the saint in all regions and eparchies and to place in them icons with his likeness, to pray to him, and also to place images of Merkourios in many places in Rome as the patron saint of the town. See also Walter 2003a, 266–9.

[13] No images of the warrior saints in military attire are known from the period directly after the end of the persecutions and Constantine I's Edict of Toleration in 313. A saint, probably Theodore, is depicted spearing a dragon with a cross with a long haft on a Coptic textile fragment from Akhmim (currently in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, USA), which was initially dated to the 4th C. by Aufhauser (1911, 171, fig. 2c;

The earliest hagiographic texts that speak of martyrs as soldiers date from the sixth and seventh centuries, as do the first images of them in military attire.[14] Some of these texts are today regarded as unreliable; others are viewed as fictional creations of folk literature describing persons who never existed historically.[15] To the group of military saints were then added martyrs who initially had no martial links, such as Prokopios of Caesarea,[16] Demetrios of Thessaloniki, and

who also incorrectly identified the saint as George), but is currently thought to be from the 5th/6th C. (Górecki, 233, fig. 27), or even the 6th C. (Maguire 1996, 124–6, figs. 109, 110). In the earliest depictions, the military martyrs always appear in 'civilian' garb, see e.g.: St Theodore in the apse of the church of Sts Kosmas and Damianos in Rome (526–30), on a 6th-C. icon in the Bode Museum, Berlin, on a 7th-C. mosaic in the church of St Demetrios in Thessaloniki, and together with George(?) on a 6th-C. icon in St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai (Charalampides 1991, 120–4, figs. 1–3, 6–8 = Mavrodinova 1969, figs. 1–2). Even Sergios and Bakchos are both customarily depicted in a chlamys with a *tablion* but unarmed (e.g. N.P. Ševčenko, "Icon of SS Sergios and Bacchos" and "Bowl with bust of St Sergios or St Bacchos" in *Age of Spirituality*, pp. 548–9; Key Fowden 1999, figs. 1–4). In the hagiographic literature it is also rare to find these saints described as 'military'. St George appears as a military saint with a sword in hand only in the early-7th-C. *Life of St Theodore of* SYKEON, p. 8; see also Walter 1995, 299; and 2003, 116. Meanwhile, St Theodore is already called a 'soldier of Christ' (τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιώτης) and a 'recruit' (νεόλεκτος) by Gregory of Nyssa in the homily in his honour (CAVARNOS, 10/1:67[9], 64[18] (= MPG, 46:741, 744). Gregory also mentions a cycle adorning the saint's sanctuary illustrating his heroic deeds and martyrdom, see CAVARNOS, 10/1:63[5-8] (= MPG, 46:737, see also the English translation in MANGO, 36–7). On the other hand, the legend which originated only in 754, or as late as 934 ([BHG 1764] Delehaye 1909, 194[9-27] [V 9]; and its expanded version by Ouranos (HALKIN 1962a, 21–2 [13]), in which the dead Theodore appears to the painter so that he can paint his icon which had been ordered by St Eusebia (probably identical with the founder of the saint's martyrium in Euchaita who had been rescued from a dragon), and although he is described as a στρατιώτης returning from campaign, this does not indicate for certain that he was depicted in military attire; similarly, the identification of Eusebia's icon with the one described by John Mauropous (see below, n. 206) must remain hypothetical; cf. Marković 1995, 574–5; Walter 1999, 167 (with arguments for an earlier dating of the text); Walter 2003a, 47 (considering the costume as military); and see also Maguire 1996, 22. A Coptic collection of miracles of Merkourios dating probably from the 6th C., also mentions a commission placed with an artist for an icon of this saint, this time however holding a lance in his right hand, see ORLANDI, p. 94[15-21] [39].

[14] See below, p. 74ff. Adomnan of Hy, who relates an account of the visit to the Holy Land by Arculf, a bishop from Gaul, in *c*.683/4 mentions that the latter commended himself and his mount into the protection of St George at his sanctuary in Lydda (ARCULF, 290–1 [III 3–4]).

[15] See the compilation made by Walter 2003a, 261–5.

[16] EUSEBIUS (1:329 [I 1–2]), in his earliest version of *On Palestinian martyrs*, is the earliest author to refer to Prokopios, as the first Christian to suffer death during the persecutions of Diocletian and Flavian in 303. He makes no mention, however, of the saint's profession as a soldier. More detailed Latin and Syrian redactions and martyrdom accounts modelled on them, among which the earliest to have survived is

Nestor.[17] This came about both as a result of changes in the attitude of

in an 11th-C. MS, state that he was a lector and exorcist at the church in Scythopolis ([BHG 1576, 1582d]; Delehaye 1909, 77–9, 214–27, esp. 217^{6-13} [VII]). Only in the second, 8th-C. version of the legend [BHG 1577–78] Prokopios (originally a pagan named Neanias), thanks to the intercession of his mother Theodosia, was appointed by Diocletian as governor (*doux*) of Antioch, and with a cross which was made in accordance with a vision (modelled on the visions of St Paul and Constantine) he defeated six thousand warriors of Agarenas (a name derived from the biblical Hagar, which suggests they were Arabs) and when subsequently imprisoned he converts numerous soldiers. Turned in by his mother he is killed on Diocletian's order, and on being welcomed into heaven by Christ is given his new name, Prokopios (see e.g. Delehaye 1909, 228–33 [VIII]; AS *Iulii*, 2:556–76 [BHG 1579], HALKIN 1962, esp. 179–81 [BHG 1580], with discussion of the legend and bibliog. on pp. 82–5; Walter 2003a, 94–6; Gabelić 2005, 528–31). According to Delehaye (1909, 85–7), the legend of Neanias the soldier had been linked with Prokopios even before the Second Council of Ephesus. In turn, Ovcharov (2003, 16) proposes separating the exorcist condemned to death in Cappadocian Caesarea in Diocletian's persecutions from the warrior introduced to the *Synaxaria* in the 8th C., who was popularized only by Symeon Metaphrastes.

[17] The cult of Demetrios—according to the Syrian *martyrologium* of 411—a deacon and martyr from Sirmium (now Sremska Mitrovica) was transferred along with the seat of the prefect of Illyricum to Thessaloniki in 442–43, though no translation of his relics took place (Vickers 1974, 337–48). It was only there at the turn of the 6th and 7th centuries, under the influence of the Slavo-Avar invasions, that the saint became a soldier defending the town from invaders as is stated in the collection of the saint's miracles penned by bishop John (1st quarter of 7th C.) and in a anonymous collection written a few dozen years later, see Lemerle 1981, *passim* (cf. Walter's outdated hypothesis [1973, 174–6] that Demetrios's transformation into a warrior took place in Constantinople and not before the time of Basil I); see also the texts of the *Miracles*: MIR DEM, pp. 135^{10-12}, 157^{15-20}, 177^{30}–178^{2}, 195^{3-7}, 216^{6-25}, 219^{25}–220^{4} [I: 13/120, 14/161, II: 1/188, 3/220, 4/260–61, 275–76; and the English résumé with short analysis by Cormack (1985a, 60–74). Walter 2003a, 70–2, this time correctly draws attention to the military character of the saint's intervention in the 13th and 14th miracles in Bishop John's collection. Of special interest is the 16th miracle in the second collection (pp. 237–41 [BHG 522]) which describes how Cyprian, the Bishop of Thenai in Africa, who was freed from imprisonment among the Slavs by a soldier called Demetrios, recognized his saviour on an icon in a church. The same topos of recognizing a saintly helper as Demetrios thanks to his image also appears in the *Homily on the Annunciation* attributed to Leo the Mathematician, which describes Demetrios and the Virgin curing a deaf-mute Jewish girl who recognizes him from an icon (A. Kazhdan, "Leo the Mathematican" in *ODB*, 2:1217). In the *Passio Altera* dating from the 9th C., Demetrios appears as *exceptor* (secretary) and *anthypathos* (proconsul) of Hellas and a commander (see [BHG 497]; Delehaye 1909, 259–63 [= *AS*, Oct., vol. IV, p. 90; MPG, 116:1173]; and Walter 2003a, 69). Early mosaics in the church of the martyr in Thessaloniki depict him in a Roman consul's attire, namely *chlamys* with *tablion* (see Cormack 1985, figs. 15, 29, 30, 32, 34, 36, 40, 42, and the extensive 'Demetriological' bibliography to the year 1985 on pp. 121–2). Also 'militarized' along with Demetrios was his colleague Nestor, who appears in the *Passion* of Demetrios as the vanquisher of one of the emperor Maximian's gladiators, Lyaios (Walter 1973, 158; including discussion of hagiographic sources relating to Demetrios as a deacon).

Christians to war and military service, and because of the evolution of features of the cult of the individual saints.

God's Peace and Holy War in Christian Doctrine

The order to preserve peace—as the gift of God (who is himself often called Peace)[18] and an element of His Plan of Salvation—which appears in the Old Testament,[19] and even more clearly in the New Testament[20] together with the sixth commandment (Οὐ φονεύσεις; Exodus 20:17) was a strong basis for the pacifist tendency prevalent in the Church in the early centuries of Christianity.[21] This was expressed not only in a passive refusal to take part in military service,[22] but also in the active condemnation of a trade based on killing. According to the *Apostolic Tradition* (of *c.*215) and the antipope Hippolytus of Rome

[18] In the Old Testament, the epithet 'The Lord is Peace' appears in Judg. 6:24 (κύριος Εἰρήνη—cod. Alexandrinus, Εἰρήνη κυρίου—cod. Vaticanus); Isa. 9:5 (εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας); Bar. 5:4 (κληθήσεται γάρ σου τὸ ὄνομα παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα Εἰρήνη δικαιοσύνης καὶ δόξα θεοσεβείας), while in the Letters of the Apostles, God is often called the 'God of Peace' (ὁ θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης): Rom. 15:33; Rom. 16:20; 2 Cor. 13:11; Eph. 2:14; Phil. 4:9; 1 Thess. 5:23; 2 Thess. 3:16; Heb. 7:2; Heb. 13:20.

[19] See Lev. 26:6; Num. 6:26; 25:12; Deut. 12:10; 20:10; Josh. 1:13; 1:15; 21:44; 22:4; 23:1; Judg. 6:23; 2 Sam. 7:11; 1 Kings 2:33; 5:18; 8:56; 2 Chron. 14:5–6; 20:30; 32:22; Tob. 7:12; 12:17; 7:13; 13:15; 2 Macc. 1:4; Pss. 29:11; 37:11; 55:19; 85:9; 119:165; 122:6; 147:14; Prov. 1:33; Sir 1:18; 38:8; 45:24; 47:13; 47:16; Isa. 9:6; 14:3; 26:12; 27:5; 32:17; 52:7; 54:10; 57:19; 60:17; 66:12; Jer. 29:11; 33:6; Bar. 3:13; Ezek. 34:25; 37:26; Mic. 2:8; Hag. 2:9; Zech 8:19; Mal. 2:5. While promising peace for Israel and for those who are just, God states that evil-doers shall have no peace: Isa. 48:18; 48:22; 57:21. Walter (2003a, 9–12) notes however that the Old Testament prohibition against killing did not extend to enemies, and God showed his favour to the chosen people by assisting in their victory over the Philistines.

[20] Matt. 10:13; Mark 9:50; Luke 1:79; 2:14; 10:6; 19:38; 19:42; John 14:27 "Peace I leave with you, my peace I give unto you"; John 16:33; Acts 10:36; Rom. 2:10; 5:1; 8:6; 14:17; 14:19; 15:13; 1 Cor. 7:15; 14:33; Gal. 5:22; Eph. 2:15; 2:17; 4:3; 1 Thess. 5:13; 2 Tim. 2:22; James 3:18; 1 Pet. 3:11. Far more rarely Christ promises to bring havoc: Matt. 10:34 and Luke 12:5. Especially common in accordance with Christ's instructions (Luke 10:5) are blessings in the name of the Lord's Peace: Mark 5:34; Luke 7:50; 8:48; 24:36; John 20:19; 20:21; 20:26; Acts 15:33; 16:37; as well as in the letters of the Apostles—Rom. 1:7; 1 Cor. 1:3; 2 Cor. 1:2; Gal. 1:3; 6:16; Eph. 1:2; 6:23; Phil. 1:2; 4:7; Col. 1:2; 1 Thess. 1:1; 2 Thess. 1:2; 1 Tim. 1:2; 2 Tim. 1:2; Titus 1:4; Philem. 3; Heb. 12:14; James 1:16; 2:16; 1 Pet. 1:2; 5:14; 2 Pet. 1:2; 2 John 3; 3 John 15; Jude 2; Apoc. 1:4. The significance of biblical peace for the Byzantine liturgy is discussed by Taft 1995, 10–26.

[21] The pacifist leanings of early Christians are discussed in detail by Cadoux 1919 and Hornus 1980; an extensive bibliog. of the problem is given by Brock 1988.

[22] Haldon believes (1999, 14) that the aversion of the early Christians to military service was partly the result of Rome being regarded as the home of the Anti-Christ.

(died 235) gladiators and their teachers could not be admitted to the Catechumenate, nor could executioners who carried out the death penalty; similarly, Christian soldiers were forbidden from killing even if ordered to do so by a superior. Those who broke this prohibition were to be thrown out of the community, since they had scorned God.[23]

In view of such attitudes among the Christians, the appearance of a category of warrior saints in the first centuries of the Church's existence would not have been possible. Even so, not all representatives of early Christian thought condemned war so categorically, and evidence that Christians were serving in the ranks of the Roman army is provided by the prayer house of *c.*232/3 uncovered in the garrison town of Dura-Europos.[24] Already Origen (*c.*185–254) in the conclusion to his apology *Contra Celsus*, replies to his adversary's summons to support the ruling authority with arms if the need arises with the argument that a prayer for the ruler and his success in war would help him more than the participation of Christians in the fight. According to Origen the existence of troops as the defenders of Christians was a necessary evil until the time that all pagans were converted, when all wars would cease and soldiers become unnecessary.[25]

A radical change in the Christian attitude to war was only brought about by the stipulations of the third canon of the Synod of Arles (314). The Church was in a new position after Constantine proclaimed the Edict of Toleration, and recognized military service by Christians as permissible, even ordering those who refused to perform it for religious reasons to be treated as deserters.[26] Among the fourth-century church hierarchs Athanasios, archbishop of Alexandria (from 328 to

[23] Taft 1995, 27.

[24] See K. Wessel, "Die christl. Hauskirche" in "Dura Europos", *RbK*, 1:1220–30. On the military structures and functioning of Dura as a military camp before 256 see Roztovtzeff 1935, 198–9, n. 47.

[25] ORIGEN, 4:344–50 [VIII 73–74]; see also McCormick 1986, 237–40; Haldon 1999, 14–15. Walter (2003a, 29–30, 291–2) believes that the Christians had to accept the need for military service which assured protection against the barbarians for the public good, while the pacifist concepts of Origen and Tertulian (*De corona*) under influence of adaptation of Old Testament doctrines of a chosen people and just war in Byzantium quickly yielded to attitudes accepting armed conflict as an element of the divine plan for salvation.

[26] On the significance of the Synod's resolutions see e.g. Vieillefond 1935, 322, n. 3; Marković 1995, 583; Haldon 1999, 15; Schreiner 1997, 87; and Walter (2003a, 204–05, 265), who comments that the reason for the Christians' reluctance to take up military service was not only the need to kill enemies in battle, but having to submit to the orders of a pagan emperor.

373), and Ambrose, bishop of Milan (from 373/4 to 397), also regarded taking up arms against enemies of the state as praiseworthy, and their view was supported by St Augustine, although he warned that peace should be preserved for as long as possible.[27] In the reign of Theodosius I, Christianity was recognized as the official state religion, and a ban was introduced on pagans holding official posts that also led to a rapid Christianization of the army.[28]

The change in the Church's attitude to military service did not yet signify the full acceptance by its hierarchs of waging war and killing, and moderate pacifism continues to be observable in the Cappadocian Fathers' teachings. In his thirteenth canon St Basil the Great (*c.*329–379) advises soldiers who had killed in battle not to take Holy Communion for three years, "until their hands had been cleansed".[29] Although his opinion did not become a binding Church principle, there were other Church writers towards the end of the fourth century who expressed similar views.[30] The importance of peace as God's greatest gift remained immutable. In his Liturgies John Chrysostom (340/50–407) turned to God for the gift of peace for the army and the emperor, while in his *Homily on Peace* he starts from the words to the lovers of peace: "sweetness and light of God, who is peace for the faithful".[31] The greeting of

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27 Kolia-Dermitzaki 1991, 140–2; Haldon 1999, 15.

28 On the Christianization of the state administration (including the military) by Theodosius, see Boojamra 1977. On the term *militia Christi* to describe the imperial armies—as distinct from civilians who were termed 'pagani'—see Mihăescu 1969, 163.

29 See Oikonomides 1995, 65; Haldon 1999, 16. On the other hand Basil, who was brought up in the spirit of Hellenism, in his first homily, *In sanctos quadraginta martyres*, calls for the commemoration of heroic military deeds both by writers and painters (MPG, 31:508–9 [2]): Ἐπεὶ καὶ πολέμων ἀνδραγαθήματα καὶ λογογράφοι πολλάκις, καὶ ζωγράφοι διασημαίνουσιν, οἱ μὲν τῷ λόγῳ διακοσμοῦντες οἱ δὲ τοῖς πίναξιν ἐγχαράττοντες, καὶ πολλοὺς ἐπήγειραν πρὸς ἀνδρίαν ἑκάτεροι. Ἃ γὰρ ὁ λόγος τῆς ἱστορίας διὰ τῆς ἀκοῆς παρίστησι, ταῦτα γραφικὴ σιωπῶσα διὰ μιμήσεως δείκνυσιν. Kolia-Dermitzaki (1991, 18, 20) believes that the 13th canon, often cited by supporters of the pacifist vision of the empire, is overrated.

30 Although Basil's canon did not became a binding norm, it was made use of by the patriarch Polyeuktos and the Synod of Constantinople in the 10th C. as an argument for rejecting Nikephoros Phokas's demand for soldiers killed in battle against non-believers to be treated as martyrs and to be celebrated in special hymns and feastdays, see Viscuso 1995, 37–8; Oikonomides 1995, 65; Kolia-Dermitzaki 1991, 129, 137–140 (referring to the opinions of Theodore Balsamon and John Zonaras). Of similar opinion to Basil were Paulinus of Nola and Pope Siricius (384–99) who condemned military service and forbade soldiers from later taking part in the liturgy (Haldon 1999, 15–16, 28).

31 See Taft 1995, 30–1; includes a discussion of the terminology. The *Homily on Peace* is published in *De Pace* [Oratio XXII] MPG, 35:1132: Εἰρήνη φίλη, τὸ γλυκὺ

peace that begins the second part of the liturgy of John Chrysostom (*Antiphony*) became established in the Eastern Church and continues to be recited during the *enarxis* even today.

One can therefore assume that although war—especially a defensive war and one conducted against barbarians—became accepted by the Church as a necessary evil for maintaining a Christian state, then—as Dennis notices—the concept of 'Holy War' was used by the Byzantines only in reference to the wars conducted in 590, 449 and 347–335 BC for control over the Delphic oracle, and functioned exclusively as a historical term.[32]

The acceptance by the Church of the need to conduct military operations in the defence of Christians still does not seem to adequately explain the transformation of the holy martyrs who had served in the Roman army into warrior saints. The impulse for this process therefore needs to be sought in imperial propaganda and in customs prevalent in the army.

Divine intercession in the fortunes of war already occurs at the dawn of Christianity as a state religion. In a well-known passage of the *Life of Constantine* Eusebios of Caesarea mentions the emperor's choice of God his father as his patron; he then describes the vision that he and his army experienced prior to the battle with Maxentius.[33]

καὶ πρᾶγμα καὶ ὄνομα, ὃ νῦν ἔδωκα τῷ λαῷ καὶ ἀντέλαβον· οὐκ οἶδα εἰ παρὰ πάντων γνησίαν φωνὴν καὶ ἀξίαν τοῦ Πνεύματος, ἀλλὰ μὴ δημοσίας συνθήκας ἀθετουμένας ὑπὸ Θεῷ μάρτυρι, ὥστε καὶ μεῖζον εἶναι ἡμῖν τὸ κατάκριμα. Εἰρήνη φίλη, τὸ ἐμὸν μελέτημα καὶ καλλώπισμα, ἣν Θεοῦ τε εἶναι ἀκούομεν, καὶ ἧς Θεὸν, τὸν Θεὸν καὶ αὐτόθεον, ὡς ἐν τῷ· Ἡ εἰρήνη τοῦ Θεοῦ· καὶ, Ὁ Θεὸς τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ, Αὐτός ἐστιν ἡ εἰρήνη ἡμῶν καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως αἰδούμεθα.

[32] Dennis 2001, 33–4. Walter supposes (2003a, 11, 41) that the Byzantines' attitude towards the Persians, Arabs and Slavs took its lead from the Old Testament relations of the Israelites towards the Philistines and Canaanites. The term πόλεμος ἱερός is, in truth, used by Eust. Thes., p. 26^{12}, but he does so because the events described took place during Easter Week of 1181.

[33] Vita Const., pp. 28^{20}–29^{21} [I 27/1–3], 30^{5-10} [I 28/2]: ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινούσης, αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν ἔφη ἐν αὐτῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ ἡλίου σταυροῦ τρόπαιον ἐκ φωτὸς συνιστάμενον, γραφήν τε αὐτῷ συνῆφθαι λέγουσαν· τούτῳ νίκα. θάμβος δ' ἐπὶ τῷ θεάματι κρατῆσαι αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἅπαν. On the vision, which took place at about noon, see also [IV 64, 1]. Kolia-Dermitzaki (1991, 103–8) points out that attempts may have been made to sacralize civil wars during the time of Constantine. The topos of God intervening in conflicts already appears in the Old Testament, e.g. in Exod. 17:9–13, during Joshua's battle against the Amalekites, in which Moses standing on a hill with the staff of God in his hand (ἡ ῥάβδος τοῦ θεοῦ) decides the fate of the battle. Independently, Kolia-Dermitzaki (1991, 381–2) and Walter (2003a, 291–3) consider that the Byzantines took the idea of a chosen people from the scriptures, thereby justifying their waging of war.

But it was only the growing conflicts from the fourth century between the Empire and Zoroastrian Persia that led to the development of a doctrine of war with a religious foundation. The religious persecution of Christians by Shapur II (309–379) was already in the background of the first conflict after Constantine's recognition of Christianity as the Empire's official religion.[34] In the commentaries on the causes of war in 421 the need for protecting Christians against the pagan Persians is stressed, and was doubtless strengthened by accounts of refugees arriving on Byzantine territory. Nevertheless, the peace treaty signed in 562 assured freedom of worship for Christians in the Sasanian state and protected them from the proselytism of the Manichaeans.[35] In describing the victory over the Persians in the war of 578 won by the imperial commander (and future emperor) Maurice, Evagrios ascribes it not to the gallantry of the troops, but to the piety and faith of the commanding general.[36] An inscription from the door lintel of a barracks building constructed in Ghoûr in Syria in the time of Justinian in 531/2 lists Sts Longinus, Theodore and George as protectors of the troops.[37] In this period icons of an apotropaic character began to be used in the army.[38]

But it was only in the succeeding wars fought against the Persians and Avars in the first quarter of the seventh century that the emperor Heraclius I invoked the assistance of supernatural powers, recognizing himself as the executor of the plan of Providence. The start of the conflict was not in the least related to religious issues, but rather to the murder in 602 of the emperor Maurice and the assumption of rule in Constantinople by a usurper, the centurion Phokas. King Chosroes II, who owed the recovery of his crown during a rebellion in Persia

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[34] Treadgold 1997, 48, 55. Although the official reason for the outbreak of war in 337 was the seizure by Shapur of gifts destined for Constantine carried by the Persian philosopher Metrodoros from India, the true cause was an attempt by the Persians to take control of Nisibis and Singara, and their placing of a client ruler on the throne of Armenia.

[35] On the religious aspect of Theodosius II's war in the context of imperial propaganda and the statements of Sokrates Scholastikos and Theophanes the Confessor see Kolia-Dermitzaki 1991, 146–53. Additionally, see Treadgold (1997, 90) and Haldon (1999, 18 and nn. 16–17 on p. 297).

[36] Evagrius, pp. 282–3 [V 20].

[37] Walter 2003a, 269

[38] The use of an acheiropoietic image of Christ by Philippikos during the Persian campaign of 586 is mentioned by Simocatta, pp. 73^{24}–74^{1} [II 3/4–5]. The custom of taking holy images into battle as apotropaic objects established itself in the Byzantine

(590/91) to the assistance of Maurice, took up arms against Phokas while announcing his goal of returning power to the rightful heir, the murdered emperor's surviving son. In reality, the Persian army engaged mainly in the looting of border regions, and then captured Dara and Caesarea.[39]

It was only the revolt of Heraclius, son of the exarch of Carthage, and the capture by the Persians of Jerusalem that altered the war's character. According to Theophanes, on arriving before the walls of Constantinople (3 October 610) Heraclius's fleet hoisted icons of the Virgin on its masts. So, if we are to believe the chronicler, from the very start of his martial career the future emperor was putting religious symbols to military use.[40] Heraclius was handed a pretext for instituting a true 'holy war' only when the Persians captured Jerusalem and carried off fragments of the True Cross. In speeches to his armies in

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army and was used by successive emperors, including Heraclius (GEORGE PISID., *Expeditio Persica*, pp. 90^{139}–91^{149} [I]:

λαβὼν δὲ τὴν θείαν τε καὶ σεβάσμιον
μορφὴν ἐκείνην τῆς γραφῆς τῆς ἀγράφου,
ἣν χεῖρες οὐκ ἔγραψαν—ἀλλ' ἐν εἰκόνι
ὁ πάντα μορφῶν καὶ διαπλάττων Λόγος
ἄνευ γραφῆς μόρφωσιν, ὡς ἄνευ σπορᾶς δίχα,
κύησιν αὐτός, ὡς ἐπίσταται, φέρει·
ἐρχὴν γὰρ αὐτόν, ὡς τότε σπορᾶς δίχα,
οὕτω τυποῦσθαι καὶ πάλιν γραφῆς ἄνευ,
ὅπως δι' ἀμφοῖν τοῦ Λόγου μορφουμένου
μένοι τὸ πιστὸν τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως,
τῶν Φαντασιαστῶν ἐξελέγχον τὴν πλάνην).

Basil II (976–1025) also used such images (PSELLOS, 1:10^{3-5} [I 16]: καὶ ξιφηφόρος εἱστήκει, θατέρᾳ δὲ τῶν χειρῶν τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς τοῦ Λόγου μητρὸς διηγκάλιστο, κατερώτατον πρόβλημα τῆς ἀκαθέκτου ἐκείνου ὁρμῆς ταύτην ποιούμενος); as did Romanos III (1028–34) during the battle at Azas near Aleppo, see PSELLOS, 1:39^{21-27}[III 10]: Εἶτα δὴ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν φήμης ἤδη διασπαρείσης, ἄλλοι τε προσῄεσαν, καὶ δῆτα καὶ ἡ εἰκὼν αὐτῷ τῆς Θεομήτορος ἐμφανίζεται, ἣν οἱ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων βασιλεῖς ὥσπερ τινα στρατηγόν καὶ τοῦ παντὸς στρατοπέδου φύλακα ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις συνήθως ἐπάγονται· μόνη γὰρ αὕτη οὐχ ἁλωτὸς ταῖς βαρβαρικαῖς ἐγεγόνει χερσίν. On the use of the cross as a military insignia see below, pp. 337–339. See also Haldon 1999, 18; Walter 2003a, 280, 291. On the military aspect of the cult of Mary which was expanded by Basil II see McCormick 1986, 177–8; Pantcheva 2006, 75–82.

[39] A detailed description of the campaign is given by Treadgold 1997, 236–41, with the later event covered on 287–98; in the context of George of Pisidia's poetry see Ludwig 1991, 76–80. The events in Constantinople are described by THEOPHANES, 1:295–7.

[40] THEOPHANES, 1:298^{17}. Certain doubts arise from Theophanes' reference to George of Pisidia concerning the event, who does not mention it, cf. GEORGE PISID., pp. 77–9 (Πρὸς 'Ηράκλειον τὸν βασιλέα ἐπανελθόντα ἀπὸ 'Αφρικῆς καὶ βασιλεύσαντα καὶ κατὰ Φωκᾶ βασιλέως); see also Pantcheva 2006, 37–52. On the religious aspect of the wars of Heraclius see Kolia-Dermitzaki 1991, 18, 24–5.

subsequent campaigns (from April 623 to 624) the emperor referred ever more clearly to Divine Providence watching over the Christian host, its only ally in the fight against non-believers, and aiding it in the destruction of enemies.[41]

Although Heraclius initially achieved success and recovered the looted relics, in 626 the very existence of the Empire was directly threatened when the combined forces of the Persians and Avars laid siege to Constantinople. In the emperor's absence, command over the capital's defences was assumed by the patriarch Sergios along with the post of *magister officiorum*. Soon after a vision of the city's patron, the Virgin Theotokos, appeared on the walls and was seen by the khan of the Avars, and miraculously prevented the capital from falling.[42] In his description of the subsequent struggles the emperor's panegyrist George of Pisidia presented Heraclius as a tool in the hands of God, carrying out the plan of Providence and defending his chosen people, the Greeks, from the pagan barbarians. Meanwhile Theodore Synkellos, in his homily delivered in 627 to commemorate the Avar siege of Constantinople, compared Heraclius to David, crowned by the hand of God.[43]

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[41] Theophanes, 1:$307^{3-6;\ 11-13}$: οὐκ ἔστι ἄμισθος ὁ κίνδυνος, ἀλλ' αἰωνίου ζωῆς πρόξενος. στῶμεν ἀνδρείως, καὶ κύριος ὁ θεὸς συνεργήσει ἡμῖν, καὶ ὀλέσει τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν. (p. 317^{17-21}): γνῶτε, ἀδελφοί, ὅτι οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν συμμαχῆσαι θέλει, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνος ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦτον τεκοῦσα ἀσπόρως μήτηρ, ἵνα δείξῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δυναστείαν, <ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἐν πλήθει λαῶν ἢ ὅπλων ἡ σωτηρία ἐστίν, ἀλλ' εἰς τοὺς ἐλπίδοντας ἐν τῷ ἐλέει αὐτοῦ> καταπέμπει τὴν βοήθειαν αὐτοῦ. The emperor even promises his soldiers rewards from God for death in battle and the acceptance of the martyr's crown (pp. 310–11): τὸ πλῆθος ὑμᾶς <τῶν ἐχθρῶν>, ἀδελφοί, μὴ ταραττέτω. θεοῦ γὰρ θέλοντος, εἷς διώξει χιλίους. θύσωμεν οὖν τῷ θεῷ ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν σωτηρίας. λάβωμεν στέφος μαρτύρων, ἵνα καὶ ὁ μέλλων ἡμᾶς χρόνος ἐπαινέσῃ, καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοὺς μισθοὺς ἀποδώσῃ.

[42] ChPasch., p. 725^{9-11}; see also Cameron [Av.] 1981, 207–8 (with later sources and bibliog.); and Pantcheva 2006, 41, 51–2. On the Virgin as patron of Constantinople, and the evolution of her cult in the capital see Mango 2000; see also the reply of the citizens of Thessaloniki to Andronikos Komnenos when asked if they felt safer under his protection, Eust. Thes., p. 42^{11-12} «ἡ Ὁδηγήτρια, ἡ πολιοῦχος ἡμῶν, ἀρκέσει αὐτὴ ἀντὶ πάντων καταπράξεσθαι τὰ ἡμῖν σύμφορα».

[43] Georsge Pisid. e.g. *Expeditio Persica*: [I] pp. 85^{17-20}; [II] 97^{19}–$98^{28,\ 38-41}$, 100^{73-75}, 106^{201}–107^{204}, 108^{244}–$109^{248,\ 252-55}$; [III] 122^{145-49}, 134^{429-30}. George of Pisidia sought hope of victory in the *strategos* and in God ([III] 130^{336}–131^{338}, 133^{383}–134^{411}), while God's miraculous strategy revealed itself to the soldiers (127^{253-55}). George refers also to the Old Testament figures Moses, David, Daniel and Noah: *Expeditio Persica*: [I] pp. 90^{131-38}; [II] 102^{111-15}, *Heraclias*: [I] pp. 241^{15-17}, 244^{84-85}. A comparison that left an especially strong impression on a Greek audience was that of Heraclius to Christ breaking down the gates of Hades and descending to Tartarus, *Heraclias*: [I] pp. 243^{70-71}, 248^{183-87}. On George's use of Biblical motifs see Whitby 1994, 213–18, 220;

Elements of the religious struggle introduced by Heraclius were made use of in the Empire's subsequent conflicts, especially against enemies of other religions. They can be found in the following centuries, above all in descriptions of the wars with the Arabs, who replaced the Persians as the dominant power in the East.[44] On the other hand—as Athena Kolia-Dermitzaki has noticed—the same religious argument was not raised in relation to the pagan Slavs and Bulgars who were flooding into the Empire's Balkan provinces. This may have resulted from lesser economic and religious importance of the lost territories.[45]

The proto-Crusader movement appears clearly in the period after Iconoclasm, especially in the tenth century, during the reigns of the 'military' emperors Nikephoros Phokas and John Tzimiskes.[46] It should be said that the Arab authorities remained tolerant, especially toward pilgrims, and were far less in favour of religious wars against Christians

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Ludwig 1991, 101, n. 54; and on his use of metaphors raising the emperor to the executor of the plans of the divine *Logos* see Ludwig 1991, 83–92. Bury (1889, 256) even interprets Heraclius's campaigns as the first crusades. On the new image of the emperor created by George for the needs of the new political situation see also Whitby 1994. H.L. Kessler ("David's covenant with Jonathan" in *Age of Spirituality*, 475–83, esp. 477) even believes that the hoard of silver dishes found in 1902 at Karavas in northern Cyprus (now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York) with repoussé decoration that shows the story of David was intended to commemorate Heraclius's victory in 627 over the Persian commander Razates; for a detailed description of the find see: Nagasawa 1988, 129–31 and n. 26 with earlier bibliog.; Whitby 1994, 218; Dodd 1961, no. 58–64; and Leader 2000, 407, 414–15 (analysis of David's costume), figs. 1–9 and pp. 408–13, 424 with discussion of the earlier literature on the hoard); although Leader opposes (p. 424) such an interpretation of the hoard. The tradition linking the emperor with David was so strong that he is described in a 7th-C. Merovingian chronicle as the 'Second David', see Wander 1975 (also discusses a reference in Synkellos's homily).

[44] In truth THEOPHANES' description (1:330–5) of the first clashes of the Byzantines with the Arabs hardly refers at all to God, but the Arab attack of 673–78 is already presented (1:353[19–24], 354) as an assault by the enemies of God, repelled thanks to Him and his Holy Mother. Fiedelius (pp. 252–3) sees the main reason for the religious character of the wars with the Arabs in the Byzantine attempts to recover the relics of the True Cross, lost again after the occupation of Jerusalem by non-believers in 638.

[45] Kolia-Dermitzaki (1991, 383) points out the economic importance of Syria and Egypt, and of Jerusalem as a Christian centre.

[46] On the demands of Nikephoros Phokas concerning the treatment of deceased soldiers as martyrs, see above, n. 30. The goal of John Tzimiskes' 975 campaign was to liberate Christ's grave from Muslim rule (Walker 1977, 302–3). The presence of the idea of Holy War in Leo's *Taktika* and his religious enmity towards Arabs is pointed out by Kolias 1984, 12–13; and Kolia-Dermitzaki 1991, 21–3, 220–40. According to Walter (2003a, 292) it is precisely the reign of Tzimiskes that saw the apogee of the cult of the military saints in connection with the introduction of religious practices into army life.

than the Seljuks who took their place in the eleventh century. None of the Byzantine–Arab conflicts was treated by Christendom as the equivalent of a Muslim Jihad, and the Almighty's assistance to the Greeks was viewed only in the context of defence against an aggressor.[47]

Related to a certain degree to the use of Divine Providence in imperial military propaganda are the army's religious practices. The roots of these go back to pagan times, when a pantheon of special military gods watched over the Roman legions. With the army's Christianization these *dei militares* were replaced by new symbols and customs.

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[47] The perception of war as a necessary evil and peace as the gift of God (the maintenance of which was a matter of political priority) is also present in imperial military thinking after the period of Iconoclasm, and is expressed for example by Leo VI in the introduction to his *Taktika*, LT, 1:3$^{12–16}$, 4$^{35–38}$, 5$^{48–50}$ [P 1, 3(2)], and also 1:39^{517}–40^{545} [II 45(49)–46(50)]: Ἡμῶν γὰρ ἀεὶ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπηκόους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους διὰ Χριστὸν τὸν καθ' ὅλου βασιλέα καὶ θεὸν ἀσπαζομένων, ἐὰν καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τοῦτο φιλοῦσι τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐγχαλινούμενα ὅροις καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν ἐπαγγελόμενα, καὶ αὐτὸς σὺ κατ' αὐτῶν τὰς χεῖρας σύστειλον καὶ αἵμασι τὴν γῆν μήτ' ἐμφυλίοις μή τε βαρβαρικοῖς κατάχραινε. ἃ γὰρ ἐγκαλέσεις τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἤγουν—ταῦτα ἄρα καὶ αὐτοὶ—μηδὲν ἐναντίον δρῶντες κατὰ τῶν ὑπηκόν τῆς ἡμῶν βασιλείας, ἀλλ' εἰρηνεύοντες—ἐγκαλέσουσί σοι. δεῖ γὰρ ἡμᾶς, ἀεὶ τοὺς (εἰ δυνατὸν τὸ ἐξ ἡμῶν) μετὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων εἰρηνεύοντας, τοῖς εἰρηνεύειν βουλομένοις ἔθνεσι καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν τοὺς ὑποχειρίους ἡμῶν, ὡς τὴν εἰρήνην ἀεὶ τῶν ἄλλων προτιμῶντας ἁπάντων, συνειρηνεύειν ἐκείνοις καὶ πολέμων ἀπέχεσθαι.

Εἰ δέ γε μὴ σωφρονεῖ τὸ ἀντίπαλον, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ τῆς ἀδικίας ἀπάρξονται τὴν ἡμετέραν κατατρέχοντες γῆν, τότε ἄρα δικαίως αἰτίας προκειμένης, ὡς καὶ ἀδίκου πολέμου παρὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἀπαρχομένου, θαρσαλέως καὶ σὺν προθυμίᾳ τοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν ἐγχείρει πολέμου, ὡς ἐκείνων τὰς αἰτίας παρασχομένων καὶ ἀδίκους χεῖρας κατὰ τῶν ὑποτελῶν ἡμῖν ἀραμένων· καὶ θάρρει τότε, ὡς καὶ τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης θεὸν ἕξεις βοηθόν, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἀδελφῶν ἀναδεχόμενος ἀγῶνας πανστρατιᾷ τὴν νίκη ἕξεις. διὰ τοῦτο οὖν προτρεπόμεθα τὴν σὴν ἐνδοξότητα διὰ πάντων ἀποσκοπεῖν δικαίς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῦ πολέμου, καὶ τότε τὰς χεῖρας ὁπλίζειν κατὰ τῶν ἀδικούντων. On the need to defend the true faith see {LT, vol. B', pp. 110, 112 [XVIII 16, 19]}. On the other hand, for victory won thanks to the will of God and the Virgin Mary see: De Velitatione, p. 236$^{60–61, 75–76}$ [24]: Καὶ εἰ τοιοῦτου τῇ βοηθείᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ γένηται τὸ τοῦ πολέμου πέπας διὰ πρεσβειῶν τῆς παναχράντου μετρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ Θεοτόκου, [...] καὶ χάριτι Χριστοῦ τοῦ Οεοῦ ἡμῶν ὑπερισχύσεις αὐτῶν, καὶ τούτους καταβαλὼν τελείῳ παραδώσες ἀφανισμῷ, while remembering that God is the true ruler of the 'heavenly' empire, who on earth is substituted by the emperor—John II Komnenos in his farewell address before his death, calls God the commander-in-chief, and titles himself as His general (ταύτην ἔτρεσαν ἄρτι ἐφ' ἡγεμόνι θεῷ καὶ ὑποστρατήγῳ ἐμοί·), see Choniates, p. 43^{52} [I]. God was seen as the supreme commander already in the 7th C.—see Schreiner 1997, 87; McCormick 1986, 250 (who cites the *Ecloga* of Leo III the Isaurian stating that victory depends only on God). While comparing the Jihad, the Crusades and Byzantine military doctrine Kolia-Dermitzaki (1991, 291–320) points out how the last differs, and draws attention (382) to the political rather than religious dimension of 'Holy War' in Byzantium; she believes the idea of uniting all peoples under the emperor's sceptre was to be realized by means of military operations, and in the process, their Christianization.

Just as the apotropaic pagan images were replaced by holy icons which served the same function, pagan rituals were replaced by Christian ones. From the sixth century onwards the army was accompanied by priests and chaplains, including figures of great importance to Greek Orthodoxy, such as Loukas the Stylite. After the Church finally recognized (in 692) the council canon forbidding bishops, presbyters and deacons from celebrating Holy Mass while on active military service, their duties were limited to performing the daily liturgy, and in particular conducting prayers before battle.[48]

On the other hand, before troops marched out on an expedition they would cleanse themselves in a three-day period of fasting and prayer. Already in the time of Vegetius (*c.*400), before leaving camp, or on the battlefield immediately before battle, the army would give out the cry of *Deus nobiscum* (God is with us), which was later replaced by the Greek *Kyrie Eleison* (Lord have mercy).[49] Aside from Christ,

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[48] See Schneider 1997, 88–9; and also Anna Komnene's negative view of a Latin priest's active participation in a naval action against the Greeks during the crossing of the Adriatic by troops of the First Crusade (Komnene, 2:218[18]–219[4] [X 8/8]): Οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ἡμῖν τε καὶ τοῖς Λατίνοις περὶ τῶν ἱερωμένων δέδοκται· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς μὲν ἐντετάλμεθα παρά τε τῶν κανόνων καὶ νόμων καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελικοῦ δόγματος· «Μὴ θίξῃς, μὴ γρύξῃς, μὴ ἅψῃ· ἱερωμένος γὰρ εἶ». Ὁ δέ τοι βάρβαρος Λατῖνος ἅμα τε τὰ θεῖα μεταχειριεῖται καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα ἐπὶ τοῦ λαιοῦ θέμενος καὶ τὸ δόρυ τῇ δεξιᾷ ἐναγκαλισάμενος ὁμοῦ τε μεταδίδωσι τοῦ θείου σώματός τε καὶ αἵματος καὶ φόνιον ὁρᾷ καὶ αἱμάτων ἀνὴρ κατὰ τὸν Δαυιτικὸν ψαλμὸν γίνεται. Οὕτως ἐστὶ τὸ βάρβαρον τοῦτο γένος οὐχ ἧττον ἱερατικὸν ἢ φιλοπόλεμον. Οὗτος τοίνυν ὁ ῥέκτης μᾶλλον ἢ ἱερεὺς ὁμοῦ τε καὶ τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν ἐνεδιδύσκετο καὶ τὴν κώπην μετεχειρίζετο καὶ πρὸς ναυτικὸν πόλεμον καὶ μάχην ἀφώρα κατὰ ταὐτὸν καὶ θαλάττῃ καὶ ἀνδράσι μαχόμενος. Τὰ γὰρ ἡμέτερα, καθάπερ ἔφθην εἰρηκυῖα, τῆς[...]'Ααρὼν καὶ Μωσέως καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς πρώτου ἀρχιερέως ἐξήρτηται. Moreover, Sebeos (pp. 92–3) mentions that Philippikos, the son-in-law of the emperor Maurice, after serving as an army trumpeter entered a monastery, yet later during the reign of Heraclius he again engaged in military service as commander-in-chief of the army of the East.

[49] Vegetius, p. 136 [III 5]. The Latin and Greek versions of the war cry appear alongside each other in Strat., p. 138[13–19] [II 18], although Maurice suggests that instead of shouting it is better to say a silent prayer before leaving camp: 'Αλλὰ δεῖ τὴν μὲν εὐχὴν γίνεσθαι ἐν ἐκείνῃ μάλιστα τῇ τοῦ πολέμου ἡμέρᾳ ἐν τῷ φοσσάτῳ, πρὶν ἤ τινα τῆς πόρτας ἐξελθεῖν, διά τε τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀρχόντων τὸ „Κύριε ἐλέησον" ἱπιμόνως ἅμα πάντας λέγειν, εἶτα διὰ τὸ αἴσιον καὶ τὸ „νοβισκοὺμ δέους" τρίτον ἕκαστον μέρος ἐξερχόμενον τοῦ φοσσάτου. Nikephoros Phokas recommends in his Praecepta (44[109, 114–20] [IV 11]) that when the enemy is first sighted on the field of battle to recite the following short prayers: «Κύριε 'Ιησοῦ, Χριστέ, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ἀμήν,» [...] «Κύριε 'Ιησοῦ, Χριστέ, ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς, ἀμήν,» καὶ «χριστιανοὺς ἡμᾶς παράλαβε, ἀξίους ποιῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πίστεως καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν ἀναστῆναι καὶ ἀγωνισθῆναι μέχρι θανάτου, ῥωννύων καὶ ἐνισχισχύων τὰς ψυχὰς καὶ τὰς καρδίας καὶ τὸ ὅλον ἡμῶν σῶμα, ὁ κρατιὸς ἐν πολέμοις Θεὸς καὶ ἐν ἰσχύϊ ἀνείκαστος, πρεσβείαις τῆς τεκούσης σε Θεοτόκου καὶ

Mary and the *Archistrategoi*, the names of the military saints were also used as battle cries for distinguishing the opponents.[50] The unconscious tie with antique pagan tradition must have been strong, since at times these Christian religious practices were dangerously similar to the traditional practice in the ancient Roman army of taking omens before important decisions. An example of such 'superstitious' behaviour includes Heraclius's selection of winter quarters on the basis of a quotation from a randomly opened page of the Bible, which served a similar role to the ancient books of military prophecy, the *libri exercituales*.[51]

The picture created by imperial propaganda of a just war, waged to achieve the designs of the Almighty, as well as the constant reminders to soldiers in prayers and the liturgy that God was watching over them, must have affected the public's view of the army. Therefore, despite the lack of official Church sanction for the doctrine of religious war, we can assume that (no later than the early seventh century) for the citizens of Byzantium a warring emperor and his soldiers became defenders of the chosen people of God against the forces of pagan barbarians. The latter represented the powers of evil, which were attempting to destroy the Empire and thereby thwart the plan of salvation.[52]

πάντων τῶν ἁγίων, ἀμήν.» (≈ TNU [MG] 126^{159-72} [LXI 11]). On religious customs in the Roman army see Domaszewski 1895; Christian ritual in the Byzantine treatises is covered exhaustively by Vieillefond 1935; Dennis 1993; McCormick 1986, 246–7; Schreiner 1997, 88; Jones 1964, 632–3, Walter 2003a, 280; Dawson 2007, 43–5; and 2009, 22–4. See also H. Leclercq, "La répugnance au service militaire" in *DACL*, 1/1:294–6; E. McGeer, "Military Religious Services" in *ODB*, 2:1373–4. For a recent bibliog. of the subject see Haldon 1999, 299–300, nn. 42–43.

50 THEOPH. CONT., 324^{18-20}: τῶν δὲ καλλινίκων μαρτύρων Ἑσπέρου τε καὶ Ζωῆς τὸν θεῖον οἶκον ἠδαφισμένον σχεδὸν κατάλληλον τοῦ πρῴτην ἐδείματο.; PORPH., p. 120^{425-27} [C]· καὶ λαμβάνει σίγνον ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μυστικῶς, εἴτε τὸν Σωτῆρα, εἴτε τὴν Θεοτόκον, εἴτε τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον, εἴτε τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων τῶν στρατηλατῶν, εἴτε ἄλλο τι, ὅ κελεύει ὁ βασιλεύς. See also the commentary in *DE CER.*, 2:567–8.

51 THEOPHANES, 1:308. The use books of divination by Etruscan soothsayers who advised Julian the Apostate (361–363) to break off his campaign against the Persians is mentioned by AMMIAN. (4/1:93 [23.5.10]), who also refers to the Tarquitian Books (pp. 173–4 [25.2.7]). On Roman military soothsayers in general, see Żygulski 1998, 77–9. The custom of taking omens from a randomly opened book later filtered through to the Islamic world, so that in 1164, when taking a decision on a campaign against Egypt, the Atabeg Halabu Nur ad-Din (1146–74) reached for a random sura of the Koran. Nevertheless, Leo VI {LT, vol. B', p. 306 [XX 213]} expressly banned fortune-telling in the army.

52 The justification of the soldier's role in war as fulfilling Providence is also present in the post-Iconoclastic writings, see e.g. PORPH., p. 124^{468} [C], where the emperor in a pep-talk before setting out on an expedition calls his soldiers: τοῦ Χριστοῦ στρατιῶται

The protective character of the army and of defensive war undoubtedly influenced the development of the image of the warrior saints as an apotropaic representation—protecting against physical enemies and demons in equal measure.[53]

The above assumption is borne out by the function of the earliest preserved depictions of the saints in military attire or those shown with only a few items of military equipment.

The Image of the Warrior Saint in Art Before Iconoclasm

The type of the mounted warrior saint

The oldest preserved group of depictions of saints with military attributes dates from the sixth and seventh centuries. However, the first Christian representations of military men in a religious context appears already in the fourth century. These include the oldest group

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καὶ παιδί 'ἐμά. A unique collection of nine songs glorifying soldiers killed in battle against pagan barbarians in defence of Christ and the True Faith is preserved in the 10th-C. *Cod. Sinaiticus gr. 734* and published by Détorakis/Mossay, pp. 186–208. Walter (2003a, 280) notes that such soldiers who died in battle were perceived in these songs as passing into God's heavenly army. The hymns made up part of the *Lenten Triodion* and were sung on the second Saturday of Lent, which was devoted to the memory of war dead. Pantcheva (2006, 102 and n. 172) interprets one prayer of this kind dated to the 10th C. as an expression of the propagation of "Holy War" by Nikephoros Phokas. In turn, Walter (2003a, 132–3) mentions the 12th-C. *Canons* devoted to Sts Demetrios and George by George Skylitzes, who turns to these saints to assist the emperor (probably Manuel I) in his war against the 'Scythians', Persians and other barbarian peoples, although Walter confuses George with the earlier chronicler John Skylitzes; see also the biographical note by A. Kazhdan, "Skylitzes, George" in *ODB*, 1:1913–14.

[53] The apotropaic character of the earliest depictions of warrior saints has been referred to many times by scholars interested in the origins of these depictions, see e.g.: Górecki 1980, 241–2; Mango [M.] 1987; Vakaloudi 1998, 221; Parani 2003, 152–3 (on Theodore slaying the dragon, Merkourios killing Julian the Apostate, George saving prisoners, and in Georgian tradition also responsible for the death of Diocletian; as well as Sergios and Bakchos fighting evil in posthumous miracles); Ovcharov 2003, 9–17 (who notes the links of the warrior saints with the Anargyroi as a result of the apotropaic function of the former); Walter (1990, 42) stresses that the concept of the triumph of good over evil which was won thanks to the powers received from God, was still current in the Middle and Late Byzantine periods. Confirmation of such an understanding of the function of the warrior saints can be found in the *Life of St Theodore of Sykeon*, in which George appears in a role of defending Theodore and his friend Gerontius against Satan and demons, and also saves the emperor Phokas's nephew, Domnitziolous, from a Persian ambush, see Walter 1995, 298–9; and 2003a, 115–16.

of Judeo-Christian amulets,[54] which depict Solomon on horseback, or (particularly in the case of works connected with Christian society) an unknown horseman with a lance tipped with a cross spearing a figure with the trunk of woman and a tail instead of legs who lies beneath the horse's hooves (fig. 2). Possible evidence for the Christian origins of some of these amulets is the use of a cross as a weapon, and also the image of Christ (or alternatively, a cross) found on the reverse along with the accompanying inscriptions: ΘΕΟϹ ΝΙΚΟΝ ΤΑ ΚΑΚΑ and ΑΓΙΟϹ, ΑΓΙΟϹ, ΑΓΙΟϹ.[55] Although the earliest of these amulets is dated to the fourth century, the majority were made in the sixth and seventh centuries, and their production in Palestine was interrupted by the Persian invasion.[56] As Christopher Walter has shown, the figure depicted under the horse's hooves is the female demon, Ovyzouth (also Avyzouth or Vyzouth) who cast a spell on infants, killing them soon after birth. The choice of Solomon as the vanquisher of the demon results from an esoteric-Gnostic tradition written down in Greek in the second or third century in a collection entitled *Testament of Solomon*. The text, which describes Solomon's building of the Temple of Jerusalem, states that an archangel sent by God gave Solomon authority over demons, thanks to which they were

[54] Despite the ban on wearing amulets imposed by Basil of Caesarea, John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nyssa (see Walter 1990, 35 with source literature; and 2003, 33–4), their use survived until the 8th C., and according to Maguire (1995) even became, as an expression of popular piety, one of the causes of Iconclasm. Examples of pseudo-amulets from the post-Iconoclastic period are given by Spier (1993, 25–9, 31–3), along with a review of the state of research on Byzantine amulets.

[55] On the motif of the snake with human head in Christian art, see Bonnell 1917. On the lance tipped by a cross as a weapon, see below, p. 334ff. The large group of amulets with the image of Solomon, which appear to have been mass-produced, include twelve in the British Museum, eight in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and smaller groups in the Bayerisches National Museum, Munich and the Palestinian Archaeological Museum, as well as individual examples, such as items in the Benaki Museum, Athens and the Hermitage, see Walter 1990, figs. 1–6; 1994, figs. 1–12; Spier 1993, no. 21 and 33; *Byzanz*, no. IV 5.–8; Aufhauser 1911, tab. IId; Maguire 1996, figs. 105 & 107. On the typical inscriptions on amulets with Solomon see *Byzanz*, pp. 288–91; Spier 1993, 29–31, 60. The lack of portrayals of Solomon (of the type appearing on amulets) on the recently discovered Jewish mosaics in Israel, as Walter (1994, 367–8) has noticed, confirms the subject's Christian origins.

[56] The oldest fairly securely dated 'Solomon' amulets include one excavated at Beisan (from before AD 325) with the inscription εἷς θεός currently at the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania and three others unearthed along with coins of Constantine (323–27) in a grave at El-Jish (Walter 1990, 36–7; with comments on earlier views on the dating of the various objects).

forced to help him in erecting the temple.[57] The amulets bearing an equestrian image of Solomon were therefore intended to protect their owners (especially females) and their newborn children against the evil power of demons.[58]

Closely related to the amulets of Solomon are medallions bearing the image of St Sisinnios of Antioch (fig. 2) which served the same function but date to no earlier than the sixth century. Possible evidence for the evolution of the Sisinnios amulets from the 'Solomon' type is provided by an example from Smyrna (fig. 3) bearing an inscription surrounding the rider that includes both names together with a corrupt form of the saint's name: Sisinnarios.[59] According to a Coptic legend, Sisinnios lived in Antioch in the time of Diocletian, and was said to have killed his own sister, Melitene or Litosia/Latosia, as she was trying to murder her own children while possessed by a demon

[57] See Walter 1990, 35–41; 2003a, 34–7. The section dealing with the enemy of women, Ovyzouth, is found in SOLOMON, pp. 43^{10-12}–44^{1} [XIII 1–3]: "'Ὀβυζούθ, ἥτις ἐν νυκτὶ οὐ καθεύδω, ἀλλὰ περιέρχομαι πάντα τὸν κόσμον ἐπὶ ταῖς γυναιξί, καὶ στοχαζομένη τὴν ὥραν μαστεύω, καὶ πνίγω τὰ βρέφη. An English translation together with later texts referring to Ovyzouth are published by Spier 1993, 35. In the *Testament* the demon informs Solomon that she is subject to the authority of the archangel Raphael, and that writing her name on a papyrus will ward off her spells.

[58] According to G. Schaked, "Lilith" in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* 11, Jerusalem (1978): 245–9, such amulets were hung above the bed of a pregnant woman and on all four walls of her room. According to folk beliefs the female demon, Lilith, the mythical first wife of Adam, made from the same clay as him (named Ovyzouth in the *Testament of Solomon*), would murder newborn infants as an act of revenge for God's punishment (killing all her offspring) for abandoning Adam and escaping from paradise. In the *Testament of* SOLOMON (18^{5-10}, 46^{18-19} [IV 2–4, XV 2]) Lilith also appears under the names of the female demons Onoskelis and Enipsigos (and is also equated with the goddess Hecate). On the function of amulets with Solomon and their owners see Mango [M.] (1987, 8–9) who points out that in the later period despite iconographical transformations in the images on the amulets, they continue to bear the inscription βοήθει ματέρα. Mango also considers the possibility that the amulets were intended as votive offerings after the birth of a healthy child. On depictions on amulets of Lilith, Medusa and other symbols of evil (e.g. various beasts) pierced by Solomon's lance see Vakaloudi 1998, 211–16. For more on female demons see Provatakis 1980, 112–23, including post-Byzantine depictions on figs. 101–7.

[59] See Maguire 1996, 122, figs. 102, 106; and Spier 1993, 37, fig. 6e. The latter believes the earliest amulet with St Sisinnios is probably a haematite *gemma* in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. A number of anonymous amulets published by Walter (1990, figs. 5, 6) can probably be linked with Sisinnios, although Maguire (1995, 56 and fig. 14; and 1996, 127) believes the person depicted is Alexander of Macedon. His observation is supported by a reference to the Late Roman Macrinus family, which as an act of adoration had the image of Alexander embroidered on its garments; see MacMullen (1964, 449) who regards this as an expression of loyalty towards the old pagan world. On the false interpretations of military representations in art before Iconoclasm see below, n. 136.

called Gyllou (Hebrew: Lilith). For this reason the saint was venerated in the same way as Solomon, as the defender of the newborn, both in the Coptic and Greek Churches.[60]

The oldest preserved monumental depiction of Sisinnios slaying the demon is a provincial fresco in chapel 17 of the monastery of St Apollo in Bawit, Egypt (fig. 5). The saint is depicted on horseback on a sixth-century mural, using his lance to spear a half-naked woman lying under his horse's hooves identified in an inscription as Ⲏ ⲀⲖⲀⲂⲀⲤⲆⲢⲒⲀ, who is generally identified in the Jewish tradition with Lilith. Depicted in the upper part of the mural above a centaur figure is another female demon, this time with wings and a snake's tail instead of legs, described in an inscription as ⲦϢⲈⲈⲢⲈⲚⲀ ⲖⲀⲂⲀⲤⲆⲢⲀ (daughter of Alabasdria).[61] The damage to the upper part of the mural prevents us from seeing whether or not the end of Sisinnios' lance originally terminated with a cross. Additionally, the saint has a sword worn on the back in the Byzantine manner, and a smallish oval shield. The design on the shield is similar to that on the shield of St Theodore(?) in the eighth-century Nubian cathedral in Faras (currently in the National Museum in Warsaw, fig. 6),[62] which Górecki interprets as a stylized form of *gorgoneion*. This interpretation of the

[60] The hagiographic bibliog. of the saint is given by H. Leclercq, "Sisinnios" in *DACL*, 18:1497–8. See also: Provatakis 1980, 116 (a version in which Sisinnios lived in the time of Trajan); Walter 1990, n. 71; Walter 2003a, 241–2 (who excludes him from the circle of warrior saints). The variant names of the demons defeated by Sisinnios is discussed by Detlef/Müller 1974, 100–1, esp. the table on p. 100.

[61] On the mural, with a survey of the various elements and inscription, see Provatakis 1980, 113, fig. 100; Mango [M.] 1987, 8 (with literature on Alabasdria); Walter 2003a, 271 (with image of St Phoebammon from chapel 24); and D'Amato 2005, 38–9 and fig. on p. 39. On the monastery and the dating of its murals to the rule of Justinian I see J. Clédat, "Baouït" in *DACL*, 2/1:203–51, fig. 1285. On the basis of the form of the column capitals, the church is also dated to the mid-6th C. by Ward Perkins 1949, 61. For a broader discussion of the literature on the monastery of St Apollo see M. Krause & K. Wessel, "Bawit" in *RbK*, 1:568–93. On Alabasdria as one of the names of Gyllou see Spier 1993, 37, n. 66.

[62] The Faras warrior's identity is uncertain since part of the inscription and the lower part of his face are damaged. The dragon at his feet, pierced by his spear, suggests that he is Theodore Teron (Marković 1995, 576–7, fig. 21) rather than Stratelates (cf. Górecki 1980, 252—warrior no. I), whose cult is of considerably later date than the Faras mural (a similar mistake was made by Mouriki 1985, 1:156; and corrected by Walter 1999, 185). Identification with St George is unlikely (cf. Michałowski 1973, 118, fig. 14), since the earliest surviving redaction of his legendary duel with the dragon appears in an 11th-C. Georgian MS in the Library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (*Cod. 2*); see the Russian summary by Privalova (1977, 73) and its English translation in Walter 1995, 321.

two shield devices would seem correct in view of the antique tradition of placing the Medusa's head on shields but also, more importantly, because of the popularity of stylized *gorgoneion* motifs on Early Byzantine amulets.[63] But one cannot rule out that it is just an ornamental motif, as appears for example as a shield blazon on *tropaia* (trophies of arms) on Trajan's column which was erected in AD 113.[64]

In the depictions of Solomon and Sisinnios the artists have adopted the well-known antique formula of a rider trampling an enemy (or other symbol of evil) with his horse's hooves. Undoubtedly a direct model for this were the depictions of Hellenistic era which were closest to them and the triumphal iconography of the Roman emperors, which was still alive in Byzantium (fig. 4).[65] More than a century ago Clermont-Ganneau drew attention to the formal and semantic links between the late antique equestrian depictions of Horus with lance spearing Set (in the guise of a crocodile) and representations of St George.[66] But, he failed in his article to mention the images of St Theodore which are earlier than those of St George.

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[63] Górecki 1980, 210, fig. 14. Stylized versions of the *gorgoneion* are common on amulets (see Spier 1993, 60–2, figs. 1a–e, 2a, c–e, 3b–d, 5a–d); occasionally the motif appears in conjunction with warriors depicted on horseback (e.g. 2b, 3a), and also on finger-rings (4a–i). On the subject of apotropaic symbols on shields (including the *gorgoneion*) see Żygulski 1984, 79, fig. 4.

[64] See e.g. Gamber 1993, fig. 1.

[65] The tradition of depicting the victorious emperor on horseback trampling a defeated enemy or a symbol of evil was also nurtured after Christianity became the state religion; evidence for this is a gold medallion depicting Constantius II mounted on a steed that is trampling a snake, currently in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (see e.g. Garam 1993, fig. 15/1); cf. also Walter's opinion in the introduction to *Warrior Saints* (unpaginated), on the creation of the iconographic type of the warrior saint on horseback under the influence of equestrian images of Constantine the Great as a Christian warrior. The author himself notes, however, that the earliest known representation of Constantine as an equestrian warrior is in the *Khludov Psalter*.

[66] Clermont-Ganneau (1876) considered Egyptian sculptures with Horus as the model for images of St George on horseback, and presented them against the broad cultural background of late Antiquity and the mythology of the Near East (including Arabic mythology). Górecki (1980, 185–6) refers to Hellenistic and Roman influences in the art of Ptolemaic Alexandria as models for the image of the equestrian warrior saint (for Horus on horseback see n. 52); see also the introduction to *Warrior Saints* (unpaginated). Kazarow (1938) erroneously finds connections between images of St George and ancient depictions of the so-called Thracian rider (accompanied by a snake symbolizing a spirit). His explanation is accepted e.g. by Walter 1973; and Alpatov 1975, but seems to be incorrect since the two types of depiction appear not to have the same significance. Such an interpretation is also contradicted by geography, since reliefs with the Thracian rider did not spread beyond Thrace, while the earliest

It is in the case of St Theodore that we can speak for the first time of the full adoption of the equestrian iconographic type. Theodore on horseback, slaying a serpent-dragon with a lance, appears on two terracotta icons: the first from North Africa (currently in the Sousse Museum in Tunisia),[67] dated to the fifth century, and the second held in the Museum of Macedonia in Skopje, part of a larger group of sixth- or seventh-century icons found in 1985 among the ruins of a church near Vinica (Viničko Kale) in present-day eastern Macedonia (fig. 7a);[68] the same motif appears on a sixth-century gilded panel in the Regional Museum in Reggio di Calabria. Identification of the saint presents no problems thanks to the surviving Latin inscriptions. These icons illustrate the miraculous defeat of the dragon by Theodore (according to legend while on horseback),[69] and they should be regarded as an element that closes the process of iconographical transformation.

The compositional formula of the mounted warrior was initially employed in the representation of martyrs who were not necessarily connected with the army. An example is the mural depicting Sts John,

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equestrian images of warriors originate chiefly from Syria and Egypt. The theory on the links of equestrian depictions of the warrior saints with images of the Thracian rider, Mithras, the Kabiri, Perseus and other ancient heroes is given a critical appraisal by Walter (1989, 659–60, 664–7, figs. 2–4); at the same time Walter (2003a, 121–2 and nn. 80, 140) draws attention to the universal character of equestrian depictions. On the equestrian portrayals of the emperors in Byzantium see Grabar 1936, 45–54.

[67] See Charalampides 1991, 126, fig. 9.

[68] Balabanov/Krstevski 1993, no. 44, p. 39 (as well as generally on icons pp. 29–36); Walter 1999, 173, fig. 3; Walter 2003, 98–9, figs. 12.4–6; Walter 2003a, 52, figs. 23, 25 and n. 44, notes that the use of the Latin alphabet in inscriptions suggests that the icons were made before the transfer of jurisdiction over Eastern Illyria from Rome to Byzantium in 733 by Leo III the Isaurian (717–741).

[69] Cf. Charalampides (1991, 125–7, figs. 9, 10) who sees the reasons for the depiction of Theodore in soldier's attire mainly in the historical treatment of the legend of slaying the dragon, and to a lesser degreee as an illustration of the saint's battle with evil. The same author also rightly indicates the presence of a horse in the legend, see p. 128, n. 36: ὁ δὲ ἅγιος ἐπέβη τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἵππον καὶ λακτίσας ἔστη ὁ ἵππος ἐπάνω τοῦ δράκοντος τοῖς τέσσαρσιν αὐτοῦ ποσίν. The legend of the dragon is to be found e.g. in *Passio Prima*, see AS *Novembris*, 4:46–8, and 50–1. This miracle was transferred to St Theodore Stratelates, see AS *Februarii*, 2:28, 31; Halkin 1981, 227–8. The phenomenon of combat with beasts and immoral persons in the iconography of the warrior saints—also in the case of Theodore—is discussed against the background of antique beliefs by Walter (1989, 661–2). He later points out (2003a, 51–6, figs. 27–8) that the earliest depictions of a saint fighting a dragon predate the earliest surviving text of the legend, while the iconographical motif of Theodore on horseback spearing a serpent-dragon with a lance, often in antithetical composition with St George, appears frequently on murals in the 11th-century rock-cut churches of Cappadocia. On Theodore Stratelates see below, p. 117ff.

Bonakh, Askla, Orion and four unidentified saints carrying crosses on long shafts, and also many others in the chapels of the monastery in Bawit.[70] Nevertheless, it ultimately spread to become one of the two basic variants in the iconography of the military saints. An early example of the formula's application is the eighth-century icon of St Merkourios from St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai which was painted in a provincial Coptic workshop (fig. 8).[71] The saint, who wears a golden cuirass and a light cloak fastened on his right shoulder by a fibula, uses his long, red-painted lance—which is fitted at the butt-end with a cross—to spear the emperor Julian who lies under the horse (and is identifiable only thanks to the small preserved fragment of his head). Completing the saint's equipment is a sword and a shield both slung on his back. In the background the *Manus Dei* holding a crown emerges from heaven, while an angel brings a lance of the same pattern as the saint's. This visual resemblance indicates that Merkourios is fulfilling the plan of Providence. As L.B. MacCoull has shown, the circumstances of the painting of the icon, doubtless under Muslim influence, indicate its protective character, since Merkourios served here as a defender of the Christians against their persecutors (historically the hated pagan emperor, but in the context of the work's creation, the Arabs).[72]

The type of the horseman armed with a cross-topped lance and riding his mount at a walking pace was also adopted in the period before Iconoclasm for depictions of Sergios. The saint appears in this guise on seals dated to between 550 and 650. He is identifiable as Sergios thanks to the Latin inscription on the reverse: *Sergii illustris et commerciariis*. The office of *kommerkiarios* was attested for the first time during the rule of Anastasius (491–518), and was connected with the collection

[70] In chapels 26, 51 and 56, see Clédat (as in n. 61), cols. 250–1, figs. 1284, 1286.

[71] This icon is number 49B in Weitzmann's catalogue (1976, 78), and was initially dated by him to the 10th century. However, in a study dedicated to it, MacCoull (1982) analyses the orthography of the inscription and the style and judges that it must have been made during the period of Iconoclasm on territory under Arab control, and without doubt in a Coptic workshop.

[72] MacCoull (1982, 409) even sees the turban of the caliph on the recumbent figure. On the attribution to Merkourios of the miraculous slaying of the Apostate see above, n. 7. The iconography of the subject in the later period is discussed, in the context of illustrations to the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos*, by Brubaker 1999, 232–5; Galavaris 1969, 146–8; and also more generally by Der Nersessian 1987.

of taxes on trade transactions.[73] Sergios appears again as a patron of merchants on a bronze Palestinian pendant (fig. 9) and on a bracelet also made of bronze.[74] Evidence for this are inscriptions on the rims of medallions depicting a mounted saint, worded: ΚΑΜΕΛΑΡΗϹ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ϹΕΡΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΜΕΛΑΡΗϹ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ϹΕΡΓΙ[ΟΥ Τ]ΟΥ ΒΑΡΒΑΡΙΚΟΥ. Evidently Sergios—no doubt in view of the location of his cult centre at an important hub of Near-Eastern trade routes—was regarded as protecting merchants' caravans, while the medallions produced in Resafa served either as amulets or as mementoes of visits to the saint's *martyrion*, and were taken home by faithful pilgrims.[75] In her discussion of the equestrian images of Sergios, Elizabeth Key Fowden noticed that there is nothing in the saint's *Life* to link him especially with a horse. She considers it insufficient explanation that since Sergios was an officer in a unit of horse guards, the *Schola gentilium*, the faithful would have regarded him as a cavalryman, and points to an inscription from Zorava (Ezra), in which the saint is referred to as a horseman, and also to a reference in the sixth/seventh century Syrian *Life of St Mar Qardagh*. It is stated here that in his first vision this saint saw an armoured youth mounted on a horse, who striking him in the side with his lance, foretold his martyrdom. When asked his name the rider introduced himself as God's servant, Sergios.[76]

To these arguments can be added a legend on the killing of the Arian emperor Valens retold in the Armenian *Epic history* of P'awstos the Singer (the so-called Faustus of Byzantium), which was written in *c*.470. The narrative is similar to the story of the slaying of Julian the Apostate by Merkourios, but he is replaced by Theodore and Sergios who are persuaded by St Thekla to eliminate the Arian persecutor of

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[73] In his description of the figure Zacos (1972, vol. 1/3, no. 2975) states only that the saint is dressed in chiton and himation, and does not link him with the inscription on the reverse. He also states that a now invisible enemy originally stood alongside the rider and was attacked by him. Such a reading is opposed by Key Fowden (1999, 38–9), who also links the depicted figure with the saint mentioned on the seal's reverse.

[74] Key Fowden 1999, 35–7, fig. 1 a, b ; Walter 2003a, 270.

[75] A stone mould was discovered in Resafa for casting this type of medallion (Key Fowden 1999, 38–9 and n. 93; and Walter 2003a, 152–3).

[76] MAR QARDAGH, pp. 23–4; see also Key Fowden 1999, 39–43 and 110 (translation of the inscription from the Hauran); she also sees formal and substantive links between the images of Sergios and equestrian depictions of the Palmyrene gods Arsu (or Arşu) and Aziz. On this pair of deities, esp. Arsu who the Greeks identified with Ares, see Teixidor 1979, 42–71; and Colledge 1976, 24.

true Christians. Although the Armenian text does not say how the saints achieved their goal, merely that they uttered that they had slain the emperor, the similarity of many details may have suggested to the reader that the circumstances were similar to the case of St Merkourios. Depictions from a later period of Valens slain by a holy rider are also known.[77] In turn, Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos in his *Ecclesiastical History* of *c.*1320 describes the miraculous freeing of a person who had been tied to a pillar, carried out by Sergios and Bakchos, who were both on horseback and dressed all in white.[78]

When considering the origins of the mounted image of the holy warrior, besides the type that, in view of its origins, might be called 'Hellenistic', we should also take into account the 'Sasano-Georgian' type, although it did not have a significant influence on the later methods of depicting mounted saints. Several stone relief stelae that came into being in Georgia during the sixth and seventh centuries bear scenes illustrating the miracle that took place while Placidus–Eustathios was out hunting, when Christ appeared among the antlers of a stag he was chasing, leading to his conversion.[79] Eustathios is shown aiming with a bow at the stag on the first sixth-century stele from the village of Tsebelda in Abkhazia (in the Museum of Fine Arts in Tbilisi), on a relief from the façade of the church in Martvili, as well as on a stele originating from the seventh-century church of St John the Baptist in the hermitage of St David Gareja (currently in the Historical Museum, Tbilisi).[80] The dating of the reliefs indicates that they were made soon

[77] A Latin translation of the legend is published by Peeters (1921, 70–2, esp. 72) who nevertheless regards the miracle of Theodore and Sergios as a translation of an earlier, Greek version of a legend that is independent of the tale of Merkourios and Julian. He nevertheless draws attention to historical inconsistencies, since Valens died at the battle of Adrianople in 378; see also Walter 2003a, 54. Meanwhile, Walter (1999, 179–80) recognizes the version about Merkourios as older, or at least functioning as archetypal. A representation of Merkourios killing Julian appears on fol. 409v of the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos, Par. gr. 510* (see Brubaker 1999, fig. 40; and Walter 2003a, 102, 105). The death of Valens is illustrated in a miniature on fol. 272v from an 11th–C. codex from Athos containing a liturgical redaction of *Gregory's Homilies* (*Cod. Iveron 271*), where the emperor is captioned as: Οὐάλης ὁ Ἀρειανός (see Galavaris 1969, 207).

[78] MPG, 147:69 [XV 23]; and Walter 2003a, 162 and n. 87.

[79] For hagiographic sources see above, n. 9.

[80] See Aladashvili/Volskaya 1987, 105–6. They are reproduced and dated, taking into account the earlier literature on the problem, by Saltykov 1985, 8–10, 12 (where he indicates the Council in Trullo of 691/92 as an *ante quem* for the stele from Tsebelda), figs. 1, 8, 9; Thierry 1985, 72; see also Velmans 1985, 32; Walter 1987, fig. 5; and Marković 1995, 579, fig. 30.

after the Christianization of Abkhazia and the setting up in it of an episcopal see subordinate to the patriarch of Antioch.

When examining the stele from Tsebelda, Alexandre A. Saltykov recognized the motifs of the rosette, eagle with bound legs, and dog that appear alongside the saint as borrowed from Zoroastrian and Sasanian tradition, elements that are intermingled with Christian symbols.[81] Undoubtedly the horse archer motif—foreign to Greco-Roman tradition—was also borrowed from Persian iconography, this time secular, where the image of the ruler hunting on horseback with a bow often appears (fig. 10, 85).[82] The artists, for whom the neighbouring Persian art was closer than that of the Mediterranean basin, therefore made use of a composition they knew to depict a Christian legend,[83] not giving it an apotropaic significance characteristic of equestrian images of warrior saints of the Hellenistic type.

In Georgia the type of Eustathios hunting with the bow was adopted as canonical and was widely used in the decoration of churches erected

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[81] Saltykov (1985, 13–15) interprets the Persian elements as connected with the Zoroastrian New Year (*Nowrūz*) celebrated at the time of the Spring solstice, and considers that they were employed to underline the Easter character of the Christological scenes depicted on the stele. He rejects Delehaye's theory (1966) on the borrowing of the iconography from the Indian legend of the king and Buddha as a stag, although the theory is accepted by Velmans (1985, 38).

[82] The mounted hunt with the bow, a popular subject in Sasanian royal iconography appears e.g. on a 3rd-C. relief in a Berlin Museum, as well as on silver dishes of Shapur II and Chosroes I (531–578/9) (see Velmans 1985, 39, fig. 21, who discerns Persian influences in Eustathios's long tunic; and also Hoffmeyer 1966, fig. 17; Bivar 1972, 285 [and p. 284 on the Persian cavalry's use of the composite bow], fig. 23 [= Walter 1989, fig. 1]). See also the mural with Mithras pursuing game and hunting scenes from Dura-Europos in Rostovtzeff 1935, figs. 64, 66, 71, 79, 84–85. Because of the superficial similarity of hunting scenes and Eustathios's vision modern scholars often make a false interpretation of certain representations, seeing a horse archer as the saint, e.g. hunting scenes on the façade of a church in Ateni (see Velmans 1985, 32; and cf. Aladashvili/Volskaya 1987, 106). Later this motif becomes unusually rare in Byzantine art, e.g. a hunting scene on an 11th-C. ivory chest in the treasury of Troyes Cathedral in Champagne (Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 1, no. 122; Darkevich 1975, 239, fig. 368; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 202), although it is seen on more than one occasion on Persian-influenced works, e.g. on a group of three 12th-C. repoussé dishes adorned with duelling scenes and animal figures from the village of Vilgort (now in the Hermitage), from Chernigov and from the A.P. Basilevsky collection (now also in the Hermitage) (Darkevich 1975, 17, 41, 63, figs. 22, 30, 38, 63, 80, 87; who on p. 140 interprets the horse archers as light-armed *trapezitai*) and also on a 10th/12th-C. ivory casket in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London (Heath 1979, fig. on p. 20; who points out the Pecheneg dress of the horse archers).

[83] Cf. Thierry 1987, who sees in the legend of Eustathios echoes of the antique cult of the deer and the stag in Anatolia and in the Middle East, and would like to see its birth in these regions.

between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries.[84] Simultaneously, already from the seventh century in the murals in the Cappadocian rock-cut churches Eustathios is shown with a lance instead of a bow. This iconographical solution is employed in the murals in Church no. 3 in Mavrucan and on an engraving on the wall of St John's Church in Çavuşin, which is nominally dated to the seventh century.[85] It also caught on in later Cappadocian art, as well as in miniatures in Byzantine psalters with marginal decoration, where the legend of St Eustathios was employed to illustrate Psalm 96(97):11, "Light is shed upon the righteous, And joy for the upright of heart".[86] It can therefore be assumed that the iconographical type of the equestrian saint which was derived from depictions of Solomon and Sisinnios was so strongly

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[84] Eustathios with a bow on horseback is depicted on murals in the following churches: of the Archangels in Iprari (1096); Khosita Mairam in North Ossetia (12th C.); of the Saviour in Zenobani (12th/13th C.); of St George in Ckelkari (Tskhelkari) in Abkhazia (13th C.); in Nuzal (13th C.); St Saba in Safara (14th C.); in Kaishe-Targlezer; Christ Saviour in Lagami (15th C.); and in the church of the Archangels in Lashtkhveri (16th C.). An exception to this rule is the relief on the façade of the 10th-C. church in Martvili (Velmans 1985, 29–32, 35, 43, figs. 14–17, 19–20; Aladashvili/Volskaya 1987, 107, figs. 3, 6; Velmans/Novello 1996, 110–11, figs. 85–88; and Walter 2003a, 164–5). Cf. also Scholz (1982, 244–7), who believes that in Georgian art Sts George and Theodore on horseback holding bows, commonly shown in an antithetical arrangement, refer compositionally to models from bronze age Trans-Caucasia and Persian art, although the author, of course, passes over the Mediterranean tradition.

[85] See Velmans 1985, 33, fig. 22 and n. 87; Walter 2003a, 165, and also p. 35; and Coumoussi (1985, 52), who draws attention to the unusual symbolic depiction from the 8th-C. church of Yaprakhissar (Davullu kilissesi) decorated during the period of Iconoclasm, in which Eustathios was painted as a lion preparing to jump at the stag.

[86] Post-Iconoclastic illustrations of the legend include paintings in the following Cappadocian churches: Balik Kilise (10th C.), Alčak kaya alti Kilise (10th C.), northern chapel of the Great Pigeon House in Güllu dere (10th C.), the church of Gueik Kilise (11th C.), St Stephanos in Cemil (11th C.), St Eustathios in Göreme (before 1148), and St George in Ortaköy (end of 13th C.). The legend also appears in the Greek islands in the two 13th-C. monasteries of St George Diasorites on Naxos and St Thekla on Euboea (Velmans 1985, 33–5, fig. 23; Velmans/Novello 1996, 112–13); later Greek examples are discussed by Coumoussi 1985. It also appears as an illustration of Ps. 96(97):11 φῶς ἀνέτειλεν τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ τοῖς εὐθέσι τῇ καρδίᾳ εὐφροσύνη (which as Velmans [1985, 36] notes was keenly employed in Iconophile propaganda in view of the resemblance of the image of Christ in a *clipeus* to an icon) in 9th- and 11th-C. psalters: *Khludov Psalter*, fol. 97v; *British Add. 19352*, fol. 130v; *Barberini Psalter*, *Vat. gr. 972*, fol. 136r (Coumoussi 1985, 53, 56–7; Shchepkina 1977, fig. 97, Walter 1981, fig. 8; Walter 1988, 216, fig. 13; Der Nersessian 1970, 97, fig. 211; Walter 2003a, 165–7, fig. 54). See also Walter 1987 on the functions of depictions of saints in 9th-C. psalters with marginal decoration.

rooted in the art of the Empire that it pushed out the culturally alien solutions of Georgia.[87]

Even so, scenes of St Eustathios's conversion still have a historical-hagiographical character and describe the events of the saint's legend, which aim to show the conversion of a persecutor of Christians (fig. 96) rather than his defeat—as is the case with Theodore and Merkourios. The idea of representing the protection extended over the faithful by the warrior saints by formulas other than the *calcatio* and spearing with a lance, by illustrating appropriate, usually posthumous miracles, such as the freeing of the African bishop of Thenai, Cyprianus, from Slavic captivity by St Demetrios, or the rescuing of the youth George 'of Paphlagonia' (in another version, 'of Mitylene' on Lesbos) from Arab (or Bulgar) imprisonment, appeared only in the eleventh century. It was then that these legends began to be illustrated usually in communities that were under the control of infidel rulers—Muslim or Latin—as an expression of the hope placed in the holy protectors of the Orthodox populace.[88]

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[87] Alongside images of Eustathios with lance, a type developed in the 9th C. with the saint shown after his vision kneeling in armour beside his horse, e.g. in the *Pantokrator Psalter 61*, fol. 138, and the *Parisinus Psalter gr. 20*, fol. 5v (*Athos*, vol. Γ', fig. 226; and Velmans 1985, fig. 24; see also Velmans' proposed division of scenes with St Eustathios into 'before' and 'after' the conversion). Walter (2003a, 164) notes that the topos of the vision of Christ appearing in a stag's antlers spread to the legends of other saints.

[88] On the act of trampling in Byzantine iconography see Górecki 1980, 219–31 and nn. 167, 168, and figs. 16–20 (= Vermeule 1960, fig. 47) which show a statue from Crete of *c.*AD 135 currently in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, on which the emperor Hadrian tramples a prisoner, and also coins of Constantine, Avitus, Honorius and Valentinian; see also Kantorowicz 1961, fig. 32. Evidence that the symbolism of the *calcatio* was still alive in Byzantium is the ritual conducted during the triumph over the Arab emir Abul ᶜAshir, in Constantinople in 956 (see DE CER., 609^{18}–610^{2} [II 19]; and for an analysis of the event—McCormick 1986, 160–2).

The legend of Cyprian's rescue by an officer named Demetrios is given by Lemerle (see above, n. 17); while three versions of the legend of George saving the youth are given by AUFHAUSER, 13–44, 100–3 (Walter [2003a, 119] points out the legend's late date). The earliest renditions of this subject appear in 11th- and 12th-C. Georgian churches and illustrate the most recent versions of the legend which referred to St George (Privalova 1963; and 1977, 93–109); when representing other saints use was made of the pictorial formula worked out at that time of a mounted saint accompanied by a smaller figure he had rescued, as in the case of Demetrios (Theotoka 1955), Theodore (Meinardus 1973; Walter 1999, 169), and even Nicholas (Kretzenbacher 1983, 57–78).

The type of the warrior saint on foot

Alongside the equestrian portrayals, warrior saints in the Early Byzantine period were also depicted on foot. Besides Sisinnios, in the northern church of the monastery in Bawit there is a fresco depicting St George from the same period preserved on a column; the saint is unambiguously identified by the word "+ΓΕΟΡΓΙΟC" inscribed above his left shoulder (fig. 11).[89] The way he is depicted clearly diverges from the iconographic formula characteristic for images of Solomon and Sisinnios, who are shown wearing *chlamydes* covering their lower tunics. George is shown frontally, standing in armour, with a light belt around his waist, and a cloak draped over his back and left upper arm; he has a spear in his right hand, and a sword hanging at his left side. This image is one of the many representations of the type showing military saints standing *en face*.

The same type is presented on a sixth-century icon of St Theodore from St Catherine's monastery on Mt Sinai (fig. 12). It shows a standing warrior in armour, with a lance topped with a cross in his right hand and a cloak covering his left shoulder.[90] Painted in a slightly different manner is a military saint, perhaps Sergios, in the second layer of frescoes at the Egyptian church of Al-Adra in Al-Surian, which are dated to *c*.700.[91] The saint, who is dressed in a long tunic, holds before him a spear and a sword in a scabbard.

Far more popular, however, became a variant in which the military saint is shown with a lance in his right hand and a shield in his left, in accordance with the military manuals' recommendations on the arming of troops.[92] The following saints are depicted in this manner:

[89] Clédat (see n. 61) cols. 221–2, fig. 1265; Marković 1995, 578, fig. 27; Walter 2003a, 123.

[90] In Weitzmann's catalogue (1976, 36–37, figs. XV, LIX as no. B13); Marković 1995, 575, fig. 29; cf. also Charalampides (1991, 128–9, fig. 12) who proposes dating the icon to the 7th C., not taking into account its formal links with a group of 6th-C. classicizing Sinaian icons. In turn Parani (2003, 149) considers the icon as one of the earliest depictions of a military saint in battle gear.

[91] The fragmentary inscription reads: '...PIOC', or '...ΓΙΟC', suggesting Sergios or George rather than Demetrios (Innemée 1998, 146, fig. 3).

[92] The holding of the spear in the right hand and the shield in the left, is a result of natural manual dexterity, but in view of the dense formations employed was customary in all armies including Classical ones, as is evident from warriors depicted in Greek vase painting (Phidias sculpted Athena Parthenos in this manner; see also the Late Roman examples of figures of Mars published by Marković 1995, figs. 16–17). In Aelian's manual (XLII 1, see LT, p. 198) a turn to the right is described as 'to the

the aforementioned St Theodore(?) from the cathedral in Faras;[93] St Philotheos spearing a serpent with a human head, on the embossed leather cover of a writing case from Antinoë, Egypt (before 650) (figs. 6 & 13);[94] an unidentified saint on an Egyptian wood panel in a Berlin collection;[95] on the lower arm of a sixth/seventh-century cross pendant;[96] on a seventh/eighth-century gold ring;[97] on a mural in cave chapel 15 in Kelia (end of seventh century) in Egypt;[98] on a Syrian bronze bracelet;[99] St Theodore on a sixth or seventh-century Armenian

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spear', and to the left, 'to the shield'. Byzantine drill employs similar terms, e.g. PERI STRATEGIAS, p. $74^{9,\ 11–14}$ [22] "there are eight turnings, four to the spear and four to the shield. They designate the turning to the right as to the spear, since it is held in the right hand, and to the left as to the shield, since it is held in the left hand." (καθ' ἃ κινεπαι ἣ φάλαγξ, συμβαίνει κλίσεις εἶναι ὀκτώ, τέσσαρας μέν ἐπὶ δόρυ, τέσσαρας δὲ έπ' ἀσπίδα. λέγουσιν δὲ έπὶ δόρυ μέν τὴν έκ δεξιῶν διά τὸ δόρυ κατέχειν τῆ δεξιᾷ χειρί, έπ' ἀσπίδα δὲ τὴν έπ' ἀριστεριὰ διὰ τὸ τῆ λαιᾷ χειρὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα κατέχειν) See also pp. 76^{23}, $78^{39,\ 42}$ [24]: ἐπὶ δόρυ [...] ἐπ' ἀσπίδα; and also STRAT. p. $446^{78,\ 80–81}$ [XII B 16]: αδ κοντο κλινα [...] αδ σκουτο κλινα μοβε; Mihăescu 1969, 276; and LT, $1{:}193^{2290–91}$ [VII 81 (88)], $2{:}70^{4105–07}$ [XII 80 (81)] (calling the entire left wing 'the shield side'; see also STRAT., p. $182^{2–4}$ [III 13]), {LT, p. 364 [XLI]}; SUDA, $4{:}108^{26–27}$ [Π 1291]: ἐὰν μὲν ἐπὶ δόρυ γίγνηται, τὴν ἐξ ἀριστερῶν ἐπιφάνειαν· ἐὰν δὲ ἐπ' ἀσπίδα, τὴν ἐκ δεξιῶν. See also KOMNENE, $3{:}91^{29}–92^{2}$ [XIII 2/1]. The reversed arrangement of spear and shield of a footsoldier depicted on a 12th–13th-C. ceramic bowl found at Vrea near Nea Silata on the Chalkidiki peninsula (currently stored in the tower of the port of Prosphorion in Ouranopoulis, 10th Ephoreia of Byzantine Antiquities, inv. no. 1074) is interpreted by Armstrong/Sekunda (2006, 15) as a parody, making use of grotesque deformation to indicate a soldier's incompetence.

93 See above, n. 62.

94 The depiction is accompanied by an inscription commending the writing case's owner into the saint's protection: +ΑΓΙΟϹ ΦΙΛΟΤΕΟϹ and ΑΓΙΕ ΦΙΛΟΘΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ ΤΩ ΔΟΥΛΩ ϹΟΥ ΠΑΜΙΩ. Philotheos was especially reverred in Egypt for casting demons out of idols. Another saint of this name was martyred in the time of Diocletian at Samosata on the upper Euphrates. There was no church dedicated to St Philotheos in Constantinople, nor was he venerated in Byzantium (H. Leclercq, "Calame" in *DACL*, 2:1581–2, fig. 1861; Górecki 1980, 235, fig. 30; Marković 1995, 580, fig. 34; Walter 1990, 42 and n. 72; Walter 2003a, 234, 271, fig. 22).

95 See H. Leclercq, "Berlin (Museés de)" in *DACL*, 2:792, fig. 1533; and after him Marković 1995, fig. 35.

96 See Górecki 1980, 233, fig. 29.

97 The ring is held in a private German collection; the depiction is accompanied by the inscription: + ΚΥΡΙΕ ΒΟΗΘΙ ('Lord help'), see *Rom–Byzanz*, no. 336.

98 Miguel et al. (1993, 80, fig. 29) putatively identify the warrior saint as either Menas, Merkourios, Phoebammon or George. Worthy of note are the tall boots with lace-up fronts, corresponding to the antique *endromides*. The white oval shield on which the saint's left hand rests, and the spear, reversed head downwards, are very faint, but the figure's identification as a warrior saint is certain thanks to the visible items of armour, especially the *pteryges*.

99 The motif of a mounted saint fighting a demon appears on neighbouring links, along with a passage from Psalm 90:1 (Górecki 1980, 233).

stele from Ozdun (currently Uzunlar);[100] Theodore again attacking a demon with a pennanted lance on the wall of a Palestinian grave in Abdon;[101] and on a Syrian finger-ring in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington (end of sixth century).[102] The column capitals discovered in 1935 in the ruins of the church of the garrison settlement of Ayla near Aqaba in Jordan are decorated with reliefs depicting Sts Theodore and Longinus; the two saints wear scale body armour with *pteryges*, hold a lance with the right hand, and lean on oval shields with the left.[103] The selection of these martyrs to adorn a church at a location where troops were stationed may be evidence that warrior saints were already starting to be regarded as patrons of the army in the Early Byzantine period.[104]

An exceptional depiction of a warrior saint is a relief adorning a bronze cross from Emesa (currently Homs) from the last quarter of the sixth century. Sculpted on it is the standing figure of St George leaning his left arm on his shield, and holding out his right hand in a gesture of liberation towards a kneeling orant figure, named on an accompanying inscription as Theognis, who is sometimes identified with a military commander under the emperor Tiberius II Constantine (578–82).[105] The saint is dressed in a *chlamys* fastened on the right shoulder with a fibula, but does not hold a lance.

More such departures from the basic type in the early period of development of the iconography of the warrior saints can be pointed out. Among the previously mentioned terracotta icons from Vinica,

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[100] Marković 1995, 578 and notes 73–5 (reporting the views on dating), fig. 22.

[101] Górecki 1980, 233, fig. 28.

[102] Marković 1995, 576, fig. 24; Nesbitt 2003, fig. 13.16. On early images of the military saints (standing frontally, with lance and shield) on the seals of the Constantinopolitan *demoi* and the bishops of Euchaita in Asia Minor (currently Avkhad near Amasya) see below, pp. 99ff and 262f.

[103] *Legio* X *Fretensis* was stationed in the settlement from the turn of the 3rd and 4th centuries. In the same period a bishop of Ayla participated in the councils of Nicaea (325; bishop Peter) and Chalcedon (451). The images of warriors on the capitals have inscriptions that allow their identification: [Λο]γγιν[ος] and Θεοδορ[ος]. Discovered with the capitals was a stele with an inscription dating to 555, although this need not be the date the capitals were made, which must, nevertheless, have been before the Arab invasion (Zayadine 1994, 488–9, figs. 2, 4; Walter 1999, 181, fig. 9).

[104] See below, p. 41ff.

[105] The cross, once in the Schlumberger collection, measures 30 x 14 cm and is currently stored in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, see Marković 1995, 578 and n. 77, fig. 26; Walter 2003a, 124, 271 fig. 21. The scene is accompanied by the inscription: K(YPI)E BOHΘI ΓΕΝΝΑΔΙΑΝ; ΦΩC ΖΩΗ and +ΑΓΙΕ ΓΕΟΡΓΙ+ BOHΘI ΜΕCΕΒΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΘΕΟΓΝΙ.

two further ones show a pair of figures wearing military gear. The first of them depict two Old Testament figures, Joshua and Caleb, who were sent by Moses to spy out the land of Canaan (fig. 7b).[106] Both are depicted in armour, with *pteryges* that reach below their knees, while Joshua wears a scale cuirass, and Caleb a tunic-like overgarment. Completing their attire are belts with rounded links, cloaks fastened under the chin, and helmets—an unusual item for images of warrior saints, but not uncommon in the later iconography of Joshua.[107] Between the two figures is a round shield, on which Caleb rests his right hand, while holding a spear in his left. A similar arrangement, undoubtedly providing symmetry to the composition, can be observed on the second icon showing St Christopher the 'dog-headed' and St George (fig. 7c). Both are dressed in long tunics and thrust their lances into snakes that writhe at their feet;[108] while above a centrally

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[106] See Balabanov/Krstevski 1993, no. 46, pp. 39–40, 54; Walter 2003, fig. 12.5; Num. 13:6. Among the larger group of spies described in the Old Testament only those depicted on the icon, tearing their garments (in anguish) and urging for an immediate conquest of a land that flowed with milk and honey, since such was the will of God (Num. 14:6–8): Ἰησοῦς δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ναυη καὶ Χαλεβ ὁ τοῦ Ιεφοννη τῶν κατασκεψαμένων τὴν γῆν διέρρηξαν τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτῶν, καὶ εἶπαν πρὸς πᾶσαν συναγωγὴν υἱῶν Ισραηλ λέγοντες Ἡ γῆ, ἣν κατεσκεψάμεθα αὐτήν, ἀγαθή ἐστιν σφόδρα σφόδρα· εἰ αἱρετίζει ἡμᾶς κύριος, εἰσάξει ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην καὶ δώσει αὐτὴν ἡμῖν, γῆ ἥτις ἐστὶν ῥέουσα γάλα καὶ μέλι. This may suggest that the selection of figures on the icon carried with it the idea of propagating expansion as part of God's plans.

[107] As an example see the 10th/11th-C. frescoes in the church of the Virgin at the monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phokis (Chatzidakis 1997, 13, fig. 5); and in narrative depictions the decorations of the *Joshua Roll* (*Vat. palat. gr. 431*, sheets III, V, X, XIV); and the following illuminated *Octateuchs* which make use of its compositional solutions: *Vat. gr. 746* (3rd quarter of 11th C., repainted in the 14th C.), fols. 449r–v, 453v, 457r; *Vat. gr. 747*, fols. 165v, 219r–v, 221v, 222v–224v, 225r, 455v; and the late 13th-C. *Athos Vatop. 602*, fols. 350r, 353r–v, 357v, 359v, 365r, 366r, 374r (Lowden 1992, figs. 54, 56–58, 87, 89, 118, 146, 151, 160, 163, 167–172, 174–175; Lassus 1973, fig. 126; *Athos*, vol. Δ', pp. 253–4, 268–72, figs. 105–107, 110–111, 113, 117, 119). Parani (2003, 156) draws attention to the ahistorical introduction of Roman rather than Jewish items of military equipment into the iconography of Joshua. In view of the far from archaeological view of history prior to the 19th C. this should come as no surprise. Parani admits that a similar mechanism can be observed in the case of Jewish kings depicted in Byzantine imperial robes. She explains both examples quite superficially regarding them as a type of attribute that specifies the function of the depicted person.

[108] See Balabanov/Krstevski 1993, no. 54, pp. 40–1 (deriving the iconographical type of the dog-headed Christopher from antique images of Anubis); Walter 2003a, 125, 271 fig. 24; and above, n. 68. On Christopher's origins from a dog-headed tribe (*genus canineorum*) in Africa, and his legend which mentions service as a soldier in the imperial army, which explains his occasional appearance in the ranks of the military saints see the note in *LCI*, 5:496–508 (with further bibliog.); Armstrong/Sekunda 2006, 14–15 (who also record the miraculous sprouting of his cane at the moment of

positioned round shield is a cross. We might add to this group the textile from Akhmim mentioned earlier bearing the image of a warrior saint, dressed in a long tunic and cloak; here the figure (perhaps Theodore) spears a dragon with a cross on a long shaft, while holding a smaller cross in his left hand—an attribute of martyrdom (fig. 14).[109]

Sometimes a work's poor state of preservation does not allow us to properly read its iconographic type. Examples include two other Coptic textiles showing St Theodore (including one from Akhmim). These woollen embroideries dating to the sixth/seventh century which are preserved in American collections have survived in a fragmentary state, and although the characteristic physiognomy of the saint is visible on them, with light *chlamys* fastened on the right shoulder and a fragment of the shaft of lance,[110] it is not possible to determine whether or not he was depicted with a shield.

Among the early images of warrior saints the method of representation differs on the pilgrim ampullae from Abu Mina; on these Menas appears in an orant pose, wearing a muscled cuirass, *pteryges* and cloak fastened on the right shoulder, but without weapons (fig. 15). Usually depicted on either side of Menas are two kneeling camels; these allow the scene to be interpreted as an episode from his *Passio*, where his miraculous transportation by camels to his place of burial

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conversion—hence his attribute, the staff without a spear-head, which is also shown on the Vinica icon). A church dedicated to him in Chalcedon in 452 is evidence of the early development of his cult.

[109] See above, n. 13

[110] On the physiognomic features characteristic of St Theodore see Mavrodinova (1969, 40–5), who distinguishes two types—'Alexandrian', with flat straight hair and broad beard ending in a point, characteristic for images of Teron; and 'Anatolian', with hair arranged in rows of curly locks and a split beard, used in depictions of Stratelates. Her theory has been repeated uncritically by other researchers (cf. e.g. Mirzoyan 1987, 446; Maguire 1990, 75–6; Davies 1991, 100; and also Marković (1995, 596), who believes that the division into two types only took place in the 12th C. It should be stressed that this division can only be used to distinguish the Theodores in certain circumstances, usually when the two are shown next to each other, see Walter's critical opinion (1999, 186; and also 2003, 59–60, 65) where he indicates one of the earliest examples of a variant form of beard of both Theodores in miniatures in the *Menologion* of Metaphrastes at the library of San Salvatore Monastery in Messina (*Cod. gr. 27*, fol. 28 Stratelates; fol. 161v Teron) modelled on a Constantinopolitan MS of the 11th C. The two textile depictions of St Theodore Teron are held at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, the first unpublished, the second from Akhmim in Egypt; another piece is at the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This last museum has also a border fragment naming the saint as ΑΓΙ(ΟC) ΘΕΟΔΟ(ΡΟC) (N.P. Ševčenko, "Two fragments of textile with St Theodore(?)" in *Age of Spirituality*, 549–50; Charalampides 1991, 122; and Walter 2003a, 55).

is described. Formally, scenes of this type refer to depictions of the prophet Daniel among the lions;[111] their function is inextricably linked with the pilgrim traffic to the *martyrion* of Menas. They served as *eulogia*—containers for oil from lamps burning above the *martyrion*, taken home by pilgrims, and in this case one should not expect any particular protective content resulting from the use by their makers of the specific formula of a military saint. Ampullae were manufactured at a local workshop from the fifth century, when pilgrimages to Abu Mina began, and their production ceased after the Arab conquest of Egypt.[112] In the art of the Eastern Church the iconographic type of Menas the soldier did not catch on, although he appears occasionally in military attire in later periods.[113]

An orant type in a chlamys similar to the images of Menas is represented by a trio of saints adorning sixth/seventh century baked-clay medallions originating from Asia Minor. These bear the inscriptions: 'Gift' (or 'Blessing') of St 'Abbakon', and probably served a similar function for pilgrims as the ampullae of Menas. But the abraded details on the examples known today do not allow the figures to be classed with certainty as warrior saints.[114]

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[111] Kaufmann (1910a, *passim*) points out that the iconography of Menas surrounded by camels is dependent on the iconography of Horus–Harpokrates taming wild beasts; see also Walter 2003a, 185 and n. 35.

[112] The ampullae often bear the explanatory inscription: Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΜΗΝΑC, or ΕΥΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΜΗΝΑ. On the function and production of ampullae, and also the iconography of Menas and connections with the image of Daniel see Kaufmann 1910a (with numerous examples); Hahn (1997, 1089) suggests the ampullae were filled with lamp oil; Kiss (1967, 156–9 with examples on figs. 1a, 2, and nn. 38–41) introduces a division into three types: Menas—*orans* (appearing *c.*480–560); accompanied by two camels (*c.*560–610); and the so-called 'canonical' type, linking elements of the earlier types (*c.*610–40); Kiss 1970, figs. 1–3; *Byzanz*, no. I 75. 1–2, pp. 195–6; *Rom-Byzanz*, no. 100; *Byzantium*, no. 123. See also the division into types mentioned by Walter (2003a, 185): rule of Arcadius and Zeno—with Menas as an orant in a wreath of leaves; rule of Justinian—with camels and a cross on the reverse; and a Heraclian type, with elements of the two earlier forms. Walter also mentions kilns discovered at Karm Abu Mena that were used for the production of lamps.

[113] E.g. on a Late Byzantine fresco in the katholikon of the Serbian monastery in Dečani see Marković 1995, fig. 7. On the transformation of St Menas's iconography after Iconoclasm see Woodfin 2006, 132–142.

[114] See J. Witta, "Vier Ermedaillons mit Heiligendarstellung" in *Byzanz*, 200, no. I 78. 1–4. The identification of one of the trio as Abba Konon (probably identical with a martyr of this name from Bidana in Isauria, famous as a slayer of demons) may indicate the apotropaic function of the medallions, but does not help in establishing their iconographic type.

Warrior Saints and Ancient Gods

The origins of the iconographic type of the saint on horseback would seem to have been adequately explained by Christopher Walter, who points to depictions of Solomon and Sisinnios as the bridge between the Classical pictorial tradition and the Christian image of the warrior on horseback.[115] Nevertheless, many misunderstandings have arisen around the explanation of the origins of the formula of warriors depicted in a standing pose with weapons.

Górecki, in seeking answers to determine which models were used by the artists who created the earliest images of the warrior saints, concentrates on Late Roman images of emperors, consuls and high commanders in armour (usually 'muscled cuirasses', in which—with the exception of the ampullae of St Menas—military saints are only rarely depicted in the early period).[116] He does not, however, mention the compositional formulas taken directly from state triumphal iconography, which were borrowed for the portrayal of this group of saints. The messages carried by both groups of depictions also do not always overlap. It should therefore be recognized that the images of rulers and commanders in armour had only an indirect influence on the creation of the soldier-saint as an iconographic type. In searching for direct models it is necessary to reach to late antique depictions of pagan gods in armour and with weapons. In their case we can see more direct links with the early iconography of the military martyrs.

A good example of the direct transfer of an ancient compositional formula is a group of seals from the Zacos collection in Basel. The first seal, according to an inscription on the back, belonged to Peter, bishop of Euchaita (*c.*650–730); a second to an otherwise unidentified metropolitan, John;[117] while two further examples, dated to the

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[115] See e.g. Walter 1990, 42.

[116] Górecki 1980, 215, 219–23. Numerous Roman statues of state dignitaries in richly decorated parade muscled cuirasses (so-called *statua loricata*) are published by Vermeule 1960, 15–29, 32–76 (catalogue of sculptures) and figs. 1–13, 15–63, 64–67, 69–72, 74–79. The custom of funding memorials to dead soldiers in the Late Roman period is evidenced by AMMIAN., 2:137 [19.6.12] on the setting up by Constantius in Edessa of statues of the drill-instructors (*campiductores*) who had died in the defence of Amida in 359.

[117] See Zacos 1972, vol. 1/2, nos. 1285, 1288 (who dates the seal of Peter to the second half of the 7th C.—beginning of 8th C.); Laurent 1963, pt. 1, nos. 852 (dated to the 8th C.) and 936; the seals are also published by Marković 1995, 575–6, fig. 23a; Walter

550–650 period, to a certain Epiphanios and Nicholas (figs. 16a–d).[118] Depicted on the obverse of all these seals is a bearded saint in armour, with chlamys thrown over his shoulders, resting his left hand on an oval shield, and holding in his right hand a cross, which he uses to impale a serpent writhing at his feet. Although the figure is uncaptioned, the origins of one of the seals in Euchaita, centre of the cult of St Theodore, indicates that it is him who is depicted in all the examples. An element distinguishing all these seals from those depicting the saint slaying a dragon is the tree added in the background, not warranted in any specific manner by the legend or tradition of representing Theodore. Contrary to Walter's opinion linking the slaying of a dragon with the legends of Perseus and Herakles, the formal origin of this motif seems to be the iconography of Athena.[119] The goddess is occasionally depicted with shield and spear in the company of the snake-god Erichthonios (who is occasionally identified with Kekrops),[120] with an olive tree as her attribute. This composition

1999, 173, fig. 2; and 2003, 97, figs. 12.1–12.2 (noting the presence of the dragon but omitting the tree motif); and Nesbitt 2003, 110–11, fig. 13.15; the last two authors give an 8th C. dating. An identification of the owner of the Euchaita seal is made possible by an inscription on the rim of the reverse: +ΠΕΤΡΩΕΠΙCΚΟΠΩΕVΧΑΙΤΩV (Θεοτίκε, βοήθει Πέτρῳ ἐπισκόπῳ Εὐχαίτων) (see also PBE I, Petros 51); an inscription on seal no. 1285 which is dated to the 6th C. reads: ΙΩΑΝ/ΝΟVΜ/ΗΤΡΟΠο ('Ιωάννου μητροπολίτου) and perhaps belonged to one of the autocephalous archbishops of Euchaita (of the 7th C. or later) or to a metropolitan of Amaseia (e.g. the John who took part in the third Council of Constantinople; PBE I, Ioannes 44).

118 See Zacos vol. 1/1, nos. 1283a-c, 1287 = Marković 1995, fig. 23b; Nesbitt 2003, p. 110, fig. 13.14. The block monograms on the reverse of both seals with the wording ΕΠΙΦΑΝΙΥ and ΝΙΚΟΛΑΥ, likely refer to the owners' names. Meanwhile, Zacos's proposed identification of the saint on seal no. 1283 (belonging to Epiphanios) as a military saint, probably Theodore, would seem to be unfounded. On all the above seals see recently Walter (2003a, 50–1), who believes that the earliest known depictions of Theodore slaying the dragon antecede the earliest known redaction of the legend, which dates to no earlier than 754.

119 Cf. Walter 2003a, 50–1, with references to the text of the legend [BHG 1764].

120 According to myth the Attic hero Erichthonios was born from a drop of Hephaistos' seed, shed while he was attempting to rape Athena. She wiped herself with a tuft of wool, and threw it on the ground thereby fertilizing the earth (Gaia), who gave birth to a child. In the earliest Greek legends Erichthonios is sometimes identified with Erechtheus, but a differentiation between the two is already seen in the Iliad (1:51[547–48] [II], 4:31[219] [XX]), where Erechtheus was born of Gaia, and grew up in the care of Athena, while Erichthonios was the son of Dardanos. The mythic founder of Athens, Kekrops, was also said to have been the son of Gaia. Both Erichthonios and Kekrops are depicted in Greek art as half human, half snake. On the cult and iconography of Athena in general, see W.H. Roscher, "Athene" and A. Furtwängler, "Athene in der Kunst" in *LIMGR*, 1/1:675–87 and 687–704, esp. figs. on col. 690, and as the goddess of war, on cols. 678–80. On Kekrops and Erichthonios see O. Immisch, "Kekrops" in

was very popular in Athens, as is evident from the numerous bronze coins struck in the city between the first century BC and the third century AD.[121] It is therefore highly likely that the creator of the oldest of the seals with St Theodore borrowed from the available Athenian coin type, merely altering the figure's pose from the sideways stance in which the goddess was depicted, to frontal, closer to the canon of military saint images. He left the tree motif, perhaps treating it as ornamental background filler. It is not possible to determine whether the artist's choice of a Greek goddess as a model for the warrior saint was a conscious one.

Even closer are the military saints' formal links with late antique depictions of Syrian and Egyptian deities who stand *en face*, in full military equipment, often grouped together a few at a time, and sometimes in whole galleries (figs. 17a–b).[122] Many scholars have drawn attention to the formal similarities of both groups,[123] but the lack of closer links with the army and warfare of such ancient gods as: Horus (in his late Hellenic incarnation as Harpokrates–Mercury); Osiris–Aspis; Anubis; and also in the Palmyrene pantheon, the senior god Baal; Yarhibol the god of spring and sun; Aglibol, the lunar god of agriculture; and many others,[124] has meant that their search for deeper dependences have not

LIMGR, 2/1:1014–24 and fig. on cols. 1021–2 (painting on a hydria from Kerch, where Kekrops in serpent-form writhes at the foot of an olive tree).

[121] See *Agora*, pp. 102, 140–41 (esp. no. 250), 151–53, figs. 139a–g, 140a–e; Krikou 1993, 46–7, fig. 23/7. The latest examples of this coin type are dated to AD 264–7.

[122] On the Palmyrene gods see Rostovtzeff 1935, esp. 207–10, 228–9, 242–3 and n. 61 (with earlier literature on the gods in military attire) and figs. 36, 38, 40–2, 50, 57. Examples of group depictions of deities in military clothing are published by Morehart 1958, figs. 11–13; and Teixidor 1979, figs. 7/2, 21/2, 24, 25/2. On Syrian and Roman influences on late antique Egyptian mythology at the level of cult and iconography see Rostovtzeff (1932), who cites numerous examples of Egyptian depictions of gods with weapons (figs. 4–8 and 9: frescoes with a mounted god wielding a double-edged axe). Egyptian images of gods in muscled cuirasses are published by Kantorowicz 1961, 369–73, figs. 6–13, 15–16, with Palmyrene gods on figs. 19–31.

[123] See recently Walter (2003a, 285–7); who also draws attention to the youthful appearance of both the Palmyrene gods and the warrior saints.

[124] On the functions of the Palmyrene gods see Teixidor, 1979, 1–12 (on Baal–Jupiter), 18–19, 25–29 (on Baal-Shamin), 29–31 (on Yarhibol, who was venerated as the god of Spring by Palmyrene archers at Dura in the 2nd C. AD), 34, 42 (on Aglibol, who along with Baal and Yarhibol, formed a great trinity of Palmyrene deities); and also Colledge 1976, 24–5. It is surprising that Mithras, a god with strong military connotations, is very rarely depicted in military attire. Cf. also Rostovtzeff's older and outdated view (1935, 207) that at Dura-Europos, Baal, Yarhibol and Aglibol were worshipped as military gods, as was supposedly evident from their portrayal in military uniforms.

brought the expected results.[125] It was only Ernst Kantorowicz's analytical article, and the systemization of the various categories of gods portrayed in uniform and the development of Kantorowicz's ideas by Marković that seems to have brought a satisfactory answer.[126]

Kantorowicz hypothesized that the custom of depicting the gods in military attire was a reflection of the changes taking place in the organization of Hellenistic armies. The appearance of organized, professional military formations with standardized arms and armour had—according to Kantorowicz—a similar effect to the creation of professional, uniformed armies in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Europe, which resulted in military uniform being adopted as official, court and even ceremonial attire.[127] This hypothesis is supported in that Alexander of Macedon's creation of the first professional military formations, especially the *argyraspides* ('silver shields'),[128] coincided with his first portrayals in soldier's attire, in which he simultaneously appears as the god Alexander–Helios.[129] Military uniform replaced antique nudity in the depictions of rulers, gods and heroes, although

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125 Cf. e.g. Walter (1999, 189–93) who sees the reasons for the use of the pictorial formulas of the antique gods in the iconography of the warrior saints in the desire to underline their physical beauty and youth, although in an earlier publication (1989, 659–60) he preferred to refrain from making any categorical response. In the meantime, Papamastorakes (1998, 213–14) believes that the taking over of the iconographic type of the Palmyrene gods by the warrior saints is an expression of the universal process of different cultures creating an image of a young hero. On the topos of the handsome youth in the description of St Demetrios in his *Miracles* see Kazhdan/Maguire 1991, 3, 7.

126 See Kantorowicz 1961; Marković 1995, 573–4, 584

127 Kantorowicz (1961, 380–1) also draws attention to the change observed by Alföldi in the customs relating to the attire of the Roman emperors, who during the Principate were only occasionally permitted to enter the precinct of the Roman *proemium* in military uniform, whereas towards the end of the 1st C. they already customarily wore armour not only in Rome, but even in the Senate.

128 See e.g. Hesychios, vol. 1, [p. 274]: ἀργυράσπιδες· τάγμα τι στρατιωτικὸν ὑπὸ 'Αλεξάνδρου; see also Żygulski 1998, 53, 56–57.

129 Kantorowicz (1961, 370–4, 380, figs. 7, 13–14) refers to a bronze statue of Alexander the Great wearing an *aegis*, in the Fouquet Collection in Cairo, of Roman date but probably a copy of a Greek original, and also to a sculpture of Alexander–Helios in the Louvre, which might have provided a model for the figure of Horus–Helios in the same museum. The appearance of gods in military attire in the Seleucid kingdom as an expression of the influence of Greek culture and the militarization of the Parthian state are discussed by Rostovtzeff 1935, 208–9. Kantorowicz (1961, 383) points out that it is possible to speak of the imitation of the Roman emperors in the images of the gods (*imitatio imperatorum*) as well as of the emperors imitating the gods (*imitatio deorum*).

not in all cases.[130] Greek and Roman gods with established iconographies continued to be depicted in line with those canons, while the new formulas were used mainly for portraying gods traditionally associated with armies and war, such as Ares, Mars and Jupiter Dolichenus,[131] as well as foreign gods (so-called *Dii peregrini*) who were incorporated into the Roman pantheon along with newly conquered territories.[132]

In the first of these groups Marković discerns the direct iconographical and ideological model for the type of the warrior saint. In his opinion the *dei militares* who watched over the legionary camp (also important besides Mars and Jupiter Dolichenus were Victory, Disciplina Militaris, Lares Militares and the Dioscuri),[133] and the military likenesses of these gods should be regarded as the closest model for the military saints. On the other hand Marković draws attention to the Old Testament tradition, in which Providence watches over the chosen race and brings it victory in battle.[134]

In supplementing Marković's hypothesis it is worth noting that the widespread presence of images of gods in military attire in the Near East and in Egypt, where the earliest depictions of saints in military costumes are preserved, may have had an influence on the faster and broader spread of the new iconographic type of the soldier-martyr. The co-existence in the late Classical and Early Byzantine periods of both types of depiction means that occasionally only the presence of Christian elements, such as a cross or accompanying inscriptions allow

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[130] On the subsitution of nudity by military uniform among the Babylonian gods see Roztovtzeff 1935, 186.

[131] On Jupiter Dolichenus as a patron deity of the Roman legions see Marković 1995, 574 and n. 47 (with further bibliog.); on the popularization of his cult in the East see Rostovtzeff 1935, 208–9.

[132] Kantorowicz 1961, 384. On the process of Hellenization, and later Romanization, of local gods, using Dura as an example, see Roztovtzeff 1935, 197–8.

[133] See respectively: W.H. Roscher, "Mars" in *LIMGR*, 2/2:2385–438 (esp. 2420–5 and A. Furtwängler, "Ares in der Kunst" in *LIMGR*, 1:487–93); E. Meyer, "Dolichenus" in *LIMGR*, 1:1191–4; K. Latte, "Victoria" in *LIMGR*, 6:294–302; A. Furtwängler, "Dioskuren" in *LIMGR*, 1:1154–77 (esp. 1160–61, 1176); A. Procksch, "Bellona" in *LIMGR*, 1:774–7; and O. Fiebiger, "Disciplina militaris" in *PR*, 5:1176–83.

[134] Marković 1995, 573–4, figs. 16–17; although he incorrectly sees depictions of Mars in armour as inventiveness in Roman art, failing to notice the Hellenistic tradition. On military gods in Rome and their functions see Domaszewski 1895, 32–44. Marković cites Joshua's visions during the siege of Jericho as an example of God's support for the Jews (Josh. 5:13–15) and the words of Psalm 34(35):1–2. For more on the cult of the military saints in relation to the Old Testament see Walter 2003a, 9–12.

a certain identification of the warrior as a saint.[135] Meanwhile, careless interpretation of this kind of early depiction, which also include historical figures, may lead researchers to incorrect attributions and false conclusions concerning the early iconography of the warrior saints.[136]

It should be stressed that the adoption of antique elements from religious-military depictions by the developing image of the warrior saint is only one expression of a wider process that occurred in the Christian art of the Empire in the period before Iconoclasm, which reflected pagan beliefs and symbols associated with war and triumph over an opponent. An example of this process is the transformation of the ancient *tropaion* into the *tropaeum Crucis*.[137] A second example

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[135] An example of a clearly Christian depiction is a rider spearing a demon with a *labarum* tipped with a cross on a 7th-C. dish in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva (Mango [M.] 1987, 1–5, fig. 1 = Dodd 1961, no. 78). A rider depicted with a lance topped with a cross on a silver magical bracelet in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto should be interpreted in a similar way (Key Fowden 1999, 42–3, fig. 6c); the image is accompanied by a *trishagion*, the first verse of Psalm 90, and a portrait of the Theotokos in a neighbouring medallion. In both cases it is not possible to determine the horseman's identity with certainty. See also *Rom-Byzanz*, nos. 309–10, 322.

[136] See above, n. 59; cf. also the examples of the motif of the armed rider on Coptic textiles—*l'art Copte*, nos. 175–176; *Koptske tkani*, figs. 101, 104, and cf. 96 and 109—on which the rider is identified, without basis, as St George, and also two fibulae (6th–8th C.) with images of a horseman slaying a serpent-dragon, who Belyaev (1929, 71) equates after Besson with Solomon and a warrior saint. An example of the problems of identifying figures in armour and cloaks with shields and lances are two warriors with haloes on 4th–5th-C. bronze weights in the British Museum, which because of the panther killed by one of the pair are seen as Sergios and Bakchos by Marković (1995, 581, fig. 36), by analogy with a bas-relief on the north wall of the church of the Holy Cross in Aght'amar, where Sergios is depicted killing an animal identified as a panther by Der Nersessian 1965, 19, fig. 51. This identification is impossible to uphold for several reasons: the Aght'amar relief is now seen by Davies (1991, 101) as an illustration of Psalm 90(91):13—ἐπ' ἀσπίδα καὶ βασιλίσκον ἐπιβήσῃ καὶ καταπατήσεις λέοντα καὶ δράκοντα—which would mean the depicted animal is therefore a lion; the appearance of the hunting motif in other objects of this type, the presence of a weight designation being evidence of the object's utilitarian character, as well as the lack of hagiographical evidence justifying this method of depiction of Sergios, see C. Entwistle, "Silver-inlaid weight" and "Inlaid metal weight" in *Byzantium*, nos. 31–32, M.C. Ross, "Weight with emperors" in *Age of Spirituality*, p. 343 (who interpret scenes of this type as imperial hunts ignoring the presence of a cross above one of the haloes). The lack of captioning of figures in art before Iconoclasm in the context of one of the previously mentioned Coptic textiles and another from Akhmim depicting St Theodore(?) slaying a dragon is pointed out by Maguire (1995, 56–7, figs. 5, 14 [Alexander of Macedon], 15); although he is unsure whether the dragon-slaying warrior represents the Archangel Michael, St George, or even Christ.

[137] The *tropaion* as an iconographic and symbolic source for depictions of the cross draped with a cloth that hangs loosely from both horizontal arms and is wound behind the upright arm, and also Constantine's vision before the battle on the Milvian Bridge as an ideological source is pointed out by Grabar 1936, 239–43; and Baradez/Leglay

can be seen on the mosaic funded by Bishop Peter II (494–519/20) over the doors of the archbishop's chapel in Ravenna (fig. 18) where Christ is depicted in military attire (*Christus miles*), with a long cross resting on his shoulder, trampling a snake and a lion.[138] In both cases, as with depictions of military saints, the reference to military symbolism was intended to underline the victory of God over evil and the triumph of Christianity over the forces of hell. The problem of the re-use of ancient religious military motifs in Christian symbolism goes beyond the limits of the present work and requires separate studies.

Heavenly supporters of the army

The adoption of military-triumphal pictorial formulas accompanied the process of interweaving into the hagiography of the Christian

1957, 74–9, figs. 1–3. The motif of Nike with cross that appears on 4th-C. coins derives from depictions of the *tropaion* introduced on the Roman *victoriatus* coin-type from the end of the 3rd C. BC, and particularly after the triumphs of Marius over the Cimbri and Teutons (Storch 1970, 106–16). At the same time Storch believes (p. 113) that in contrast to the *labarum* the *tropaion* never served as a military standard. On the Athenian origins, appearance and function of the *tropaion* in Greece and Rome see Gansiniec 1955, 21–69, 98–103, 114–26, figs. 27–38. The development of the triumphal symbolism of the *tropaeum crucis* was undoubtedly influenced by John Chrysostom's *Homily on the cemetery and the cross*, in which after victory in war against the devil Christ hangs up the devil's weapons (death and blasphemy) on a cross, so that they can be seen by heavenly forces, humans, as well defeated demons. This image is compared to the *tropaion* on which a victorious ruler after a difficult battle hangs up the armour, shields and weapons of a defeated tyrant and his troops, see *De coemeterio et de cruce*, MPG, 49:398: Πολλὰ, φησὶ, τὸ τρόπαιον ἔχει τῆς νίκης τὰ σύμβολα· τὰ λάφυρα κρέμαται ἄνω ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταυροῦ. Καθάπερ γὰρ βασιλεὺς γενναῖος πόλεμον νικήσας χαλεπώτατον, τὸν θώρακα καὶ τὴν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τοῦ τυράννου καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῶν ἡττηθέντων ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τοῦ τροπαίου τίθησιν· οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τὸν πόλεμον νικήσας τὸν πρὸς τὸν διάβολον, τὰ ὅπλα αὐτοῦ πάντα, τὸν θάνατον, τὴν κατάραν ἐκρέμασεν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ τοῦ σταυροῦ, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τροπαίου τινὸς, ἵνα πάντες τὸ τρόπαιον βλέπωσιν, αἱ ἄνω δυνάμεις, αἱ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, οἱ κάτω ἄνθρωποι, οἱ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, αὐτοὶ οἱ πονηροὶ δαίμονες οἱ ἡττηθέντες.

[138] The Ravenna mosaic illustrates the text of verse 13 of Psalm 90(91), see above, n. 136; and e.g. Grabar 1936, 237–9; Kantorowicz 1961, 385–6, figs. 38–40; Górecki 1980, 223–30, figs. 21–26; and Christe (1973, figs. 79–80) who also refers to other examples of the subject, e.g. in a group of 5th-C. clay oil lamps, the *Utrecht Psalter*, the *Peterborough Psalter*, the ivory cover of an evangeliary of the 9th C., an early Christian relief in the cathedral baptistery in Ravenna, and also murals from Alexandria and Old Dongola. Additionally, Christe (47–58, figs. 73–77, 81–82) points to the dependance of the compositional formulas of Christ with a cross on a long haft on depictions of Romulus the *Tropaiophoros* and other antique subjects. On the *crux hastata* in miniatures in the *Utrecht* and *Khludov Psalters* in the context of military insignia, see Dufrenne 1973, 52–4.

saints the mythological topos of the gods assisting one of the sides in battle. This motif, which appears already in the *Iliad*,[139] was reflected in ancient Rome in the stories of Castor and Pollux fighting in the legendary battle on Lake Regillus (dated variously to 509, 496 or 493 BC), and of Mars assisting the Roman consul Luscinius by carrying a scaling-ladder during the storm of the camp of the Lucanians in 282 BC.[140] In the Christianized version, the miraculous participation of the saints in battle is first described by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*c.*393–*c.*466) in his *Church History*. He mentions that the apostles John and Philip, dressed in white and mounted on white horses, provided armed support to the troops of the emperor Theodosius I in a bloody encounter with the Germanic leader Arbogast and the usurper Eugenius at the River Frigidus in 394.[141] According to the *Miracles* of St Demetrios, the saint was seen in a white chlamys during subsequent sixth-century sieges of Thessaloniki by the Slavs and Avars, defending the gates and walls against the invaders.[142] Thanks to the miraculous intervention of St Sergios, Chosroes was forced to abandon the siege of Resafa in 543.[143] Constantine Porphyrogennetos describes in *De Administrando Imperio* a miracle that took place during the siege of Patras (probably in the time of Leo VI) by the combined forces of Slavs and Saracens.

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[139] The motif of providing assistance to one of the sides in battle appears repeatedly in the Iliad (e.g. 1:146^{840}–147^{871} [V], 2:4$^{24-42}$ [VII], 3:6$^{83-87}$ [XIII], 67$^{41-42}$ [XV], 4:24^{32}–29^{155} [XX]), in particular during Hephaistos's duel with Skamandros (4:58^{342}–60^{386} [XXI]), and throughout book XXI when describing the struggles between the gods who supported both factions.

[140] On Mars assisting Gaius Fabricius Luscinus, consul for the years 282 and 278 BC, during the siege of the Lucanian camp (or the city of Sybaris according to earlier sources), see Ammian., 4/1:148 [24.4.24].

[141] MPG, 82, col. 1252: ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ δαπέδου χοῦ κείμενος ὁρᾶν ἐδόκει δύο τινὰς λευχειμονοῦντας ἄνδρας ἐφ' ἵππων ὀχουμένους λευκῶν, οἳ θαρρεῖν τε ἐκέλευον καὶ τὸ δέος ἐξελάσαι καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω καθοπλίσαι καὶ τάξαι τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς παράταξιν· ἐπίκουροι γὰρ ἔλεγον ἀπεστάλθαι καὶ πρόμαχοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰωάννην ἑαυτὸν ἔλεγεν εἶναι τὸν εὐαγγελιστήν, ὁ δὲ Φίλιππον τὸν ἀπόστολον. ταύτην ἰδὼν τὴν ὄψιν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔληξε τῆς ἱκετείας, ἀλλὰ μετὰ πλείονος ταύτην προθυμίας προσέφερε. On the use of the ancient topos of supporters in battle see Walter 1989, 660; 1999, 176; 2003, 133; see also Treadgold (1997, 74–5) on the political background behind the Germanic revolt after the death of Valentinian II in 392.

[142] See above, n. 17. Memory of the saint's miraculous intervention in the city's fate was still alive in Middle Byzantine society, as is evident from a remark by John Kaminiates, see Theoph. Cont., pp. 516^{22}–517^{8} [22]. Meanwhile, Eust. Thes. (p. 140 [127–128]) ascribes the capture of Thessaloniki by the Normans to the saint abandoning the city, as seen in the vision of a certain pious man. On Demetrios's protection over the city during the invasion of 904 and the role of his ciborium-martyrium, see Grabar 1950, 8–13.

[143] Kolia-Dermitzaki 1991, 162–3, n. 49 (with further bibliog.); Walter 2003a, 151.

According to his account the defenders of Patras sent out a messenger to the *strategos* of the province, with a request to come to the town's aid or to give consent for its surrender. While the messenger was returning to Patras with news that the *strategos* would not provide a relief force his horse stumbled (thanks to the intervention of God and the town's patron, the apostle Andrew) and the rider's lance was lowered. This, according to an earlier arrangement, was the signal to the besieged town that relief was coming. The defenders opened the gates and sallied out against the enemy convinced that the *strategos* was approaching with reinforcements from Corinth, achieving victory thanks to the town's patron who accompanied them on horseback.[144]

Yet saints who served in the army according to early hagiographic tradition appear comparatively late in the role of supporters of troops in their struggles.[145] The first of this group was St Theodore who, according to Leo the Deacon, appeared on a white horse at the battle of Dorostolon in 971 at the request of the Virgin and also assisted John Tzimiskes in repelling a Rus' invasion led by Sviatoslav. To honour the martyr the grateful emperor changed the name of the town to Theodoropolis.[146] In the subsequent accounts of Skylitzes and

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[144] DAI, 1:228–32 [49] Ὁ ζητῶν, ὅπως τῇ τῶν Πατρῶν ἐκκλησιίᾳ οἱ Σκλαάβοι δούλειν καὶ ὑποκεῖσθαι ἐτάχθησαν, ἐκ τῆς παρούσι μανθανέτω γραφῆς. Cf. Turlej (1999, 397–8) who believes the motif of a holy rider's intervention was borrowed directly from the Old Testament (2 Macc. 11:8), and that Porphyrogennetos made use of a local hagiographic tradition. For discussions on the date of the siege, Porphyrogennetos's sources and later source-descriptions of the event, see the commentary in DAI, 2:183–84.

[145] St Theodore Teron, who was supposed to have halted a Scythian raid with the help of a cross rather than a sharp sword and helmet, is mentioned already by Gregory of Nyssa in his *Enkomion* in honour of Teron, see CAVARNOS, 10/1:61^{15}–62^{2} (= MPG, 46:737): Οὗτος γὰρ, ὡς πιστεύομεν, καὶ τοῦ παρελθόντος ἐνιαυτοῦ τὴν βαρβαρικὴν ζάλην ἐκοίμισε, καὶ τὸν φρικώδη τῶν ἀγρίων Σκυθῶν ἔστησε πόλεμον, δεινὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπισείσας καὶ φοβερὸν ἤδη βλεπομένοις καὶ πλησιάσασιν, οὐ κράνος τρίλοφον, οὐδὲ ξίφος εὖ τεθηγμένον, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀποστίλβον, ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀλεξίκακον καὶ παντοδύναμον σταυρὸν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὑπὲρ οὗ καὶ αὐτὸς παθὼν, τὴν δόξαν ταύτην ἐκτήσατο. In finishing his panegyric (p. 70$^{22-24}$ = col. 748) Gregory pleas for further protection against the barbarians. But in neither of the two passages does he mention Theodore's personal participation in any specific battle, while the plea for intercession to Sts Peter, Paul and John the Evangelist indicates the supernatural character of his intervention. Cf. also Walter (2003a, 45–6) who regards the reference as evidence of the direct intervention of Theodore in battle distinguishing him from other martyrs.

[146] LEO THE DEACON, pp. 153^{22}–154^{18}, 157^{21}–158^{2} [IX 9, 12]: λέγεται δὲ καί τινα λευκόπωλον ἄνδρα φανῆναι, προηγεῖσθαί τε Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τούτοις προτρέπεσθαι, χωρεῖν κατὰ τῶν Σκυθῶν ὅστις θεσπεσίως τὰς τῶν δυσμενῶν διακόπτων συνετάραττε φάλαγγας. τοῦτόν φασι μήτε πρότερόν τις ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ θωάσασθαι, οὔτ' αὖθις μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἑωρακέναι· καίτοι βασιλέως αὐτὸν ἀναψηλαφῶντος, ὡς δωρεαῖς

Zonaras, which repeat the structure of the miracle's description after Leo's relation, the city renamed as Theodoropolis refers to Euchaita in Asia Minor or to the neighbouring town of Euchaneia, and accompanied the emperor's funding of a new church in this place dedicated to Theodore.[147] Nevertheless, Henri Grégoire points out an earlier version of the tale contained in the 'Life of St Basil the Younger', concerning 40,000 Greeks led by Theodore and other imperial *strategoi* against Igor's expedition to Paphlagonia in 941, which he sees as a source for *The Russian Primary Chronicle*.[148] In his opinion Nestor, by listing

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ἐπαξίως φιλοφρονήσαιτο, καὶ ἀμοιβαῖς ἕκατι τῶν πόνων ἀμείψαιτο. ἀλλ' οὐχ εὑρέθη ζητούμενος. ἐντεῦθεν ἀναμφίλεκτος ὑπόνοια ὑποτρέχει τὸν μέγαν ἐν μάρτυσι Θεόδωρον εἶναι, ὃν παρὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὁ βασιλεὺς σύμμαχον ἐξελιπάρει παρίστασθαι, ῥύεσθαί τε καὶ σώζειν συνάμα παντὶ τῷ στρατεύματι. φασὶ δὲ καὶ τοιοῦτόν τι συμβῆναι παρὰ τὴν πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἑσπέραν. ἐν Βυζαντίῳ παρθένος τῶν ἀνατεθειμένων Θεῷ καθ' ὕπαρ ὁρᾷν ἐδόκει τὴν θεοτόκον, ὑπό τινων φλογοειδῶν δορυφορουμένην ἀνδρῶν, φάναι τε πρὸς αὐτούς· «καλέσατε δὴ μοι τὸν μάρτυρα Θεόδωρον»· παραυτίκα δὲ παραχθῆναι γενναῖον ἄνδρα καὶ νεανικόν, ἔνοπλον. εἰπεῖν τε πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν θεοτόκον· «ὁ σὸς παρὰ τὸ Δορύστολον 'Ιωάννης, κύρ Θεόδωρε, Σκύθαις μαχόμενος, ἄρτι περιστατεῖται δεινῶς. ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου σπεῦσον βοήθειαν. εἰ γὰρ μὴ προφθάσῃς, εἰς κίνδυνον αὐτῷ τελευτήσει τὰ πράγματα».[...] 'Ιωάννης δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτορ, ἐν τέτταρσιν ὅλοις μησὶ τὴν 'Ρωσικὴν πανοπλίαν καταγωνισάμενος, ὡς φθάσας ὁ λόγος δεδήλωκε, καὶ τὴν Μυσίαν 'Ρωμαίοις ἀνασωσάμενος, τό τε Δορύστολον Θεοδωρούπολιν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ στρατηλάτου καὶ μάρτυρος Θεοδώρου μετονομάσας.... See also Marković 1995, 595. On Sviatoslav's campaign see Treadgold 1997, 508–9.

[147] SKYLITZES, pp. 308^{10}–309^{33} [17]; ZONARAS, 3:533^{2}–534^{13} [XVII 3/7–19]. Both chroniclers' accounts may be dependent on a tale of the vision of a matron who spotted Theodore on horseback fighting off a barbarian attack on Euchaita; the tale was a component of the *Miracles* dated to the 8th or 10th C. [BHG 1764], see Delehaye 1909, 196–8; Walter 2003a, 47–8. Cf. Walter (1983, 5) who only gives information on Skylitzes' account, which he erroneously also extends to Leo the Deacon's relation. Cf. also Walter (1999, 176) who comes to a false conclusion on the basis of Leo the Deacon's reference on the spread of the cult of Theodore Stratelates, who was venerated in Euchaneia, which Leo had not yet mentioned. Cf. also Delehaye (1909, 12) who incorrectly believes that Euchaneia is a corrupt form of the name Euchaita. This problem is clarified by Oikonomidès (1986, 329–30) who links Euchaita with the person of Teron, while Euchaneia (currently Çorum) which lies slightly to its north, on the basis of source references is seen as the supposed burial site of Stratelates. See also in the context of Delehaye's errors—Walter 1999, 184; and Walter 2003a, 56–8 (recording the last appearance of the bishops of both places at a synod in Constantinople on 11 July 1173).

[148] On Basil the Younger and his *Life*, see A. Kazhdan, "Basil the Younger" in *ODB*, 1:270–1. Grégoire (1938, 292–3) gives the Greek text of a legend rediscovered by Veselovskij; see also his polemic (295–300) with F. Dölger, who behind Theodore sees the historical figure of one of the commanders of Romanos I Lekapenos. Grégoire believes that one of the authors of the victory over Igor, *protovestiarios* Theophanes who was banished and condemned to infamy in 946, was replaced in legend by a certain Theodore venerated in the Constantinopolitan quarter of Sporakios (distorted in the text of the legend to Sphongarios). The choice itself was supposedly dictated by

'Theodore Stratelates of Thrace' among the imperial commanders,[149] more or less consciously made a link to the hagiographic reference. If we accept Grégoire's hypothesis, the saint's supposed Thracian 'origins' arouse some concern, since his cult in this region is first mentioned in the context of Sviatoslav's invasion, and only developed in the second half of the twelfth century, and was probably connected with the translation of the relics of St Theodore (undoubtedly Stratelates) to Serres from Euchaneia or Euchaita, which was then under threat from Turkish raids.[150] On the other hand, if we recognize the reference in the *Life of Basil* as primary in relation to Leo's account, one might see in it, as with the example of Demetrios of Thessaloniki and the apostle Andrew defending Patras, a mechanism for the intervention of the local saint—defending his home region of Euchaita against the Rus' who were looting Paphlagonia.[151]

In the same period George and Demetrios join the circle of patrons of the Byzantine army who intervene in battle. According to a later account by Nikephoros Gregoras, these saints together with the second Theodore and the archangel Michael, were said to have supported the troops of Nikephoros Phokas besieging Arab-held Kandia on Crete in 961.[152] In turn, when describing the siege of Thessaloniki by Bulgarian rebels under Peter Delyan (September 1040) Skylitzes men-

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the repelling of the Rus' attack on 8th June, the saint's feast day. On the special care extended by Theodore Teron over the capital see *AS Novembris*, 4:828. Bibliographical information concerning Grégoire's earlier views on this problem and his discussions with Dölger are published by Walter 1999, 176, n. 56.

149 See NESTOR, p. 19 (= TROITSKA LET., p. 73): Ѳедоръ же стратилать сь Ѳраки.

150 Against the identification of Theodore, whose relics were moved to Serres, with Theodore Teron is the reference in MAUROPOUS, p. 127 [BHG 1770], stating that his relics that had been laid up in Euchaita were finally distributed among the faithful. On the cult of St Theodore as patron of the episcopal see of Serres see Papageorgiou 1894; whereas Orlandos (1940, 5/2:153–66) discussing the dedication of the metropolitan church does not state with certainty whether Theodore acted as its patron in the early period. The patronymic function of this saint is also indicated by the numerous seals of the bishops of Serres bearing St Theodore's image (Laurent 1963, vol. 5/1, nos. 777–79; *Seals DO*, vol. 1, no. 42.4). The oldest of these, from 1059–75, belonged to the metropolitan Theodore, but in view of his name, one cannot be sure that the image refers to the owner or the bishopric. Another Thracian centre of the cult of Theodore Teron was Bathys Ryax near Rhegion (currently Küçük Çekmece; see below n. 102 on p. 150).

151 According to NESTOR, p. 18, after a failed attempt to capture Constantinople, Igor ordered his forces towards Asia Minor and devastated Pontos as far as Herakleia, Paphlagonia and the vicinity of Nikomedia; on the historical background see Treadgold 1997, 484.

152 Walter 2003a, 133 and n. 157.

tions that the troops defending the town prayed throughout the night at the grave of Demetrios, and after smearing themselves with *myron*, marched off to battle. Afterwards, Bulgarians captured in the action reported seeing a youth on horseback leading the Greek army.[153]

In the eleventh century apparitions of the warrior saints—especially George, Theodore and Demetrios—manifest themselves to the Byzantines, as well as to members of other Christian armies of nations that were in close contact with Byzantine culture. The Byzantine origins of this phenomenon is suggested by the recurring motif of a white steed carrying the saint, who leads the army into battle.[154] In Byzantium the motif of a warrior saint appearing miraculously to support his devotees in battle continues to occur until the late Middle Ages.[155] Another topos that had been popular in the first centuries of Byzantium is revived at this time, namely the slaying of a godless ruler

[153] SKYLITZES, pp. 413^{11}–414^{24} (27) (=KEDRENOS, 2:532); see also Walter 2003a, 82, n. 57.

[154] Borsook (1990, 10) cites a legend of St George appearing to the Sicilian Normans during the battle at Cerami in 1063, and Pierre Tudebode's well-known account of the siege of Antioch by Kerbogha in 1098, which was broken after the Crusaders sallied out to attack led by Sts George, Demetrios and Merkourios (see also e.g. Lazarev 1970, 73, n. 88; Marković 1995, 586). George also appeared on a white steed to the participants of the First Crusade during the siege of Jerusalem, according to the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* by WILLIAM OF TYRE, p. 407 [VIII 16]. The support given to the Georgians during their fights against the Persians by St George mounted on a white steed is mentioned by the *katholikos* Bessarion (Myslivec 1934, 365); on Stefan Nemanja's liberation by St George and the assistance of his troops in battle, see Marković 1995, 601. George is also said to have aided Alexander Nevski (1236–63) in battles against the Swedes (1240) and the Teutonic Knights (1242). The miraculous intervention of the saints could also be directed against the Byzantines. NESTOR (p. 12) writes that during the expedition against Constantinople in 907 Oleg refused to accept poisoned food, and as a result the Greeks recognized him as St Demetrios, sent by God. CHONIATES mentions (p. 190^{94}–191^{8}) a certain Mavropoulaos, who while praying before an icon of the Virgin heard a disembodied voice predicting Manuel I's defeat at Myriokephalon (1176), saying that neither George nor Theodore could help him. In Ethiopian legends St George intervenes on the Christian side dozens of times (Walter 2003a, 121, 133–4). Ovcharov (2003, 33–5) relates a Bulgarian version of a legend in which George intervenes in the war of Tsar Samuel against the Hungarians.

[155] See Walter (1989, 660; 1999, 176–7 and n. 58; 2003, 64); Marković (1995, 586, n. 147); and Schreiner (1997, 91); all three authors discuss the references by Theodore Pediasimos [BHG 1773] to the assistance provided by the two St Theodores to Theodore II Laskaris (1254–58) at the battle of Melnik, and by Nikephoros Gregoras on the similar intervention of George (during the years 1282–1328). Gerstel (2001, 267) points out that the special reverence which the Crusaders occupying the Peloponnese had for St George may have been the result of his miraculous intervention during the battle of Prinitza (1263), where according to the *Chronicle of the Morea* he appeared on a white steed to assist the Franks.

by a warrior saint. The assassination of the Bulgarian tsar Kaloyan while he was besieging Thessaloniki in 1207 was attributed to the miraculous intervention of St Demetrios.[156]

The Imperial Cohort

As is evident from the above examples, warrior saints appear in the guise of supporters of the army only relatively late, from the tenth century, and their number is normally restricted to barely a handful of the most popular saints—Theodore, George and Demetrios, the last of whom, of course, was not initially a soldier. Added to this circle at this time is the second of the Theodores—Stratelates ('the general').[157] This group was gradually expanded to include Prokopios, Eustathios, Nestor and Merkourios from the tenth century onwards.[158] Often

[156] See e.g. Walter 1973, 166; 2003, 87–8. The subject of Demetrios killing Kaloyan is examined by Theotoka 1955, 477–83. The spearing by Demetrios of a ruler hated by his own subjects attained special popularity in Bulgaria, probably as an expression of the condemnation of Kaloyan's policies. On the care extended over Thessaloniki by St Demetrios in the 12th–15th centuries see Vasiliev 1950, 36–9; Macrides 1990, 194–7.

[157] Sts George, Demetrios and both Theodores are listed as supporting Digenis Akritas in the fight against the Arabs immediately after Christ, the Virgin and the archangels in the Grottaferrata version of Dig. Akr. p. 4^{21-25} [I]:

Θεοδώρων τε τῶν πανενδοξοτάτων,
τοῦ στρατηλάτου καὶ τοῦ τίρωνος ἅμα,
τοῦ πολυάθλου γενναίου Γεωργίου,
καὶ θαυματουργοῦ καὶ μαρτύρων
ἐνδοξοτάτου Δημητρίου,

Delehaye (1909, 9) and Curta (1995, 110) list the Theodores, George, Prokopios and Demetrios, and conditionally also Merkourios, among the group of 'great' warrior saints. This selection is also accepted by Walter 2003a.

[158] Images of both Theodores, George and Eustathios, sometimes Merkourios and also the martyrs Demetrios and Prokopios (who are more often depicted unarmed, in long cloaks) appear in the company of Arethas and Eustathios on the wings of a group of 10th-C. ivory triptychs: the *Borradaile triptych* in the British Museum (mid-10th C.); the *Harbaville triptych* in the Louvre; a mid-10th C.—early 11th C. triptych in the Vatican Library; a triptych from the private Ludlow collection in London (only Theodore and George?) (3rd quarter of 10th C.); *Forty Martyrs of Sebaste triptych* in the Hermitage (10th/11th C.; from the Shuvalov collection); an ivory triptych in the University Museum, Tbilisi (early 11th C.); and another (end of 10th–beginning of 11th C.) in the Museum of the Palazzo Venezia in Rome, where only Theodore Stratelates and Eustathios hold swords in their hands, see Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, nos. 9, 31a–f, 32ab, 38, 78, 195 (= Bank 1966, figs. 126, 130–131; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 79–80; *Byzantium*, no. 153); Walter (2003a, 96–7, 167–9, figs. 46–47), who points out the exceptional nature of the mechanism of adding Eustathios to the circle of leading military saints on ivory triptychs, which is linked with the disappearance of scenes depicting his vision and conversion. On the triptych from the Palazzo Venezia,

arranged together along with George, Demetrius and the Theodores, normally on the wall adjoining the entrance to the church, they form a sort of parade detachment. Similarly, the groups of *megalomartyrs* seen on the wings of ivory triptychs are often interpreted in relation to Christ who appears on the central field (normally seated on a throne in a *Deesis* scene) as the heavenly equivalent of a palace guard surrounding the enthroned emperor.[159]

While the members of this group enjoyed unrivalled popularity in the Middle Byzantine period, others who had joined the circle of soldier-martyrs in the sixth century, such as Sergios and Bakchos, Niketas, Orestes and James the Persian, appear in military attire only sporadically.[160] Certain of the saints with military origins are hardly

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see Cutler 1994, 157, fig. 176; also more broadly Oikonomides 1995, 69–77; and Kantorowicz 1942, 74–5. Several steatite panels with depictions of the Theodores, George and Demetrios are published by Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (1985, vol. 2, figs. 5–11, 15–16, 21, 24a–29). These saints also appear most frequently on church decoration (e.g. on mosaics in Sicilian cathedrals, see Borsook 1990, figs. 9, 35–36, 95). Evidence for the popularity of the custom of depicting George and the Theodores are the numerous Georgian pre-altar crosses and small items of decorative metalwork adorned with their images, both on horseback and on foot (Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 36–42, 45–47, 131, 151, 156, 162–166, 178–197, 206, 215–217, 226, 248–256, 284–285, 288, 303–306, 343–344, 348, 352–353, 358–359, 402–403, 406–411, 470; although most of them show the country's patron, George). The conversion of St Eustathios appears chiefly as an illustration of Psalm 96(97) in psalters with marginal decoration (see above, n. 86). Marković (1995, 593) also notices the popularity in art of this group of warrior saints. In turn Walter (2003, 292) sees a correlation between the growth in popularity of the holy *strategoi* in art and their function as defenders of the Empire expressed many times in De cer.

159 See e.g. Kantorowicz 1942, 74; A. Chatzinikolaou, "Heilige" in *RbK*, 2 (1971): 1052–3; Górecki 1980, 232; Parani 2003, 282–3; Walter 2003a, 275–6, figs. 44–46. Meanwhile, Parani has drawn attention (2003, 153–4) to the unusual nature of the depiction of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste on the wall in the naos of the Great Pigeon House church in Çavuşin. She also notes that in the apse, next to the group, is a painting of Nikephoros Phokas (exceptionally wearing military equipment) together with his family, which allows the group to be interpreted as a heavenly guard for this emperor whose family hailed from Cappadocia. In turn, Walter (2003a, 174–6, 282–3, figs. 69a-e) identifies the Forty Martyrs together with St Hieron and the archangel Michael as the symbolic protectors of John I Tzimiskes and the Armenian commander Melias, who are both painted on horseback on the same (north) wall, as representing the worldly army of Nikephoros Phokas.

160 E.g. Orestes with Sergios and Bakchos in the narthex cupola of Nea Mone on Chios; Sergios and Bakchos in the narthex of the katholikon of Daphni monastery near Athens (see above, n. 25 on p. 9); James the Persian appears for example on a Cypriot icon from the end of the 12th C. (R.W. Corrie, "Icon with the Virgin and Child (front) and Saint James the Persian (back)" in *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 75, pp. 127–8; Corrie also cites the findings of Delehaye who uncovered the name James in only three places on Cyprus, while George appears in 67). On St James the Persian see

ever depicted in martial attire, for example the forty soldiers of Sebaste who were martyred as a group.[161] Although the method of their depiction can be explained as the artists' attempt to reflect the circumstances of their death, a similar phenomenon also occurs in representations of martyrdoms of the most popular warriors, such as St George,[162] and we cannot use it to fully explain why certain of the military saints are represented with military attributes.[163]

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also G.K. Kaster, "Jakobus Intercisus (der Zerschnittene) von Persien" in *LCI*, 7:42–4; on Orestes, a member of the group of five martyrs from Sebaste, see Walter 2003a, 219–21; while on the cult of Niketas see *Synaxarium CPL*, 45–6; Janin 1969, 267; Walter 2003a, 231–3; and Marković (1995, 593 and n. 208), who notes that he first appears in military attire towards the end of the 11th C. on seals and in Cappadocian painting. On the adaptation of the cult of Sergios as a military saint in the Crusader states, see Hunt 1991, 104–6. Sergios and Bakchos are always shown in court garments on Cappadocian church murals of the early-10th-C. to 13th-C. (Walter 2003a, 155–7).

161 Usually the Forty Martyrs are depicted in accordance with their *Passio*, standing half-naked in the lake in which they froze to death, as for example on a 10th/11th-C. ivory triptych in the Hermitage (Cutler 1994, figs. 28; Bank 1966, figs. 126–8). The earliest sources on their martyrdom are their *Testament* [BHG 1201] and Basil the Great's homily *De XL martiribus* (MPG, 31:508–40). Gregory of Nyssa and Ephrem the Syrian expanded the tale by locating the event in Pontic Sebasteia [BHG 1201–1208n]. Basil and Gregory's texts differ from the *Testament*, for example, in describing the military status of the Forty—according to Gregory they were soldiers of *legio XII Fulminata* (Walter 2003a, 170–3). Exceptional redactions of the subject appear in two Cappadocian churches: the first at Çavuşin, in the so-called Great Pigeon House (painted during the reign of Nikephoros Phokas), where ten of the martyrs are depicted in military attire, the second on the vaults of the chapel in Soviş (1216–17) where they are dressed in long cloaks (Restle 1967, vol. 3, figs. 310, 325, 421–422; Walter 2003a, 174–5). For more on the subject see Gavrilović 1981, Demus 1960, 96–109; Janin 1935, 65–6; Janin 1969, 482–3 (on the earliest Constantinopolitan church dedicated to them—according to ChPasch, 1:590[16–18]—founded in 451). Numerous examples of the subject and a basic bibliographic list are published by A. Chatzinikolaou, "Heilige" in *RbK*, 2 (1971): 1059–61.

162 The most extensive treatment on the martyrdom cycles of St George, where he generally appears in a white chlamys but without any clear signs of a military function, is given by Mark-Weiner 1977, *passim* (with illustrations); see also Krumbacher 1911, 285–95; Privalova 1977, 121–41; Maguire 1996, 186–93; and Walter 2003a, 134–8. Walter points out that warrior saints in martyrdom scenes should indeed be depicted in 'civilian' garments, as a logical consequence of their degradation (when they were stripped of their arms), as described in their *Passio*. In contrast, when George is depicted in scenes illustrating miracles performed during his lifetime or posthumously, he is usually in military garb (such scenes are discussed on the basis of Georgian depictions by Privalova 1977, 70–120).

163 The custom of depicting warrior saints in the clothes of 'civilian' martyrs never disappeared from Byzantine art, and many such depictions can be found throughout the Middle Byzantine period (see Delehaye 1909, 5, who describes them as dressed as 'dignitaries of the imperial court'), similarly in Rus' see e.g. Lazarev 1970, 71–2; who, however, notes erroneously that the process of the martyrs' militarization in Byzantium began only after Iconoclasm. This error is repeated by Ovčarov 1991, 128;

The concept of a 'soldier of Christ', used for the first time in the *Second Letter* of St Paul to Timothy, and employed in reference to martyrs in the writings of the Church Fathers, also starts to be used from the tenth century in reference to a limited group of warriors.[164] Evidently the process of development of the cultural picture of this category of saints did not finish in the early period and continued in the years after Iconoclasm. The question should therefore be asked, which mechanisms influenced the final form of the cult of the warrior saint in the Eastern Empire and in the entire Orthodox Church?

From local cult to nationwide image of the patron warrior saint

Εἰς τὸν Ἅγιον Δημήτριον.

Θεσσαλονίκης πρόμος ἵσταται ἐν ὅπλοις·
ὃς δ'ἄοπλος νικᾷ, πῶς ὅταν ὅπλα λάβοι;
Οὐχ ὅπλοις κρατέων σοφίης πρόμος ἔπλετο μάρτυς,
ἀμφοτέριος ἀμύνων, θὲς φθόνον εἰς ἀνέμους.[165]

The most straightforward explanation for the popularity in post-Iconoclastic art of the warrior saints who make up the group of 'great martyrs' would seem to be whether their cults had a national or local character. This may also explain why other warrior saints were relegated to a more distant stage. In the early period this was related to the place where the saint's relics were kept, as in the case of the

see also e.g. Grabar 1954, figs. 25, 36 (pendant with Sts Sergios and Bakchos); Walter 2003a, 176.

[164] 2 Tim. 2:3: συγκακοπάθησον ὡς καλὸς στρατιώτης Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ; and later, e.g. Gregory of Nyssa in his *Enkomion to the XL Martyrs*, see CAVARNOS, p. 149[3–4] (= MPG, 46:761): στρατιῶται Χριστοῦ, τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος ὁπλῖται; cf. also Walter 1983, 4; 1989, 662; 2003a, 31 and n. 89 (with bibliog.); who regards LACTANTIUS' employment of the phrase *miles Christi* (p. 35[22]) in reference to his friend Donatus as the earliest use of the term. The term *stratelatai* appears to be first used in reference to the martyr saints by Constantine Porphyrogennetos in DE CER., p. 481[13] [I App.]: τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων τῶν στρατηλατῶν, when listing them alongside the Saviour, Mary and the angels as emblems of the *droungarios tes Viglis*.

[165] GEOMETRES, 218, 222 [LXII–LXIII] (= *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis*, ed. J.A. Cramer STP., vol. 4 Excerpta philologica pt. 2, Oxonii 1841; MPG, 106:927); for a translation see Maguire 1996, 118.

To St Demetrios
The chief of Thessaloniki stands here armed.
But he conquers without arms; how can that be when he takes up arms?
It is not by conquering with arms that the martyr was chief of wisdom.
But defending with both, scatter envy to the winds.

sanctuaries of St Menas in Abu Mina,[166] and of Sts Sergios and Bakchos in Resafa.[167] From the turn of the fifth and sixth centuries, however, its scope quickly begins to expand, as is clearly evident in the case of newly founded churches.

Besides popular religiosity, an important role in initiating and spreading the veneration of the military martyrs was (as with other saints) played by imperial patronage. Examples can already be found in the pre-Iconoclastic era. The earliest military saint to receive special imperial favour was George, in the mid-fifth century. The first imperial foundation linked with St George is thought to be a chapel dedicated to him in the hospice at Sheik Badr to the west of Jerusalem, which was erected at the request of the empress Eudoxia. Justinian I continued this activity by rebuilding George's *martyrion* in Lydda (which probably dates from the turn of the fourth and fifth centuries), and this appears to have led to an increase in pilgrim traffic to the site; the same ruler also propagated George's cult along the Empire's eastern frontiers by funding new churches dedicated to the saint.[168] When Lydda came under threat, Heraclius transferred George's remains to Constantinople. We can assume that some of these relics reposed in the monastery of

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[166] See above, n. 12.

[167] When describing the military operations of Chosroes II against Maurice, SIMOCATTA (p. 188^{23}–189^{5}, 213^{26}–216^{2} [V 1/7-8, 14/1-11]) mentions that on 7 January 591 he worshipped Sergios in Resafa and offered rich gifts in the sanctuary, a gesture probably intended to unite the nomadic tribes, among whom the saint enjoyed great popularity. The local character of the cult of Sergios in Syria is also mentioned by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (Walter 1995, 307). For more on the development of the cult of Sergios and Bakchos on the Hauran plain, in Syria and Iran, as well as the reverence afforded to Sergios by Chosroes see Key Fowden 1999, 101–29, 133–41.

[168] These churches included one built at Bizanna in Armenia (currently Beseam near Erzurum) and others at different sites. On early imperial foundations see Howell 1969, 126; Delehaye 1909, 48–50, who discusses the oldest churches dedicated to George and the process of the spread of churches dedicated him. On the other hand the ban on veneration of St George issued in 494 by Pope Gelasius and a synod of 72 bishops did not have a significant influence on his popularity (WALLIS BUDGE, p. 14: *Quis ita esse catholicorum dubitet, et majora eos (martyres) in agonibus fuisse perpessos, nec suis viribus, sed Gratia Dei, et adjutorio, universa tolerasset? Sed ideo secundum antiquam consuetudinem, singulari cautela, in Sancta Romana Ecclesia non leguntur, quia et eorum, qui conscripsere, nomina penitus ignorantur, et ab infidelibus aut idiotis superflua, aut minus apta, quam rei ordo fuerit, scripta esse putantur, sicut cujusdam Cyrici et Julitae, sicut Georgii, aliorumque, hujus modi passiones, quae ab haereticis perhibentur compositae, propter quod (ut dictum est) ne vel levis subsannandi oriretur occasio, in Sancta Romana Ecclesia non leguntur. Nos tamen cum praedicta Ecclesia omnes martyres, et eorum gloriosos agones, qui Deo magis quam hominibus noti sunt, omni devotione veneramur.*) See also Walter 2003a, 111–14 (on Gelasius's ban and the spread of the cult of the saint).

St George at the palace in Mangana, while the remainder were deposited in his sanctuary, which had been founded earlier by the emperor Maurice, near the Adrianople gate.[169]

Various emperors took similar steps to consolidate the cults of the other military saints. In 484, on the emperor Zeno's initiative, the basilica over St Prokopios's grave in Caesarea was restored, and by the sixth century a sanctuary of this saint existed in Scythopolis.[170] In turn the town of Euchaita which contained the martyrium of St Theodore was favoured by Anastasius I (491–518). 'Happily inspired by the Martyr', who is called 'athlete of Christ, resident of the heavens—protecting the town of Theodore', Anastasius surrounded Euchaita with a wall and promoted it to an episcopal see, placing Bishop Mamas upon it.[171] In the capital, meanwhile, a church dedicated to Prokopios had been founded by *patrikios* Sphorakios, who held the title of consul in 452, as a votum for his rescue from a fire, as related in the *synaxarion* of Constantinople. The church was later renovated by the emperor Justin I (518–527).[172] The popularity of churches dedicated

[169] The presence of relics of George in Lydda is confirmed in sources dating from 514/515, although Nikomedia also boasted holding some, and also claimed the title of being his home town (Delehaye 1909, 70–1; Walter 1995, 314). Antony states (col. 35, 41 [105–06, 127–28]) that he saw in St George's Church in Mangana the top of George's skull and the hand of Prokopios, and also his relics in another church dedicated to him, resting together with the body of St Theodore of Sykeon; see also Walter 1995, 315; Walter 2003a, 117; C. Mango & A.-M. Talbot, "Mangana" in *ODB*, 2:1283–84 (the later rebuilding of the monastery in Mangana by Constantine Monomachos (1042–55) is mentioned by Psellos, 2:55–8 [VI 185–87]). On the sanctuary in Mangana and its importance both in the pre-1204 period and in the Late Byzantine era, see also Janin 1934, 169–78; 1969, 70–6. One can assume that the choice of a holy warrior as the dedicatory saint of the monastery was related to the *armamenton* located by the palace (see above, n. 9 on p. 20).

[170] Delehaye (1909, 78), who also cites an account by the Anonymous Pilgrim of Piacenza: *Deinde veni Caesarea Philippi, quae turris Stratonis quae et Caesarea Palaestinis vocatur, in qua requiescit sanctus Pamphilus, sanctus Procopius.* Gabelić (2005, 531) also mentions the sanctuaries dedicated to Prokopios in Gerasa and Antioch. On the earliest Constantinopolitan church of St Prokopios, which was restored by Belisarius's wife Antonina in 565, see Janin 1969, 443.

[171] Information on both foundations comes from two stone inscriptions discussed by Mango/Ševčenko (1972, 379–84 figs. 2, 3), who date the fortifications to between 515 (invasion of Anatolia by a Hunnic people, the Sabiri) and 518 (death of the emperor). In particular see the tables on p. 380: ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΝ ΕΝΠΝΕΥΣΘΕΙΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ ΕΥΙΡΕΙ ΤΩ ΠΟΛΙΣΜΑΤΕΙ ΤΕΙΧΟΣ and on p. 383: Ο ΤΟΥ Χ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Υ ΑΘΛΗΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΟΥΡΑΝΙΩΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ.

[172] See *Synaxarium CPL*, 197; Walter 1995, 310; Janin 1935, 56–9. On the founding of a church of Theodore in the Constantinopolitan quarter of Karbounaria by Leo I (457–74), and in the Rhesion quarter by Justin I (517–26) see below, n. 212.

to Theodore is confirmed in source references to such eastern towns as Gerasa, Amaseia (the foundation of a certain Anastasius, perhaps the emperor of that name), Edessa, and Jerusalem.[173] The next Constantinopolitan church of Theodore was restored by Justinian I, who supported the sanctuary of Sergios and Bakchos in Resafa with cash donations, and also founded a church dedicated to Sergios and Bakchos in Constantinople before 536. Also erected on Justinian's initiative was a chapel dedicated to a pair of Syrian martyrs in Phoenician Ptolemais, and a cistern (or well) in the monastery of St Sergios on the Kisseron Hill in Palestine.[174] Finally, Theodore of Stoudios and Antony of Novgorod mention the relics of St Niketas which were laid up in the church of St Romanos, located by the gate also dedicated to Romanos (currently Top-Kapusi), and also a gate dedicated to Niketas.[175]

Elizabeth Key Fowden sees the successive emperors' promotion of the cult of the military saints along the eastern frontier in the fifth and sixth centuries as an attempt to secure their supernatural protection over these lands, which were threatened by attack from Zoroastrian Persia.[176] Despite such activities, not all martyrs whose cult had been popularized in the fifth and sixth centuries entered the group of the most popular of the military saints in the era after Iconoclasm; meanwhile it is also possible to find in the group those who did not enjoy special popularity in the early period. An example of such a promotion is St Merkourios, whose cult in the earlier period had a local character and was confined to Coptic Egypt, where there were at least thirty churches dedicated to him.[177] It can therefore be assumed that

[173] Early churches dedicated to Theodore and sources relating to them are discussed by Delehaye (1909, 12–14), who also cites (p. 13 and n. 1) Procopius's information on Theodoropolis on the Danube. See also Janin 1975, *passim*.

[174] On the basis of references in Procopius's *On Buildings*—see Key Fowden (1999, 130–3, esp. n. 4, where she also collects later source information on the dedication of Constantinople's churches); Janin 1969, 451–5.

[175] ANTONY, cols. 40–1 (124–6; see also n. 164 on the location and identification of the gate, and n. 165 with other references on the relics of Niketas preserved there).

[176] Key Fowden (1999, 133) who like Howell (1969, 126, in the case of St George) sees in Justinian's expansion of the cult of the military saints attempts to establish Orthodox Christianity in an area dominated by Nestorians.

[177] Aside from references to the veneration of Merkourios in Caesarea and Egypt there are no signs of his cult prior to the 10th C., see Delehaye (1909, 91), who also rules out the identification of Mercurius venerated since the Middle Ages in Benevento with the saint of this name revered in Byzantium. On the cult of the latter, which spread gradually in Cappadocia see Walter 2003a, 102–3.

the marking out of a group of warrior saints whose cult acquired a national dimension took place later.

Alexander Webster believes that the development of a new category of chosen saints who enjoyed a widespread cult was the effect of the rise to power of the landowner families of Asia Minor, who saw the holy 'knights' as patrons similar to them in both profession and life-style. The growth in the popularity of George, both Theodores and Demetrios among the military aristocracy (especially of Anatolia), which flourished as a result of legislative changes introduced by the Macedonian dynasty in the first half of the tenth century,[178] is attested by the numerous images from this period on the seals of this social group.[179] Webster's assumption would clarify how the restriction of the group of military saints took place as a result of the Byzantine landed

[178] On the creation and structure of the military aristocracy in the context of army service and state fiscal policy, see Haldon (1993a, 17–19, 27–40), who discusses both source and hagiographic evidence, as well as the synthetic views of other scholars; see also e.g. De Cer., pp. 694^{15}–696^{9}; and Morris 1976. It is worth pointing out that the development of this social class and the growth in popularity of this group of military saints were cotemporaneous.

[179] See Webster 1980. The thesis on the influence of the military aristocracy on the popularization of the image of the soldier-saint is not new and was already being propagated in a narrower form by Kondakov (who saw the influence of the Byzantine army's cavalry formations on the iconography of the military saints) and by Lazarev (1970, 74–9 and n. 100), although his argument contains much false data. Various military saints appear on the military aristocracy's seals in the 6th/7th C., e.g. Epiphanius (Zacos, vol. 1/1, no. 1283 a, b, c); but from the 9th C. the most popular are George, the Theodores and Demetrios, while Eustathios and Niketas also occasionally make an appearance, see e.g. *Seals DO*, vol. 1, nos. 1.13–16, 1.18, 1.21, 12.5–6, 13.1, 26.1, 29.1, 29.2, 29.4, 36a.1, 44.1–2, 67.1; vol. 2, nos. 59.3, 42.4, 41.6, 40.24, 40.21, 25.4, 12.3, 8.19, 7.1, and also the seals of state officials: Laurent 1981, vol. 2/1, nos. 199, 848, 869, 908, 933–7, 941, 942, 970, 1133, 1139, 1192 (= Demetrios), 60, 92, 102, 139, 141, 153, 160, 192, 538, 597, 702, 705, 710, 778, 818, 832, 833, 863, 864, 923, 938–940, 943, 944, 968, 971, 991, 1018, 1019, 1029, 1144, 1126, 1147, 1189 (= George), 69, 1024, 1075 (= Niketas), 5, 87, 129, 246, 342, 451, 472, 609, 674, 683, 706, 855, 866, 879, 974, 1137, 1143, 1183, 1186 (= Theodore); vol. 1/3, nos. 1454–5, 1463–5, 1467, 1486–92, 2703, 2680, 2710–11 2755b; vol. 2 404, 428, 438, 447, 468, 497, 523, 633, 636, 672, 525, 526, 566, 356, 422, 423, 478, 717, 731, 733 (= Demetrios), 247 (= Eustathios), 355, 357, 362, 373, 384, 393, 394, 421, 464–467, 469–471, 472, 474, 476, 477, 481, 494, 501, 516, 540, 550, 650, 661, 691, 761, 703, 488 (= George), 642, 649, 685, 713, 737, 817 (= Niketas), 352–54, 371, 452, 480, 484, 491, 519, 520, 538, 705, 722, 723, 727, 728, 732, 738, 740, 776, 778, 786, 844, 864 (= Theodore). The problem has recently been analysed by Cheynet 1999 (esp. 60–1) and Cotsonis 2003, 15–17, 20–5. Cf. also Alpatov's thesis (1975, 119–20) that beside the imperial court and the landowners an important role in popularizing the cult of St George was played by folk religiousness and culture—as was the case also in Rus'. Among the Slav peoples, however, traces of the cult of the warrior saints in popular piety can only be seen clearly during the Late Byzantine period (see Jääskinen 1981, 335–44, on the basis of the cult of St George in northern

gentry's requirement of a limited number of patrons representing on the basis of *pars pro toto* the whole category of martyrs with military origins. Meanwhile, the mechanisms and criteria that influenced the final selection of these rather than other saints as patrons of the army and the gentry, would seem to be different in every case and deserves a separate study—which, however, goes outside the framework of the present study.

The career of St Demetrios is as a good example of a local saint who in addition did not initially serve in a military role.[180] Despite attempts by Justinian I and Maurice to spread his cult throughout the army by means of his relics,[181] Demetrios preserved his character as a local saint until the ninth century. He was connected to a certain degree with Sirmium but even more so with Thessaloniki. At the beginning of the fifth century the Roman provincial governor, Leontius, founded a basilica dedicated to Demetrios in the centre of Thessaloniki; this was replaced after a fire in the seventh century by the present, considerably more extensive church. With time Thessaloniki became the main centre of the cult of Demetrios.[182] The spread of the cult can be linked

Russia and Finland; and Duć-Fajfer 1994, 296–7, 302–7, who considers the cult and naming of churches of St Demetrios in South-Eastern Poland).

180 The existence of numerous unsolved hagiographic questions relating to this saint is pointed out by Walter 2003a, 67–68.

181 In the first book of *Miracles* (Mir Dem, pp. 89^{7}–90^{3} [I: 5/51–53]) Bishop John describes the emperor Maurice's request, directed to his predecessor Eusebios, for the loan of the relics of Demetrios, which he wished to take to war with him. The bishop refused, quoting a similar request from Justinian, which had not been fulfilled after a party searching in the church crypt had its lights extinguished and heard a voice warning them to cease digging since the remains of the saint must remain in his martyrium. Nevertheless, in the hole that had been dug a miraculous oil was found, which was taken to Justinian. On the *myron* of Demetrios as a relic protecting soldiers who smeared themselves with it in battle and inscriptions on enkolpia for *myron*, which commend combatants into the saint's protection see Grabar 1950, 3; Walter 1973, 164–5; and 2003a, 82–3. Eustathios of Thessaloniki, in his *Laudatio* in honour of Demetrios comments on the enkolpia of the martyr protecting those who wore them in battle, see MPG, 136:188: Πολλοὶ γοῦν ἐπικόλπια φέροντες τοιαῦτα ἐκ τῶν μάρτυρος, τὴν ἐκεῖθεν ἐξερχομένην ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ πολέμου ἐπισκιάζουσαν ἔμαθον δύναμιν (see also col. 184 on the *myron* which gave off a miraculous scent).

182 As late as the 12th C. in Sirmium (now Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia), despite the destruction of the town by the Avars in 582, there existed a church dedicated to St Demetrios which is mentioned by Kinnamos (p. 227^{1-14} [V]) in reference to the Hungarian campaign of the emperor Manuel I in 1167. The emperor took the relic of the arm of St Prokopios which had been left there and transported it to Niš, where the martyr was buried. On the translation of the cult of Demetrios and the foundation of a new basilica, see Vickers (1974, 348) and Walter (2003a, 69–70, 73–76) who identify

with two events. First, the missionary activity of Cyril and Methodius, who both hailed from Thessaloniki, which led to the popularization of the city's patron among the Balkan Slavs towards the end of the ninth century.[183] Second, the transfer of his cult to Constantinople thanks to the intercession of Leo VI. According to legend, Demetrios appeared to Leo in a dream to assure him of his protection for himself and his wife Theophano at a time when Leo was suspected of participating in a plot against Basil I (867–886). After acceding to the throne, Leo erected the first church dedicated to Demetrios in the capital within the palace grounds, in gratitude for the favour shown to him, and also composed three homilies in the saint's honour.[184]

Leontius with a praetorian prefect (*c.*435–41) of this name mentioned in the *Codex of Theodosius*. On the church and a silver ciborium with an image of Demetrios present in the church after it was rebuilt after a fire in 629–34, see Pallas 1979, *passim*.

[183] Demetrios is mentioned in the *Pannonian Legend* only once, when Methodius, after translating the liturgical books, gave thanks to God and the Thessalonikan saint; nevertheless one of the canons devoted to Demetrios is attributed to Methodius, while his disciple and continuator in the work of Christianizing the Slavs, Kliment of Ohrid also composed an *enkomion* in Demetrios's honour (Duć-Fajfer 1994, 296 and nn. 12–13). The creation of these works in Old Church Slavonic may have contributed to the spread of Demetrios's cult among the Slavs. See also Obolensky (1974), who draws attention to Demetrios's paradoxical popularity among the Slavs, since according to his *Miracles*, he had defended Thessaloniki from them. He is also mentioned alongside other eastern saints in the earliest (11th-C.) Hungarian liturgical calendar (Múcska 2001, 122 and n. 23). Cf. also Phountoukides (1999, 298–9), who assumes that Demetrios's cult spread to the Balkans only in the 11th and 12th C. The same author notes (p. 293) that Demetrios's feastday is recorded for the first time in the *typikon* of the Hagia Sophia church in Constantinople in an MS of 1063.

[184] The manifestation in a dream of an armed youth from Thessaloniki to Leo and Theophano is mentioned in the *Life* of THEOPHANO (p. 10^{10-21} [15]) which was written after her death in 895 (see also Walter 2003a, 72, n. 17); meanwhile on Leo's propagation in Constantinople of Demetrios's cult in the context of the plot on Basil I's life see Magdalino (1990), who believes that the key role in defending the prince from the emperor's wrath was played by the grand *heteriarch* Stylianos Zautsas, who hailed from Thessaloniki. In Magdalino's opinion the motif driving Leo to plot against his father was his conviction that he was the son of Michael III and his lover Eudoxia Ingerina, who had fallen pregnant before her marriage to Basil I. Leo's supposed scandalous origins are mentioned by several chroniclers, e.g. *The Continuation to the Chronicle of George the Monk* in THEOPH. CONT., p. 835^{4-6} [33] and ZONARAS, 3:415^{3-5} [XVI 7/17], whereas others recognize Leo as the son (perhaps only in a legal sense) of Basil the Macedonian (see e.g. the *Life of Basil* in THEOPH. CONT. p. 353^{1-2} [VI 1]), a tradition that is probably untrustworthy, since its author, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, is unlikely to have wished to underline the problematical origins of his own father. Both views still find supporters among Leo's biographers, see e.g. PBE I (Leon 25 with bibliog. on the problem) recognizing Leo as Basil's son; and see also Mango (1973, 25–6; with a detailed analysis of the chronology of events), and Treadgold (1997, 455). The last two authors both indicate that the emperor was convinced of the paternity of Michael III, and reinterred him with full honours immediately after Basil's

During the tenth and eleventh centuries it is possible to observe a growth in Demetrios's popularity in imperial circles, as is evident from the custom of placing him on ivory triptychs in the company of other military saints; these include the *Forty Martyrs triptych* in the Hermitage (fig. 19b),[185] where he is already shown in military attire and with weapons. Demetrios is illustrated in a similar manner on a dedicatory miniature by the painter of the Psalter of Basil II of *c.*1019 (*Ven. Marcianus gr. 17*; fol. 3r; fig. 24), where he again appears alongside the most popular military saints.[186] Christopher Walter notes the presence of Demetrios in military attire on murals in the eleventh-century rock-cut churches of Cappadocia.[187] The form of Demetrios's representation as a warrior quickly caught on, also on the seals of the bishops of Thessaloniki, where he had previously been shown in ordinary martyr's costume.[188] An analysis of a larger group of images on

death (Theoph. Cont., p. 849[2–8]). The homily composed by Leo at Basil's funeral would seem to contradict this argument, but the reinterrment of Michael III ordered shortly after his coming to power weighs in favour of Treadgold's opinion, while the honouring of Zautsas with the title of *basileopator* (imperial father-in-law) argues for Magdalino's position (Treadgold 1997, 461–3). On the palace church of St Demetrios see Janin (1934, 331–3; 1969, 89, 91–92), although he does not rule out the foundation of another palace church of St Demetrios 'tou Devterou' already by Basil I.

[185] See above, n. 158

[186] The bust of Demetrios is shown in a medallion (as on ivory triptychs) in the company of George, the Theodores, Prokopios and Merkourios (see e.g. Ševčenko 1962, fig. 17; Walter 1978, 193 and n. 65, fig. 11a). A poem on the facing page of the psalter lists the martyrs as the emperor's brothers in arms (see below, pp. 332–3). In Grabar's opinion (1954, 311) the military iconographic type of Demetrios owes its existence to the soldier-emperors, who undoubtedly should include Basil II.

[187] Walter 2003a, 77: in Karabaş kilise in the Soandos valley (1060–61); in the church of St Theodore at Tağar (Yesilöz); in Elmalı kilise and the basilica of Constantine at Yeniköy (the last two examples without inscriptions that would allow certain identification).

[188] The earliest seals, dating from the 8th and early 10th C., of the metropolitans of Thessaloniki, Peter, Plotinos, James, John and Gregory, show the bust of Demetrios—as a martyr (see Zacos 1984, vol. 2, nos. 816, 818, 876; Laurent 1963, vol. 5/1, no. 449, 452, 453). As the earliest depiction of Demetrios in armour on the seal of a bishop of Thessaloniki, Walter recognizes (1973, 174–5 and 2003a, 78) one belonging to the metropolitan Romanos (after 1038); but older still are those of metropolitans Gregory (10th C.) and James (10th/11th C.), (Laurent 1963, vol. 5/1, nos. 455, 454, 1069), and later examples of seals of Michael Mitylenios, Leo, Theophylaktos, Constantine, John (Chrysanthos?), Constantine Mesopotamites and James (nos. 456, 459, 460, 463–466, 473). Walter notes, however, that Demetrios appears as a warrior already on the 10th-C. seals of the monks Euthymios and Mitrophanes. The type of the warrior in armour with a lance and oval shield, either head-and-shoulders or full figure, and standing frontally also became popular on seals with the image of Demetrios belonging to church dignitaries and monks in other dioceses (see nos. 494, 501, 544, 756, 777, 802,

state officials' seals indicates, however, that Demetrios's cult in this period remained concentrated in the empire's western provinces.[189]

Despite the reverence in which Demetrios was held by Michael IV the Paphlagonian (1034–41), Constantine X Doukas (1059–67) and Nikephoros Botaneiates (1071–81), all of whom regarded him as their patron saint,[190] it was only under their successor, Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), that Demetrios appears to have been promoted to the rank of dynastic patron. Although traces of Alexios's special veneration for the Thessalonikan saint can be observed even before his accession to the imperial throne (as is also the case with Botaneiates),[191] the decisive factor in Demetrios's special role as patron of the ruler and the Empire appears to be events connected with the Norman invasion of Thessaly in 1082. According to Anna Komnene's account, on the night preceding the battle with Bohemund at Larissa, Demetrios appeared to Alexios in a dream, painted on an icon in the Thessalonikan church dedicated to him, foretelling of victory.[192] Undoubtedly influenced by these events, Alexios placed Demetrios's image on the electrum *histamena* struck at the Thessaloniki mint during the war with the Normans, thereby initiating the custom of depicting warrior saints on coins.[193]

1406, 1079, 1434, 1443), and also reached Rus' (nos. 1391, 1412). See also Zacos 1984, vol. 2, nos. 731, 733.

[189] Besides offices connected with Constantinople and Thessaloniki (see e.g. Zacos 1984, vol. 2, nos. 428, 447, 468, 478, 523, 633, 636, 525, 526, 717, 733; Laurent 1981, vol. 2/1, nos. 848, 869, 908, 1133, 1192) the image of St Demetrios the warrior appears mainly on the seals of persons serving in military and administrative posts in the Empire's western provinces, particularly in Bulgaria (see e.g. *DO Seals*, vol. 1, nos. 1.15–16, 1.21, 26.1, 29.1, 29.2, 29.4; and Zacos 1984, vol. 2, nos. 422, 423, 438). See also Penna's opinion (1998, 266–9), who sees the popularity of the various saints on seals (esp. ecclesiastical ones) as related to places where their cult was especially strong.

[190] See Marković 1995, 586; Treadgold indicates (1997, 587) that Michael IV attempted through the intercession of Demetrios to alleviate his incapacitating attacks of epilepsy which began to strengthen from 1039. Evidence for Botaneiates' veneration of Demetrios includes images of the saint on the future ruler's seals during the 1061–77 period when he held the offices of *kouropalates, proedros* of Thessaloniki and *doux* of Antioch (Zacos 1972, vol. 1/3, no. 2687–90b; Karagiorgou [2008, 95–100, figs. 3–10.11, 18.1–2] analyses 31 examples from various collections).

[191] St Demetrios already appears in full armour on five different seals of Alexios of 1078–81, when he held the office of *Megas Domestikos* (Laurent 1981, vol. 2/1, nrs. 933–936; Zacos 1972, vol. 1/3, nrs. 2703–2707bis; *DO Seals*, vol. 1, nos. 1.15–16).

[192] See KOMNENE, pp. 25^{22}–26^{6} [V 5/6]; and also Phountoukides 1999, 300.

[193] See Phountoukides 1999, 300. These coins of Alexios which are dated to 1081/2 and 1082–85 are discussed by Grierson (1982, 224, nos. 1025, 1026), who also points out that the concentrating of production in the Constantinople mint did not favour

In this way, Demetrios took his place alongside Theodore and George as dynastic patron of the Komnenoi.[194] The lack of relics of the saint proved no barrier to the spread of his cult. Unable to translate Demetrios's remains, the emperor Manuel I took an icon of the saint from Thessaloniki to Constantinople in 1149. Not long after the icon was exhibited in the Pantokrator Monastery it began to exude a miraculous oil—*myron*.[195]

The further popularization of Demetrios is connected with the occupation of Thessaloniki by the Normans in 1185, which occurred at the same time as the Bulgar uprising under Peter and Asen. The start of the rebellion coincided with the construction and consecration of a new church of St Demetrios in Turnovo (1185–86), and for propa-

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the placing of local saints on coins. The first emperor to break this custom was Alexander (912–913) who placed his patron, St Alexander, on his coins. The warrior saints were also adopted for this purpose, among them St George, who was first introduced onto coinage by Alexios's son, John II Komnenos (1118–43), and St Theodore, who appeared on the coins of Alexios's grandson, Manuel I (1143–80). The use of images of the most popular military saints survived the period of disintegration of the Byzantine state, e.g. on the coins of John Doukas (1222–54), and they can be found, for example, on Palaiologan *trachea* and *tetartera*, e.g. of Andronikos II (1282–1328), John V (1341–76 and 1379–90) and Manuel II (1391–1425), (Grierson, 37, 220, 221, 250–51 and 265, nos. 1067–1078, 1083–1084, 1142, 1174, 1177, 1210, 1460, 1516, 1524). Interestingly, Demetrios appears mainly on coins minted in Thessaloniki (Grierson, 242, nos 1230–1231, 1235).

[194] Eustathios of Thessaloniki in his *Laudatio* in honour of St Demetrios (MPG, 136:169, 181) calls him patron of the state (but also of the city). In the Komnenos family St George already enjoyed the special veneration of the father and uncle of Alexios: *kouropalates* John and later emperor Isaac I Komnenos (1057–59), as is evident from their seals (Zacos 1972, vol. 1/3, no. 2680: Isaac as *stratopedarches* dateable to before 1055, 2681a–b, 2681bis a–b: seals of *kouropalates* John; *DO Seals*, vol. 1, no. 1.18). St George had already appeared on the seals of the *protosebastos* and Great Domestic Adrianos Komnenos in the 2nd quarter of the 11th C. (Laurent 1981, vol. 2/1, nos. 939–40), and on later ones from after 1087 (*DO Seals*, vol. 1, no. 1.13; Zacos 1972, vol. 1/3, nos. 2708–2709bis). Meanwhile, St Theodore appears on the seals of Alexios's brother Isaac Komnenos, the *protoproedros* and *doux* of Antioch and later *sebastos*, which date from 1074– after 1081 (Zacos 1972, vol. 1/3, nos. 2701a–b, 2701bis, 2702a–c). One can, however, only speak of the special popularity of Theodore among the ruling dynasty in the 12th century. See also Schreiner (1997, 91), according to whom George served as a national saint already in the 7th C. Penna (1998, 261–5, 270–2) presents a divergent opinion, believing it impossible to see any regularity in the selection of saints' images on the seals of the aristocratic and imperial families.

[195] The icon was seen by De Clari who also described the miracle (LXXXIII, p. 105, see also n. 104). In turn a local liturgical calendar mentions Manuel's receipt of a stone from the saint's grave in Thessaloniki (White 2004, 508). On the transference of the cult of Demetrios first to Constantinople and then to Venice, see Belting 1994, 196. Walter (2003a, 80–81, 92–93 and n. 54) dates the appearance of the *myron* in the saint's sanctuary in Thessaloniki to the 11th C.

ganda purposes the insurgents quickly hailed Demetrios as the patron of their new country, claiming that he would abandon Thessaloniki, a visible sign of this being the occupation of the city by schismatics.[196] The saint's growth in popularity in Slavic countries is confirmed by finds of numbers of lead ampullae-eulogia dating to the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, for the *myron* exuded by the relic of the saint.[197]

The two saint Theodores

Εἰς τὸν ἅγιον Θεόδωρον.

Ῥῆτορ, στρατηγὲ, μάρτυς, ἀνδρείας τύπε,
Ἄγαλμα κάλλους, ἀρετῶν κρᾶμα ξένον,
Σοὶ πάντα τἀμὰ, σοὶ πνοὴν, σοὶ τοὺς λόγους,
Σοὶ χειρὸς ἄρσιν, σοὶ πορείαν, σοὶ στάσιν,
Ἰωάννης δίδωσι, σοὶ τὰ πάντα μοι,
Φύλαξ, ὁδηγὸς, σύμμαχος γένοιό μοι.[198]

Our picture of the group of most popular military saints would be incomplete without Theodore Stratelates ('the general'), who enjoyed great popularity in the Middle Byzantine period.[199] His earliest known *Life* was written down by Niketas David of Paphlagonia as late as the ninth century. Although this author clearly differentiates Stratelates (who he states was crucified and then beheaded in Herakleia during the reign of Licinius) from Teron,[200] the later hagiographic texts

[196] CHONIATES, pp. 371–2; see also Ovcharov 2003, 39–40. In this context the legend of the killing of Tsar Kaloyan by a rider on a white horse (undoubtedly Demetrios) during the siege of Thessaloniki in 1207 (see above, n. 156) can be interpreted as the response of Byzantine propaganda.

[197] Ovcharov 2003, 38–9; fig. 10.

[198] John Geometres, *To St Theodore* [120] (MPG, 106:955):
Orator, leader, martyr, model of heroism,
Adorned with beauty, blended with exceptional virtues
Yours is all, your life, your words,
The weight of your hands, your motion and stillness
Given to John [Geometres], thine is everything I own,
My guardian, guide and defender.

[199] The term στρατηλάτης appears in the sources in the general sense of a military commander (as an honorary title), but in the 10th and 11th C. also as the commander-in-chief of an army, the Greek equivalent of *magister militum*. At the same time there was also a *tagma* unit whose soldiers were called *stratelatai*, see A. Kazhdan, "Stratelates" in *ODB*, 3:1965 (with discussion of sources); and Walter 2003a, 279.

[200] See AS *Novembris*, 4:83–9 [BHG 1750]. Niketas's tale develops around a dragon that was terrorizing Euchaita, which was miraculously defeated at the request of Eusebia with the aid of a cross, leading to numerous conversions in the army, and as a

model themselves increasingly on the latter figure.[201] The author of the Armenian version of the legend even makes Stratelates the nephew of Teron.[202] The site of Stratelates' burial is disputed. In the fully developed version of his *Life* attributed to Augaros it is associated with Euchaita. Yet, according to the *martyrium* of Metaphrastes and the *Synaxarion of the Constantinopolitan Church* it was located not in Euchaita but in neighbouring Euchaneia (currently Çorum in Turkey).[203] Manuel I in his *Novella* of March 1166 which put in order the issues relating to the holidays of the lawcourts, split the feastdays of the two saints—for Stratelates, 7th February (martyrdom) and 8th June (translation of relics), for Teron, 17th February—and decreed that all three dates should be half-holidays.[204]

The origins of Stratelates and genesis of his cult still remain unclear. Undoubtedly, it developed considerably later than that of Theodore Teron—the bishopric in Euchaneia is mentioned for the first time in the first half of the tenth century and the *metropolis* is not recorded until the first half of the eleventh, whereas Euchaita had already been a cult centre since the fifth century.[205] Partly responsible for the spread of his cult was the warrior-emperor Nikephoros Phokas, who founded a church in his honour in Constantinople. In his study on the relation-

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consequence to Licinius's interest in Theodore and condemning him to a martyr's death. See also Walter 2003a, 59.

201 See e.g. 10th-C. *enkomion* of Euthymios the Protosekretarios (Halkin 1986). Cf. Ovcharov (2003, 16) who incorrectly derives the legend of Stratelates slaying the dragon from the hagiography of St George, whereas the topos reached the latter from the story of Theodore Teron.

202 Davies 1991, 100 and nn. 27–30.

203 Metaphrastes mentions only Euchaneia (Delehaye 1909, 181[21], 182[7]); while the *Synaxarion* (*Synaxarium CPL*, 735[33]) specifies that Euchaneia lies close to Euchaita; see also the account of Augaros (Acta Theod., 367[11–18]). Emphatically in favour of Euchaneia as the centre of the cult is Oikonomidès (1986, 329–3) who sees the beginnings of the confusion of the two places in a reference by Zonaras (see above, n. 147) and in the fact that Euchaneia was occupied by the Turks.

204 See Macrides 1984, 152[190–91] [III] and commentary on p. 185; MPG, 133:760; and Delehaye 1909, 15.

205 See Oikonomidès (1986, 331) who notices that the creation of an episcopal see may have been influenced by the miracle of 971 described by Skylitzes and Zonaras, see above, n. 147; and Marković 1995, 596 and n. 237. Both authors also mention the bishop of Euchaneia, John, known thanks to his bulla of 1071. Meanwhile, Euchaita is mentioned as a centre of the cult of Theodore already by Theophanes (1:125) under the year 476/77, describing the exile to it of the monophysite metropolitan of Antioch, Peter Gnapheus on the recommendation of the emperor Zeno. On the dating of the start of the cult of Stratelates to the 9th C. and his introduction in response to a public need, see recently Ovcharov 2003, 15.

ship between the two Theodores, Nikolaos Oikonomides believes the new saint's creation may have been influenced by the dedication of the church in Euchaneia, or by an icon of Theodore in military attire to be found there. It was said to have survived the period of Iconoclasm and became a pretext for the separation of the military saint from Teron, whose miraculous icon preserved in the Middle Byzantine period in Euchaita was said to have depicted him in martyr's attire.[206]

The use of older hagiographic models during the creation of new legends and lives of the saints was nothing unusual in the Eastern Church, also in relation to the warrior saints,[207] and may have served overriding goals. This process may also have taken place with the two Theodores. The public need probably played a leading role. Teron, in view of his lowly rank in the army, was undoubtedly viewed by the Byzantine people as the patron of rank and file soldiers, above all foot soldiers (*pezon*), and as a result did not fulfil the needs of the military aristocracy who sought a patron more similar to them in social status and rank. The two saint Theodores were contrasted with each other as examples of different models of holiness. In the third quarter of the eleventh century, the bishop of Euchaita, John Mauropous, who belonged to the anti-war party, in his homily on St Theodore Teron contrasted the humble figure of the saint dressed in modest attire with the riders clad in gold and jewels, presumably an allusion to the militaristic aristocrat faction at the imperial court.[208]

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206 To support this thesis Oikonomidès (1986, 334–5) cites two descriptions left by Mauropous ([BHG 1771–1772], pp. 36, 207–09) of icons showing, respectively, a standing figure of Theodore Teron and the two Theodores. See also Walter (1999), who allows for the possibility that the icon of the standing saint described by Mauropous was identical to the one mentioned earlier in the *Miracles*. On Mauropous's homily in honour of Theodore, see Delehaye (1909, 36–37), who however does not appreciate its importance in the study of the phenomena of both saints.

207 Three examples of the re-use of a hagiographic topos are the *Passio* of St Menas, which was modelled on a panegyric [BHG 703] by Basil the Great devoted to St Gordius (see Kazhdan 1985, 670); the reworking of the legend of Sergios and Bakchos in the *Vita* of St Athanasios (Key Fowden 1999, 8–17); and the taking over by George from Theodore of the role of dragon-slayer (most recently: Papamastorakes 1998, 221). Cf. Privalova (1963, 182; and 1977, 64) who proposes that George is already depicted with the dragon on a 5th/6th-C. altar screen in Tsebelda, Georgia, as is evident from the preserved inscription "here is a dragon" accompanying George. Her view arouses certain reservations, since George is accompanied by Theodore. On the taking over by George of the iconographic formula of handing out his worldly goods to the poor from western depictions of St Martin, see Vieillard-Troiekouroff 1979.

208 Mauropous, p. 208 [BHG 1772]: Διὰ τοῦτο δὴ μᾶλλον τῶν ἐφίππων ἐκείνων καὶ περιλάμπρων καὶ καταχρύσων ὁ πεζὸς ἡμῖν οὗτος καὶ πολυτελὲς οὐδὲν ἔχων οὐδὲ

A new theory on the origins of Theodore Stratelates was recently formulated by Christopher Walter, who sees as a model not Teron, but a third Theodore 'of Anatolia' or *Orientalis* (see fig. 77), who had already been forgotten in the day of the Empire. This third Theodore is known only from two eastern hagiographic texts; he was an archer serving in the Roman army who fatally wounded the Persian commander Nikomedes in the heart. Converted as the result of a dream, he rejected Satan and his servant the emperor Diocletian, for which he was martyred in Antioch. His soul was carried up to heaven by the archangel Michael, and for his deeds he received the name *Stratelates*. This term has more than one meaning, and can denote both the specific rank of general as well as a generic high rank; nevertheless in Walter's opinion it indicates that the forgotten 'Eastern' Theodore was probably the prototype for Stratelates.[209]

Theodore Stratelates was not the only saint, nor indeed the last to be added to the circle of warrior saints; the group's expansion continued through the Middle Byzantine period and into the Palaiologan era.[210] However, the new warriors did not enter the select group of most popular saints who served as patrons of the military aristocracy and

σοβαρὸν οὐδ' ὑπέρογκον τὰς ἀγαθουργίας περιφανέστερος καὶ τοῖς φαιδροτέροις ἴσως φαιδρότερον ὁ μάρτυς εὑρέπων. The social aspect of Mauropous's comments is pointed out by Kazhdan 1983, 545 and Kazhdan/Maguire 1991, 13.

209 Walter 2003a, 60–1, fig. 57 and n. 93, with further literature and references to Coptic tradition reaching back to the 9th C. (e.g. Theodore 'of Anatolia' on horseback depicted on fol. 1v of MS no. 144 in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York); on the Syrian tradition see Galuzzi (1968).

210 The transformation of the Egyptian martyr, Artemios, who was depicted in military costume from the first quarter of the 13th C. is an example of a process similar to that taking place in the function and iconography of St Demetrios (Marković 1995, 594, esp. n. 212; who points out that Artemios is still shown as an ordinary martyr on a mosaic medallion from Martorana in Palermo). The cult of the warrior saint Phanourios which developed from the 15th C. on Crete is an entirely different phenomenon, and probably came about as result of the misreading of an inscription on an icon found on Rhodes of George (or Theodore) 'Phanerotis' ('one who reveals'), from Gk. φαίνω 'to appear, point out', see e.g. examples of legends on the assistance provided by St George to Theopistos, Glykerios and the son of Scholastica in finding lost cattle (AUFHAUSER, 44–64; MPG, 115:156; Mark-Weiner 1977, 212); see also Vassilakes-Mavrakakes (1981), who on the basis of persons appearing in a legend on the freeing of three clerics from Turkish captivity, established its date of origin to *c.*1360, but after analyzing the hagiographic references and the earliest artistic donations, considers 1428 as the start of the wider cult of St Phanourios, which developed initially on Crete. See also the note by Walter 2003a, 20–211.

imperial family, and also (alongside Mary and the archangel Michael) as patron saints of the imperial army.[211]

Conclusions

Images of military saints begin to appear in the art of the Eastern Roman Empire in the sixth century, as symbolic-apotropaic representations. Their presence became possible thanks to the changes in the Church's attitude towards military service, which in turn had been influenced by imperial propaganda referring to Christian symbolism in the fight against non-believers. A formal model for the military saints, and undoubtedly to some extent also an ideological model, were the depictions of the antique military gods. However, prior to the period of Iconoclasm no unified iconographic type of military saint had yet developed, just as no group of individuals who were depicted this way had yet been clearly defined. In this period, the saints are shown in full equipment—armour, lance and shield—and sometimes

[211] Kantorowicz (1942, 67, 74, n. 1) has shown from prayers and laudations to Theodore, George and Merkourios originating from Burgundy, that these saints were already revered as patrons of the army in the Frankish state in *c.*900. When describing the imperial standards Ps. Kodinos (195^{31}–196^{11}) mentions a flag bearing the image of the archangel Michael, along with two other insignia: the first a flag bearing likenesses of saints, known as the *oktapodion* because of its eight tails; and a second in the form of a cross with portraits of the four great martyrs: Demetrios, Prokopios and the two Theodores, and on the reverse equestrian depictions of George slaying a dragon and an emperor ("Αλλο σταυρὸς ἔχον εἰκόνας τῶν ἁγίων τεσσάρων μεγάλων μαρτύρων, Δημητρίου, Προκοπίου καί Θεοδώρων, ἕτερον ἔχον τὸν ἅγιον Γεώργιον ἔφιππον, ἄλλο δρακόντειον, καὶ ἕτερον δὲ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔχον στήλην ἔφιππον.). Cf. also Babuin 2001, 31; Parani 2003, 153, n. 258 and p. 155; Ovcharov 2003, 51; and also Walter 2003a, 109, who class all these insignia as standards. Although no military crosses are currently known they were undoubtedly similar in form to processional crosses (see Pentcheva 2006, 67–74, figs. 34–37), on which military saints also appear, albeit usually without military attributes, in a full figure, orant pose, e.g. St George on 11th- and 12th-C. crosses in the Royal Ontario Museum, in the Archaeological Museum in Sofia and in the Historical Museum in Vidin, Bulgaria; and also as a warrior on an 11th/12th-C. gold cross from Veliki Preslav, and a 12th-C. cross from Bachevo near Haskovo, Bulgaria (Cotsonis 1994, 102, fig. 36; Ovčarov 1991, 126–7, figs. 2–3; Ovcharov 2003, 41–2); or also in busts on *clipei* placed on the cross's arms, e.g. Sts George, Theodore, Sisinnios and Demetrios on the 10th-C. 'Cross of Adrianople', currently in the Benaki Museum in Athens; and Theodore with George in military attire on a 12th-C. cross from Matskhvarishi in Georgian Svanetia (Cotsonis 1994, figs. 5b, 21a, b = *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 23). On the (probably Late) Byzantine standard preserved in the Military Museum in Istanbul, bearing a black cross on a white field and a mounted warrior saint at its centre, see Babuin 2001, n. 3.

also sword, but also often appear wearing a chlamys and wielding the symbolic *crux hastata* as their weapon.

With the end of the Iconoclast controversy and the appearance in the tenth century of a military aristocracy, a change took place in the character of the military saints, and a narrow group of the most popular 'great martyrs' emerges (not necessarily from saints initially connected with the soldier's profession); these served as patrons of the powerful families and of the emperors spawned from those families, and ultimately as patrons of the imperial army. The numerous churches erected in the provinces as well as in the capital and dedicated to St George, St Theodore, and in the later period, also to St Demetrios, are evidence of the special popularity of these great martyrs. The numbers of such churches was matched only by those dedicated to Mary or to the most popular saints, such as John the Baptist, Nicholas and John Chrysostom.[212]

The cult of the warrior saints therefore took on its ultimate character only in the period after Iconoclasm. The question arises whether this in turn led to the iconographic formulas used to represent those

[212] By the end of the 12th C., besides the sanctuary at Mangana, there were at least nine churches in Constantinople dedicated to St George: one founded by Niketas, son of Philaret (8th C.); in the suburb of Galata (*c.*613); in the quarters of Kyparission (*c.*880), Petra, and Kontaria; by the Ksirokerkos gate (*c.*536); in Chalcedon (*c.*610–38); on the Gulf of Nikomedia; and the chapel at the monastery of St John in Stoudios (before 910). In the Late Byzantine period there is evidence for a further three: in the city quarters of Heiron and Galata, and at the monastery of St Marta (Janin 1934, 162–9, 178–80; and 1969, 69–70, 76–8). In Constantinople besides the early foundation by the *patrikios* Sphorakios, St Theodore had churches at the monasteries of Skaphidion (10th C.) and Kosmidion; near the church of St Mokios; in the place called 'tou Klaudiou' (supposedly founded by St Helena); in the quarters of Karbounaria (5th C.), Rhesion (6th C.), and Tenetron; in Chalcedon (6th C.) and Galata; as well as the palace chapel; the chapel by the Chalke gate; and the oratory of the palace guards. In the 15th C. a church of St Theodore was founded by patriarch Kiprian of Thessaloniki, and chapels dedicated to him were located at the monastery of Christ Philanthropos ('loving mankind'), and at the hermitage of Theologitos (Janin 1935, 57–64; and 1969, 150–54). Among the early churches in the capital bearing the name of St Demetrios, besides the palace church (Demetrios tou Palatiou), there were two dating from the 12th C.: the church founded by the Palaiologos family, and the chapel at the Theotokos Kecharitomene monastery. More numerous dedications appear only in the 14th-C. churches of Demetrios *tou Elaphrou* (named after a certain *Demetrios Elaphros)*, Demetrios *Kanavis*, and Demetrios tes Akropoleos (on the Akropolis), and another founded by Nicholas Rhadenos in *c.*1400 (Janin 1934, 334–39; 1969, 89–94; and on the provincial centres of the cult of these saints, Janin 1975, *passim*).

It is worth mentioning that a number of Byzantine churches were dedicated to other 'military saints' in the form of the heavenly *archistrategos* St Michael the Archangel, occasionally with Gabriel appearing as *taxiarch*.

saints taking on a more definite form. It is also worth considering to what extent these formulas are a continuation of late antique tradition, and which items of arms and armour were modelled on the actual equipment of the Middle Byzantine army. To provide answers we must undertake a survey of the various elements of military equipment and attire of the military saints.

CHAPTER THREE

ICONOGRAPHY OF THE COSTUME AND ARMOUR OF THE WARRIOR SAINTS[1]

The main element in the images of saints that distinguishes the great military martyrs from other categories of saints is their military attire—armour, cloak, close-fitting trousers, boots, and sometimes also officer's insignia denoting rank. In order to determine to what degree these items are based on an older iconographic tradition or on the contemporary equipment of the army, we need to compare them with representations from before the era of Iconoclasm as well as with what is known of the actual military attire of the Byzantine army.[2]

Armour

Corselet

Starting from the most distinctive element of attire of the military saints, we shall first review the types of armour seen in their iconography and also those used in the Middle Byzantine army. In painting and bas-relief the warrior saints are usually depicted in three types of corselet: 'muscled', scale, and the related lamellar.

In source texts the Byzantines use a range of (often interchangeable) terms to describe body armour and the corselet; these include λωρίκιον,[3]

[1] For an overview of Byzantine armour see E. McGeer and A. Cutler, "Armor" in *ODB*, 1:182–3.

[2] On military uniform (τὸ τοῦ στρατιώτου σχῆμα) in the writings of the Church Fathers and in the *Codex Justinianus* [XII 39], see Koukoules, 2/2:13 (with list of sources). The term 'uniform' should not be understood in the modern sense as military clothing that is strictly regulated, but rather as items of military equipment and clothing established by custom that are not always identical, the garments often being derived from civilian attire (Coulston 2002, 7–8; Ball 2005, 89–90).

[3] The term *lorikion* is unquestionably derived from the Latin *lorica*, see e.g. Vegetius, pp. 34 [I 16], 40, 42 [I 20], 86, 88 [II 13], 90 [II 15], 110 [II 25], 148 [III 7], 180 [III 16], 290 [IV 44] and also R. Grosse, "Art lorica", in *PR*, 13:1444–9; on its origins see also Kolias 1993a, 40 and n. 12 with an extensive bibliog. For examples of use of the term see e.g.: De Cer., 1:670$^{8-9}$ [II 45]; Porph., p. 96^{56} [C]; LT, 1:91^{1169} [V 3 (4)]; LP, p. 68 [XI 8]; Praecepta, p. 38^{10} [IV 2]; also Kolias 1988, 37, 39 (and his opinion

κλιβάνιον,[4] and ζάβα.[5] Writers more deeply immersed in the Classical tradition also readily employed the expression θώραξ.[6] All of these

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linking the *lorikion* with the mail-shirt, below, n. 10) as well as T. Kolias, "Lorikion", in *BKR*, 160–1, where he links this term with both scale and mail armour.

4 The term *klibanion* was probably borrowed by the Byzantines (together with the word *klibanarios* to designate a heavily-armoured cavalryman) from Persian *grivpan* meaning neck protector, see Bivar 1972, 277–8, n. 28 (with more detailed bibliog.); Michalak 1987, 76–7; Kolias 1988, 44–5, and n. 59; Kolias 1993a, 41; similarly Lat. *Clibanarius*, 'heavily armoured horseman (of Persian origin)', see Haldon 1975, 35, n. 119; and also below, n. 58. Leo VI identifies the *klibanion* with the *thorax* (LT, 1:102[1284–85] [VI 4]: Εἰ δυνατὸν δὲ καὶ θώρακας ἔχειν, οἵτινες καλοῦνται νῦν κλιβάνια). See also LT, 1:130[1538] [VI 35 (36)]; DAI, 1:78[12] [15], 250[83] [51] (cf. also DAI 2:200 and De Cer., 2:583, where the commentary authors erroneously seek the etymology in the Attic κρίβανος 'oven', or in χάλυβος 'steel', and identify the *klibanion* as a type of banded armour, worn over the *zaba* or *lorikion*; McGeer [1995, 67] admits the first of these etymologies in his commentary to the *Praecepta*); Praecepta, p. 22[20] [II 3] (≈ TNU [MG], p. 98[37] [LVII 5]), 34[27, 29, 31] [III 4] (≈ TNU [MG], p. 114[37, 39, 41] [LX 4] (mentioning long sleeves as the distinguishing mark of the *klibanion*), p. 38[6] [IV 1] (≈ TNU [MG], p. 118[9] [LXI 1]). On the general meaning of the term *klibanion* see also: Dawson 1998, 42; T. Kolias, "Klibanion", in *BKR*, 139–40; and Diethart/Dintsis 1984, 67–8, n. 3.

5 See e.g. Malalas, p. 256[29] [XIII 23], and also the apparatus on p. 398, quoting a version where the *zaba* is worn by members of the Greens faction; Strat., pp. 78[1] [I 2], 258[15][VII B 15], 338[19–21] [X 1], 362[24] [XI 2] (referring to the Scythians), 420[5], 442[33], 444[54], 458[7] [XII B 4, 16, 20], (= LP, pp. 60 [X 2], 68 [XI 8], 70 [XI 17] (on the arms of the Scythians), 83 [XII 29]; and also passages of the *Strategikon* borrowed in Leo VI's *Taktika* listed by Kolias 1980, 28; ChPasch, 1:625[12–13], 719[14] (mentions that they were worn by the Greens faction, and by Slav warriors who besieged Constantinople in 622). As Kolias (1980, 27, 30 and n. 14, 15; and 1988, 43–4) has shown the term *zaba* appears only in the 6th C., possibly as loan from Arabic *jubbah*, meaning a long Arab tunic (see Nicolle 1988, 2:627 who interprets the term *zaba* as a kind of hauberk used by the Arabs and *jubbah* as a textile-covered version of the same); or alternatively a loan from Persian (Kolias 1993a, 41; T. Kolias, "Zaba" in *BKR*, p. 285; see also below, n. 136). Haldon (1975, 24–5) admits that the lamellar cuirass might be described by the term *zaba* and identifies it with the *lorikion* on the basis of references in Justinian's *Novellae* (Cic, vol. 3 *Novellae*, p. 417[29] [LXXXV 4]: καὶ τὰς λεγομένας ζάβας ἤτοι λωρίκια). See also Mihăescu (1968, 486) who concludes from references in the *Strategikon* that *zaba* and *lorikion* designated the same type of cuirass. See also Suda, 2:499[2] [1]: ζάβα γὰρ τὸ λωρίκιον; LT (1:116[1422]–117[1423] [VI 25], 180[2122] [VII 66 (73)]) and other examples linking the two terms published by Wiita 1978, p. 70–1 (including a reference in *The Life of Theodore of* SYKEON, p.107 [XXVIII], where a three-layered *zaba* is identified as a *lorikion*) and Kolias 1980, nn. 2, 7 (the *zaba* as a component of a *lorikion*), 17. The meaning of the term *zaba* changed towards the end of the 10th C., and in the Praecepta (p. 34[29], 36[36] [III 4] = TNU [MG], p. 114[39–40, 46][LX 4]) it signifies an element of a cuirass, or respectively the type of material (probably thick linen or cotton) from which it was made; see also Kolias 1988, 65–67 and n. 12.

6 See e.g. Procopius, 1:7[8], 65[1], 96[13] [I 1/15, 13/36, 18/33], 266[26], 267[29] [II 25/27, 25/31], 536[9] [IV 26/1], 2:48[24], 114[9, 15] [V 9/21, 23/9, 23/11], 157[9] [VI 2/22], 317[3], 358[6] [VII 4/22, 14/22], 541[14] [VIII 11/35]; Agathias, pp. 33[4] [I 9], 196[13] [III 25]; Attaleiates, p. 48[22]; Bryennios, pp. 153[20, 24] [II 6], 163[19] [II 12], 265[20] [IV 4], 276[3] [IV 11]; Choniates, pp. 61[62] [II 1], 153[35], 196[77] [V], 222[59] [VI]. In addition, see F. Lammert,

terms, which also appear in hagiographic texts,[7] have a general character and do not describe a specific type of body armour unambiguously. Only an additional descriptor gives a clearer idea of the technique used to make the corselet, for example: θώραξ φολιδωτής[8]—scale (or lamellar) armour; λωρίκιον ψιλόν[9]—soft armour (usually textile, e.g.

"Thorax" in *PR*, 6 (1936): 332–6; H. Aigner, "Thorax" in *BKR*, 262–3; and also the definition in the SUDA, 2:724$^{8-25}$ [439, 440]. Occasionally the noun θώραξ appears in the adjectival forms τεθωρακισμένος, and κατατεθωρακισμένος—'dressed in armour', 'wearing a breastplate' (see e.g.: DE VELITATIONE, p. 200^{16}, [16]; AGATHIAS, p. 33^{1} [I 9] DAI, p. 208^{207} [45]; KINNAMOS p. 127^{14}, DAI, 1:208^{207} [45]; LEO THE DEACON, p. 132^{18} [VIII 4]), and also the antonym ἀθωράκιστος 'unarmoured' (KINNAMOS, pp. 60^{13}, 61^{16}). On the equivalence of the terms *zaba*, *thorax* and *klibanion* see also Haldon 1975, 19. Cf. also Górecki (1980, 206) for whom the terms *lorica* and *thorax* relate only to the muscled cuirass. On Plutarch's use of the term *thorax* in reference to Parthian *klibanarioi*, see Mielczarek 1993, 57 and n. 51.

[7] See above, n. 50 on p. 13.

[8] From φολίς, φολῖδοςi, Gk. 'scale', 'covered in scales'. Anna KOMNENE uses this term in the description of a duel between Marianos and the Count of Prebentza during the crossing of the Adriatic by the First Crusade: ὃς τὴν ἀσπίδα διατρήσας τόν τε **φολιδωτὸν** διεληλυθὼς **θώρακα** καὶ αὐτῆς); and when speaking of Alexios, who on hearing the Crusaders had laid siege to Constantinople, "did not even put on his corselet of scale armour, nor take shield or spear in hand, nor gird on his sword" (Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὡπλίσατο μὲν οὐδαμῶς οὐδὲ **φολιδωτὸν** περιεβάλετο **θώρακα** οὐδὲ σάκος οὐδ' ἔγχος ἐνηγκαλίσατο οὐδὲ ξίφος περιεζώσατο); and also on the arrow shot from the walls by the caesar Nikephoros Bryennios, which pierced the scale cuirass of one of the Latins (τὸν δὲ **φολιδωτὸν θώρακα** σὺν αὐτῷ διελὼν τῷ βραχίονι τῇ πλευρᾷ τὸ βέλος περιέπειρεν.) (2:218^{9}, 222$^{9-11}$, 225$^{8-9}$ [X 8/7, 9/4, 9/9]); this may seem strange in the light of Nicolle's findings (2002, 211–13), who concludes that until the 12th C. scale armour was not in widespread use in Western Europe, except in Spain which maintained close ties with the Arabs and Venice. One may surmise that Komnene here meant a cuirass made from horn scales, since the word φολίς also has this meaning. See also CHONIATES who states (p. 62^{95,1} [II 1]) that Manuel I, wishing to secure his empire from the approaching Second Crusade, "handed out scale armour to his army" (τῇ δέ στρατιᾷ χιτῶνας φολιδωτοὺς χορηγεῖ); and after the battle at Myriokephalon, while making his way to Claudiopolis, took "στολὰς φολίσι **σιδηραῖς**" (p. 197^{18} [VI]), which is evidence that the scales were also made of iron. Meanwhile, the NAUMACHICA (p. 21 [I 14] ≈ p. 74 [VI 12]) mentions *lorikia* and *klibania* made entirely from *petala* (from Gk. πέταλον—'leaf', 'metal plate', hence 'ballot') (λωρίκια, κλιβάνια, εἰ καὶ μὴ ὄπισθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντως ἔμπροσθεν **πέταλα** ἔχοντα). See also Kolias (1988, 49) who on the basis of John Tzetzes' commentary indicates that the σωσάνιον or σουσάνιον was a type of scale armour (see also DIG. AKR., pp. 270^{432}, 310^{945}, where Arabs are mentioned as: οἱ μὲν λουρικιασμένοι ἦσαν, ἄλλοι σουσανιασμένοι, which suggests that the *sousanion* was not the same as the *lorikion*).

[9] Porphyrogennetos lists twelve corselets of this type among the equipment of a dromon taking part in John Tzimiskes' expedition against Arab-held Crete in 949 (DE CER., 1:669^{16} [II 45]). It would seem that the adjective ψιλός (lit. 'naked', 'unarmed') should be treated here as derived from ψιλοί—light-armed soldiers, see LT, 1:130$^{1537-40}$ [VI 35 (36)], which refers to ancient light troops: Τοὺς δὲ ψιλοὺς πάντων ἐλαφροτάτῃ ὥπλιζον τῇ παρασκευῇ. οὔτε γὰρ θώρακας ἤγουν κλιβάνια ἢ λωρίκια; and also PERI STRATEGIAS, p. 54$^{58-9}$ [16]: οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ζάβαις καὶ θώραξι καὶ περικεφαλαίαις ταῖς

felt); λωρίκιον ἀλυσιδωτόν[10]—literally chain armour (probably a mail-shirt). Another important class of body armour is the νευρικόν, a type of 'soft armour' which the etymology indicates was made of sinew or leather, although in practice it was usually made from quilted linen, felt or hardened leather. The term is also used to describe a type of horse armour.[11]

ἐκ πίλου καὶ βύρσης συντεθειμέναις; and LT 1:92[1179] [V 3]: τοῖς μὴ ἔχουσι σιδηρᾶ· κέντουκλα φαρδέα. See also SKYL. CONT., p. 113[7]: ψιλὸν δὲ καὶ ἄοπλον καὶ γυμνόν; KOMNENE notes (2:141[5–8] [VIII 5/4]) that due to a shortage of cuirasses (*amphia*) Alexios equipped his light troops in soft silk armour painted to imitate metal armour (καὶ τοὺς ψιλοὺς τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὥπλιζε καρτερῶς, ἔστιν οὗ καί τινας ἀμφία καὶ περικεφαλαίας ἐκ σηρικῶν πέπλων ὁμοχρόων κατασκευάσας περιέβαλεν, ἐπεὶ μὴ ἀπέχρη τούτῳ πρὸς πάντας ὁ σίδηρος.); see also Ball 2005, 89; while EUST. THES. (p. 90[6–8]) mentions the female defenders of Thessaloniki in 1185 making imitation armour from rags and bulrushes (Ὅσαι δὲ καὶ πρὸς ὁπλισμὸν ἐρρύθμιζον ἑαυτάς, ῥάκη καὶ ψιάθους ἐναπτόμεναι, ὡσεὶ καί τινας θώρακας), fully in accordance with the stratagems practiced in the Byzantine army, see e.g. {LT, vol. B', p. 14 [XV 9]}. On the subject of soft felt armour see also below, n. 11. Many long-sleeved, knee-length tunics can be seen on the soldiers depicted in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, e.g. Bulgars on fol. 121r and 184v, and Rus' on fols. 169v, 170v–171r (Bozhkov 1972, figs. 43, 63 and 74; Tsamakda 2002, figs. 425, 427–429, 461). Cf. Kolias (1988, 41) who believes the *lorikion psilon* was an fine variety of mail-shirt made from small rings, and was reserved for senior officers.

[10] When describing the equipment of a soldier Leo mentions (LT 1:91[1169–72], 92[1176] [V 3 (4)]) a composite cuirass 'completely linked with rings' (and flexible enough to be stored in a leather holder): **Λορίκια** μέχρι στραγάλου, ἀνασυρόμενα διὰ λωρίων καὶ κρικελλίων, μετὰ τῶν θηκαρίων αὐτῶν δερματίνων, καί, εἰ δυνατόν, πάντα **ἀλυσιδωτά**, [...] and with a mail neck-guard: **περιτραχήλια ἀλυσιδωτά**; a passage in Maurice's *Strategikon* may also refer to a long composite cuirass with hood, made probably from scales and metal rings linked by thongs (STRAT., p. 78[10–12] [I 2]): ζάβας σὺν σκαπλίοις τελείας μέχρι τοῦ ἀστραγάλου, ἀνασυρομένας, λωρίοις καὶ κρικελλίοις μετὰ τῶν θηκαρίων αὐτῶν). Meanwhile, SYLLOGE (p. 53 [XXXI 1]) refers to the ancient authors of military treatises: Τῶν δ' ἱππέων οἱ μὲν κατάφρακτοι θώρακάς τε ἁλυσιδωτοὺς καὶ κλιβάνια, and itself recommends (p. 59 [XXXVII]) this type of cuirass for the troops, in particular for *cataphract* cavalry (p. 60 [XXXVIII 7]); (= {LT, vol. B', p. 358 [XXXVIII]}): Θώρακες δὲ ἁλυσιδωτοί. It is worth mentioning that already in the *Septuagint*, in an account of preparations of the troops of Antiochos V Eupator for battle against Judas Maccabeus, his soldiers are described as like ἄνδρας **τεθωρακισμένους ἐν ἁλυσιδωτοῖς** (1 Macc. 6:35). Diethart/Dintsis (1984, 74) links the phrase θώρακάς ἁλυσιδωτός with the *lorica hamata* used in the time of Chosroes II. Cf. also Haldon (1975, 24, n. 65) and Kolias (1988, 39–41), and after them McGeer (1995, 67). These authors (on the basis of references to Isidore of Seville's work, and a description of Diomedes' corselet in the *Scholia to the Iliad* by John Tzetzes) extend the meaning of *lorikion alysidoton* to the more general term *lorikion*, and always interpret the latter as mail. They overlook the fact that in the Roman army the term *lorica* already referred to different types of corselet (see also below, nn. 122–123).

[11] In the NAUMACHICA (p. 21 [I 14]) sailors who do not have a *lorikion* or *klibanion* are advised to wear a *neurikon* made from double-stitched felt (Οἱ δὲ μὴ ἔχοντες λωρίκια ἢ κλιβάνια, πάντες φορείτωσαν τὰ λεγόμενα νευρικά, ἅπερ ἀπὸ διπλῶν

The 'muscled' cuirass

Body armour in a form that imitates the musculature of the human torso is derived from ancient Greece, where it was introduced as a reference to the tradition of the *gymnetes*, who went naked into battle after commending themselves into the care of the gods.[12] The so-called 'muscled' or torso cuirass was made up of a breastplate and a backplate, which were fastened together—as Aelian notes—with the aid of linen laces.[13] This type of protection might be made of hardened leather or metal. Numerous bronze cuirasses of this type have survived down to our time.[14] Its widespread use since the archaic era is attested by warriors and heroes depicted in vase painting.[15] By the Hellenistic

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κεντούκλων γίνεται.); see also Pryor/Jeffreys 2006, 381 and n. 606. Leo (LT 1:92[1177–79] [V 3 (4)]) advises troops who do not have iron *lorikia* to wear felt *neurika*: νευρικὰ τὰ ἀπὸ κενδούκλων γινόμενὰ καί αὐτὶ ἀντὶ λωρικίων τοῖς μὴ ἔχουσι σιδηρᾶ· and also {LT, vol. B', p. 186 [XIX 13]}: τὰ λεγόμενα νευρικὰ ἅπερ ἀπὸ διπλῶν κενδούκλων γίνεται. The horse armour that protected Heraclius's steed from the blows of the Persian infantry is described by THEOPHANES (1:318[25–28]) as a *neurika*: ἀλλὰ φορῶν **κατάφρακτα νευρικὰ** οὐκ ἐβλάπτετο, οὐδὲ αὐταὶ ἐνήργουν. See also the recommendations of Nikephoros Phokas for *kataphraktoi*, below, n. 60; and T. Kolias, "Neurikon" in *BKR*, p. 178. Maurice mentions chest protection (peytrals) for horses made from felt and in the Avar fashion (STRAT., p. 80[35–39] [I 2]: Χρὴ τοὺς ἵππους, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἐπιλέκτων, προμετωπίδια ἔχειν σιδηρᾶ κατὰ τῶν μετώπων τῶν ἵππων καὶ στηθιστήρια σιδηρᾶ ἢ ἀπὸ κεντούκλων ἢ κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν Ἀβάρων σκέπεσθαι τὰ στήθη καὶ τοὺς τραχήλους αὐτῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν προτασσομένων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.) Also in favour of an Avar origin for horse armour is Haldon (1975, 22, n. 22); while Mielczarek (1993, 62–3, 82 figs. 6, 9) on the basis of Plutarch and depictions in art derives it from the Parthians. On horse armour in ancient Rome see Bishop/Coulston 1993, 157–9, 182. The etymology of the word νεῦρον, with literature and examples of the various meanings that appear in the sources, is discussed by Haldon in his commentary to PORPH., p. 203; see also McGeer (1995, 70) who cites references to the νεύρων in Phokas's treatise as an armour sewn from pieces of hardened leather, while a mention in Leo's *Taktika* he sees as made from double-stitched felt, which in McGeer's opinion is equivalent to the *kabadion* mentioned in the *Praecepta*.

[12] Combatants took into battle only their weapons, helmet, shield and belt, the last a seat of magical strength (Żygulski 1984, 83; 1998, 29, 31).

[13] See SUDA, 4:514[1–2] [208]: Ταινίαι· λίνα εἰς λεπτὰ διακεκομμένα. Αἰλιανός· τὴν νηδὺν καὶ τὸν θώρακα πάντα καταδήσει ταινίαις. ἢ διάδημα ἱματίου. Żygulski (1998, 29) believes that the two halves were joined by means of hinges and straps with buckles.

[14] For ancient Greek examples see, e.g.: Żygulski 1998, figs. 44–45, Gamber 1978, 285, figs. 275, 288, 300, and also the 4th C. BC miniature votive cuirass in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (colour plate IX); see also above, n. 44 on p. 29 on muscled cuirasses found at the stadium in Olympia.

[15] See e.g. Gamber 1978, 283, 296 figs. 280, 283, 299; Żygulski 1998, figs. 38, 40. Independently of the symbolic explanation of its form, it is probably fair to say that the muscled cuirass derives ultimately from the banded armours of ancient Mycenae, e.g. the suit dating from the 15th C. BC designed for chariot combat found at Dendra, currently at the Museum in Nafplion (Gamber 1978, col. pl. IV; Żygulski 1984, 83, fig. 14; and 1998, 17, fig. 5).

period the muscled cuirass had become an attribute of higher officers; it was adopted by the Romans and throughout the Imperial period richly adorned examples served as symbols of command rank, as is evident from the custom of depicting emperors and higher commanders in them (the so-called *statua loricata*).[16]

Without doubt the perceived high-rank status of the muscled cuirass, and even more so its popularity in Classical art, had an influence on warrior saints being depicted in such armour in Byzantine art. Saints appear in the muscled cuirass before the period of Iconoclasm,[17] but it is only during the Middle Byzantine era that it becomes a typical element of their equipment, especially in works from the so-called Macedonian Renaissance of the ninth–tenth centuries, which clearly harked back (also stylistically) to the Classical tradition. On the 'Forty Martyrs Triptych' in the Hermitage, the muscled cuirass is worn by Sts George, Merkourios and both Theodores[18] (figs. 19a–b). St Hieron also appears in one in the mid-tenth century Cappadocian Tokalı Kilise (Church of the Buckle) in Korama (Turkish: Göreme);[19] as do St Theodore Teron and St Prokopios on mosaics on arches in the nave of the katholikon of Hosios Loukas Monastery[20] (fig. 25a); and on an eleventh-century steatite icon in the Barber Institute in Birmingham, England;[21] St Demetrios on a mosaic from St Michael's monastery in Kiev (1108–12; currently in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow; fig. 26);[22] Sts Theodore and Nestor on a mosaic adorning the south wall of the

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[16] See Gamber 1968, 12 and n. 109; Górecki 1980, 206–7. For examples of statues of Roman emperors and commanders in richly adorned muscled cuirasses see Vermeule 1960 (see above, n. 116 on p. 92); Robinson 1975, figs. 429–33. In ancient Rome the symbolic justification for the use of the muscled cuirass may in part relate to the legend of the Dioscuri going into battle on horseback without armour, see Alföldi 1952, 46, 48–49 and (quoting his findings) Kantorowicz 1961, 369 and n. 4. The custom of going into battle without armour was also known to other nations: PROCOPIUS for example mentions it among the Heruli (in the case of their servants, even without shields) as a demonstration of bravery (1:266[27]–267[6] [II 25/26–28]). On the muscled cuirass as the insignia of emperors and officers see also K. Wessel, "Insignien" in *RbK*, 3:412–13 (on the basis of numerous representations in art); and Kolias 1988, 50.

[17] e.g. in the iconography of St Menas, see above, n. 112 on p. 91.

[18] See Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, no. 9; Bank 1966, p. 299, figs. 126, 128; Heath 1979, fig. on p. 3; *Sinai, Vizantija, Rus'*, no. B44.

[19] See e.g. Epstein 1986, 61, fig. 42 (= Jolivet-Lévy 1992, fig. 109a).

[20] See Marković 1995, fig. 40; Chatzidakis 1997, 50, fig. 48 (= Maguire 1996, fig. 12; Walter 1999, fig. 13).

[21] See e.g. Longuet 1961, fig. 24/2.

[22] See e.g. *Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 283.

presbytery of the Norman cathedral in Cefalù (1143);[23] St Prokopios in a manuscript of a menologion (covering from May to August) dated to 1063, in the Historical Museum, Moscow (*Mosqu. gr. 382*);[24] St George on a eleventh/twelfth century relief wooden icon from Cherson, currently in the National Museum in Kiev (fig. 27);[25] and on a tenth-century ivory panel in the Museo Archeologico in Venice;[26] and also together with Sts Niketas and 'Stratelates' (probably Theodore) on the northern wall of the naos of the church of the Hagioi Strategoi in Upper Boularioi on the Mani peninsula (first half of the eleventh century);[27] St Merkourios on a fresco (fig. 28) currently in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul but originally on the vaults of a Constantinopolitan church of the tenth/eleventh century(?) dedicated to the Virgin (the now-ruined Odalar mosque);[28] and finally, Theodore Teron on an icon from St John's monastery on Patmos (*c.*1200, now in the monastery's New Treasury; fig. 29).[29] Clearly this element occurs through the whole Middle Byzantine period. It appears not only in depictions of the military saints, but also in other works of art, both archaizing as well as actualizing.[30]

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[23] See e.g. Borsook 1990, fig. 9.

[24] St Prokopios illustrates the text for 8 July on page 72v (see e.g. Spatharakis 1981, 26–7, fig. 142).

[25] See Milyaeva 2000; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 202; Walter 2003a, 136–7.

[26] See Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, no. 20 = Cutler 1994, 44, figs. 44, 106, 123.

[27] See Drandakes 1995, 392–5, 404, figs. 20, 33 and colour fig. 112.

[28] See Westphalen (1998, 85–92, fig. 17), who dates the frescoes to the first half of the 11th C. See also photographs (including reproduction of a watercolour copy by P. Schazmann) in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington (negative nos. Acc. 00-14712 and Acc. 00-14713).

[29] See e.g. N.P. Ševčenko, "Icon with Saint Theodore Teron" in *Glory of Byzantium*, 129–30. Of the late examples it is also worth mentioning the 13th-C. icons with Sts Theodore Stratelates and Demetrios, Victor, Menas and Vincent on horseback and George rescuing a youth of Mitylene, kept at St Catherine's Monastery, Mt Sinai (*Sinai*, fig. 40; Cormack/Mihalarias 1984, figs. 7–8); and a mural with St Demetrios (1201) from the rock-carved Old Monastery near Vrondamos in the Peloponnese (Drandakes 1988, fig. 85; see also Gerstel [2001, 275, n. 74] who proposes a later dating for the murals).

[30] Works of art that are firmly embedded in the Classical tradition include the *Joshua Roll* of *c.*950, *Vat. palat. gr. 431* (see Weitzmann 1948, esp. 45 on the dating; Lowden 1992, 105–19, figs. 55, 58, 146, 160, 169, 172, on links with miniatures in Octateuchs, with discussion on the literature on the subject; Parani 2003, 148; see also *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 162) and the closely related 10th-C. ivory panel with scenes from the story of Joshua in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London and the Metropolitan Museum, New York, which were originally the cladding of a casket (Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 1, nos. 1–3; Gamber 1995, 2–3, fig. 3; Heath 1979, figs.

The muscled cuirass in the iconography of the military saints should, however, be treated as an archaic element. With a high degree of certainty one can assume that in the sixth century, together with the demise of the system of manufactories producing weapons, this type of armour—which required a significant input of labour and knowledge of advanced technologies—was no longer produced, being dependent on the continued existence of the workshops.[31] This opinion appears to be confirmed by the lack of clear source evidence,[32] and by the method of representing the muscled cuirass in Middle Byzantine art, which is frequently schematic, with only a depression in place of the navel.[33] The muscled cuirass enjoyed renewed popularity during the Italian Renaissance, although by this time it had an exclusively ceremonial character, intended to underline the links of the rulers who wore them with the traditions of Imperial Rome.[34]

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on pp. 22 and 34–6; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 152). An example of a work of actualizing character is the *Madrid Skylitzes*, in which Thomas the Slav is shown in a muscled cuirass, as are the town guard before the emperor Michael III, Arabs landing on Crete in 827, and soldiers in the scene of victory of Michael IV over the Bulgars (fols. 31r, 34r, 35v, 39r–v, 40v, 67r, 217v (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 60, 68, 72, 82–84, 87, 166, 515); Hoffmeyer points out (1966, 52–3, fig. 7^{4-6}) that Arab warriors are often depicted in muscled cuirasses in the codex.

[31] This opinion was expressed to the author in a conversation with Prof. John Haldon, who believes that after the 6th C. the only muscled cuirasses still in use would have been passed down from father to son in military families. Kolias (1988, 49–50) also draws attention to the archaic nature of this type armour in the Byzantine iconography.

[32] Sylloge, p. 60 [XXXVIII 7] (= {LT, vol. B', p. 358 [XXXVIII]}) mentions λωρίκια δηλαδὴ (lit. 'smooth armour'), which may perhaps refer here to muscled cuirasses, which would attest their continued used into the Middle Byzantine period; cf. also Kolias (1988, 45) who states that the Sylloge reference cannot refer to mail since such armour is mentioned alongside it in the text. 'Smooth' helmets and armour that protect against missiles are also mentioned in Peri Strategias, pp. 52^{14}–54^{20}.

[33] This is the effect of the use of earlier iconographic models, which was assisted by the reuse of antique depictions as images of the warrior saints. This happened mainly in the case of Sts Sergios and Bakchos, e.g. the Paris *Rothschild Cameo* depicting Honorius and Stilicho's daughter Maria, and an onyx gemma showing lictors, both gems being inscribed at a later date with the names of Sergios and Bakchos (Key Fowden 1999, 35 and n. 85, fig. 5; Marković 1995, 580, fig. 33; and Walter 2003a, 155; Spier 2007, no. 717 with further bibliography).

[34] See e.g. Hoffmeyer 1966, 54. Parani (2003, 115–16) points out that plate armour may have undergone a revival in Byzantium towards the end of the 13th C. under the influence of Mongol armour (probably of the 'four mirrors' type). Supposed evidence for this is the depiction of St Demetrios in a cuirass of this type on a fresco in the chapel of St Euthymios in St Demetrios's Church in Thessaloniki (1303); this chapel was restored by Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes, who commanded a Mongol contingent during the struggles against the Serbian king Milutin (1297).

Scale body armour

Military saints are depicted in scale body armour far more frequently than in muscled cuirasses. Scale armour, which was made from overlapping scales (πέταλα, φολίδες) that are attached to a leather or textile backing,[35] has many advantages: it is easy to produce, comfortable to wear, and provides good ventilation for the body. Scale armour is also one of the most ancient types of body protection, and was known in ancient Egypt, from where it spread to Minoan Crete. It was adopted in Classical Greece, probably under influence from the Medes and Persians, who employed it extensively.[36] Although no actual examples from the Classical period have survived, scale armour appears frequently on depictions of Greek hoplites in Greek vase painting.[37] Scale armour was also valued very early by the Romans, who employed it from no later than the eighth century BC, and knew it as *lorica squamata*.[38] Although Roman scale armour probably derives from Etruscan

[35] Parani (2003, 104) draws attention to the different production methods of scale and lamellar armour; the former was made by fastening metal plates to a flexible base, the latter by threading thongs through holes in neighbouring rows of overlapping lamellae; the absence of the base material in the second method produces a more flexible type of armour.

[36] Depictions of scale armour appear on Egyptian paintings of the 19th Dynasty (15th C. BC), from when the first Egyptian finds also date (Gamber 1978, 117–18, fig. 103); Gamber cites a reference in Herodotos (*Historia* [I 135]), demonstrating that the ancient Greeks associated this type of armour with Egypt, although they were aware of having borrowed it from the Medes. Gold parade armours from the time of the New Kingdom are also mentioned by Żygulski (1984, 80). The knowledge of scale armour in the Minoan culture (perhaps transferred there through trade contacts with the Egyptians) is attested by a 16th C. BC relief representation of a warrior on a vase in the palace at Hagia Triada, currently in the Archaeological Museum, Heraklion (Gamber 1978, fig. 129). Early examples from Asia Minor, Scythia and Greece are discussed by Hoffmeyer (1966, 57–8) and Haldon (1975, 12–13 and n. 9 on pp. 13–14). See also the depiction of a lion hunt on a Babylonian terracotta tile in the British Museum (Mielczarek 1993, 58, fig. 13).

[37] See e.g. Achilles bandaging a wounded Patrokles on a red-figure vase of *c*.500 BC decorated by Sosias in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, reproduced by Żygulski (1998, 36, fig. 50), who also points out the symbolic meaning of scale armour recalling the ancient *aegis* of Pallas Athena.

[38] On the scale cuirass in Rome see James (2004, 111–13, 120–2), who concludes that copper-alloy armour was probably more common than iron); Robinson (1975, 153–61), who publishes numerous examples of preserved fragments of scale cuirasses with reconstructions (figs. 434–41), as well as sculptural depictions (figs. 442–453); Bivar 1972, 277; Marković 1995, figs. 17, 43 (who shows a late antique ivory panel depicting Mars, currently part of the ambo in Aachen cathedral; and a bust of Gordian III from 238, currently in the Louvre); and Mielczarek 1993, 80, figs. 21, 25 (3rd-C. AD stele of Tryphon from Tanais on the Don; scale-clad soldiers on the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki, AD 297–303). A fragment of Roman scale armour found at

traditions (transferred from Greece by the Ionians), its popularity in the Imperial period was undoubtedly influenced by continuous conflicts with the Parthian state and the barbarian peoples.[39]

The fashion for scale armour outlasted the collapse of the Western Empire, and literary references indicate that it continued to be worn in the Middle Byzantine period.[40] The muscled cuirass had been the dominant type in the imperial iconography of ancient Rome, but it was replaced in the Middle Byzantine period by the scale cuirass.[41] This is probably why warrior saints are represented in scale corselets far more often than in muscled cuirasses.[42]

Carpow, Scotland, with remnants of linen backing and leather edging to protect the neck, is published by Southern/Dixon 1996, 97, fig. 16. Iotov (2004, 120) links the Latin term *lorica squamata* with lamellar armour.

[39] Żygulski believes (1998, 79) that the Romans borrowed scale armour directly form the Etruscans. Kolias (1988, 40) notes that Parthian *klibanarioi* preferred scale armour, while the Persians favoured a variety composed of rings and scales (which was probably similar in form to lamellar). The various types of armour used by the *klibanarioi* are described by Michalak (1987, 78). Two types of scale armour are distinguished by Hoffmeyer (1966, 55–60, fig. 7[7–9]): 'Hellenistic' (Attic and Etruscan, with shoulder-guards and borders framed with a *kymation*) and 'Oriental' (with long, narrow sleeves employed by the Sarmatians, Parthians and Sasanians). The cuirasses of the Sarmatians and the Quadi, which were made from horn scales fastened to a linen backing are mentioned by AMMIAN. (2:69 [17.12.2]): *loricae ex cornibus rasis leuigatis, plumarum specie linteis indumentis innexae.* The scale armour of the Sarmatians, which also covered their horses, also appears on reliefs on the Arch of Constantine in Rome of AD 315 (Mielczarek 1993, 58, figs. 1–2; MacDowall 1995, fig. on p. 8). On the basis of north-east European archaeological finds Fulford/Sim/Doig (2004) estimate that the cuirasses of 300,000–400,000 Roman soldiers would have required the manufacture of 12 to 16 million individual bronze and iron scales or lamellae. The growth in popularity of scale cuirasses in early Byzantium is also confirmed in the iconography (see e.g. Volbach 1976, nos. 76–77).

[40] See above, n. 8.

[41] Many early Byzantine emperors are depicted in the muscled cuirass, e.g. the central figure (probably Justinian I) on the 6th–8th(?)-C. *Barberini Panel* (now in the Louvre); Justinian I on horseback on the reverse of a gold medallion minted in Constantinople between 527 and 537/8; an unidentified emperor (Marcian [450–457] or Heraclius) on the so-called Colossus of Barletta (*Age of Spirituality*, no. 28; *Byzance*, nos. 20, 113; Hoffmeyer 1966, fig. 2; Sodini 1994, fig. 25); while later emperors appear in scale cuirasses, e.g. Isaac I Komnenos on his *histamena*, and probably also Michael VII and Nikephoros III Botaneiates on their *miliaresia* (Grierson 1982, nos. 918, 919, 970, 977); see also Marković 1995, 597 and n. 246.

[42] See e.g.: Der Nersessian 1970, fig. 211; Shchepkina 1977, fig. 97; Sinos 1985, fig. 124; Borsook 1990, fig. 35; Restle 1967, vol. 3, figs. 125, 310 (and the opinion of Dawson 2002, 86); Buberl/Gerstinger 1938, fig. 12/1; Bank 1966, no. 157; Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, no. 38; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, nos. 10–11, 15–16, 21; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 70; and also below, nn. 43–46. For warrior saints wearing scale cuirasses in Nubian painting see Michałowski 1973, no. 42; and Górecki 1980, 207. This type of cuirass appears frequently in the *Madrid Skylitzes*: fols. 11r–12r, 13v,

In early examples from the tenth and early eleventh centuries, e.g. on a group of ivory triptychs (figs. 19–22),[43] the scales are arranged with the rounded end upwards, overlapping each other from below, in a manner similar to that seen on later brigantines.[44] In time, the arrangement was altered so that the scales overlapped from above, which would seem more logical in view of a corselet's primary defensive function—to protect against backhanded blows delivered mainly from above. Over the Middle Byzantine period it is possible to observe a gradual reduction in the size of individual scales, so that by the end of the twelfth and in the thirteenth century they form a fine mesh;[45]

14v, 15v–16v, 18v, 22v, 25r, 26r–v, 28v, 30r–31v, 32v, 34r, 35v, 36v, 38v, 39v, 54r–v, 58v–59v, 67r, 72r–v, 73v, 85v–86r, 135r, 161v, 164r, 168r, 169v, 170v–171r, 176v, 181r–182v, 184v–185r, 186v, 202r–v, 224v, 229r–233r (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 4–7, 11, 16, 18–21, 27, 39, 46, 48, 50, 54, 58–61, 64–65, 68, 75, 81, 83–84, 127–128, 141–143, 166, 177–178, 180, 208–210, 326, 407, 413, 422, 425, 427, 429, 444, 454–456, 461–462, 465, 480, 482, 531–532, 542–543, 545–546, 548–549, 551).

[43] The *Borradaile Triptych* in the British Museum (George, Theodore Stratelates and Eustathios), the *Harbaville Triptych* in the Louvre (George, the two Theodores, and Eustathios) and the triptych in the Museum in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome (George, the Theodores, and an unidentified warrior), Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, nos. 32, 33, 38 (= *Byzantium*, no. 153; *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 79, 80). Similarly arranged scales appear on riders depicted on an 10th-C. ivory casket in the cathedral treasury at Troyes in Champagne, see Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 1, no. 122; Darkevich 1975, 239, fig. 368; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 202 (their cuirasses are described as ceremonial imperial armour by Nicolle 1988, 1:40, and as lamellar by Haldon 1975, 35). Knee-length cuirasses of this type can also be seen on the wings of a 10th-C. Georgian triptych from Chukuli depicting two unidentified saints, possibly George and Theodore (Tschubinaschvili 1959, fig. 45). Nicolle (1988, 1:38 and vol. 2, fig. 90) regards a similar representation on an 11th-C. ivory casket in the Bargello Museum, Florence as so strongly conventionalized that the identification of the armour type is doubtful, although he appears to believe it is lamellar (an identification ruled out by the lack of characteristic holes for linking the scales).

[44] Parani (2003, 104) argues that upwards-turned rounded endings always indicate lamellar armour. A closer analysis of the shape of the scales, especially on ivories such as the chest preserved in the cathedral treasury at Troyes in France and the *Harbaville Triptych* in the Louvre (see e.g. *Byzance*, nos. 149, 168), on which ribs typical for scale cuirasses are visible along the centre of each scale, as well as the lack of holes for linking the lamellae, argues against this theory.

[45] See the 12th-C. examples from the churches of the Hagioi Theodoroi near Kaphiona on the Mani (1144/5) showing Theodore twice (Drandakes 1995, 80–94, figs. 8, 10, 21 and colour fig. 13); the church of the Holy Anargyroi with Theodore Teron; and the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze, Kastoria with Sts George and Merkourios (Pelekanidis 1953, figs. 21/2, 55/1; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 12–13 on pp. 60 and 61); the Cypriot churches of the Panagia in Moutoullas (George; dated after 1280), the Panagia tou Arakos, Lagoudera (Orestes in a medallion on the vault; 1192), and a 12th/13th-C. fresco in the narthex of the church of the Panagia Phorbiotissa in Asinou (Stylianou 1997, fig. 70; neg. nos. L71.973, L71.974, L71.978, D.73.27(RA) in the Dumbarton Oaks collection

often visible through this is what appears to be the musculature of the torso. A number of saints are depicted in corselets of this type: George (twice), Theodore Teron, Prokopios, Nestor and Christopher in the late twelfth-century church of the Anargyroi (Kosmas and Damianos) in Kastoria (figs. 30a–c, e–f);[46] St George on the south wall of the church dedicated to him in Kurbinovo (1191; fig. 31); and George again on the south wall of the narthex of the church of the Panagia Phorbiotissa in Asinou, Cyprus (12th/13th C.; fig. 32).[47] This type of corselet might perhaps represent a type of a two-layered armour, made up of a scale shirt worn over a muscled cuirass. Written references to two corselets being worn simultaneously are rare,[48] but the custom is possibly confirmed on an eleventh-century steatite icon from the Vatopedi monastery on Mt Athos (fig. 33).[49] On it, St George is seen in a lamellar corselet that does not cover the very top part of his trunk, which is

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in Washington); painting with St George on horseback in the Old Monastery near Vrondamos on the Peloponnese (1201); see Drandakes (1988, 176–7, fig. 86β), who compares it with the one-hundred-years later icon of Sts Sergios and Bakchos in the monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai from the end of the 13th C. (*Sinai*, fig. 66), and also the early 13th-C. frescoes in the church of St Nicholas at Agios Nikolaos near Monemvasia on the Peloponnese which are already influenced by Crusader art (Drandakes 1979, 57, fig. 19β). For other warrior saints on icons connected with Latin workshops, see Hunt 1991, fig. 1, 4, 5, 12 (= Cormac/Mihalarias 1984, figs. 3, 5).

[46] See Pelekanidis 1953, figs. 21/1, 23, 27/2, 32/1; and Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, 22–8, figs. 12, 21. In the depictions of St George in the church of the Anargyroi and at Kurbinovo a leaf-like ornament is visible, mainly covering the area of the right shoulder, which can perhaps be identified as the inside of a cloak.

[47] See Stylianou 1997, 117, fig. 57; Walter 2003a, 127.

[48] An exception is mentioned by Kinnamos (p. 187^{9-14}), stating that Manuel I who was in fear for his life, before departing for Antioch in April 1159 donned a double cuirass and over it a fairly light garment (probably the equivalent of an *epilorikion*, see below, p. 177): τοὺς μὲν δὴ λόγους τούτους οὕτως ἀπεδοκίμαζεν, είς δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἰσελαύνειν μέλλων διττοὺς περιέθετο θώρακας, ἀκαμάτῳ σώματος ἰσχύϊ πρὸς τοῦτο ἐναγόμενος. ὁ δὲ καὶ κάνδυν πρὸς τούτοις κατάλιθόν τινα περιέκειτο, ἄχθυς τῶν ἔνδον οὐκ ἔλαττον, καὶ στέφος καὶ τἆλλα τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐξ ἔθους. On the basis of this passage, as well as the listing next to each other in many military manuals of several types of armour without commentary, Kolias (1988, 48 and n. 65) thinks it possible that doubled armour was worn by the Byzantine army; he also mentions a mail-shirt fragment with additional scales found at Newstead in Scotland (published by Robinson 1975, 173, fig. 481a). The custom of wearing two corselets may have been adopted from the West, where two or even three mail-shirts were occasionally worn—as mentioned in the *Song of Roland* (France 1999, 10); although Blair (1958, 38) considers that the custom of wearing a lighter armour over a mail-shirt became common there only in the later half of the 12th century. It may also have come into being in both centres independently as a defence against Asiatic archers. See also Nicolle (2002, 209) who cites the advice of wearing 'doubled cuirasses' against Mongol archery in Plano Carpini's 13th-C. *Historia Mongolorum*.

[49] See e.g. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 7.

protected by a scale corselet apparently worn beneath it.[50] However, the scale armour layer might equally be interpreted as a scale gorget worn *over* the lamellar corselet, as is indicated by the gorget's curved lower lip.

The lamellar cuirass (klibanion)

Derived from ancient Assyria,[51] and related to scale armour, the lamellar cuirass was employed by Byzantine artists in depictions of the military saints even more frequently than the scale corselet. Made from plates of metal, leather or horn (of somewhat larger dimensions than those employed for scale armour), linked together by means of leather thongs or wire, lamellar armour had also been known in Greece and Rome,[52] although it failed to achieve great popularity.[53] The eastern frontiers of the Empire were an exception: there we can find armour fragments made from lamellae. The common practice of portraying the Palmyrene gods in cuirasses with narrow, elongated plates that are fastened together (fig. 17a)[54] is evidence that lamellar armour was widely employed in eastern armies. Its presence in the Roman legions is problematic.[55] Ammianus Marcellinus repeatedly mentions a

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[50] The armour on the Vatopedi plaque is interpreted in a similar way by Parani 2003, 116.

[51] Among the earliest traces of lamellar armour are fragments dating to *c.*1400 BC discovered at Ras Shamra in Anatolia (Brett 1947, 99, with an extensive bibliog. of later finds; Hoffmeyer 1966, 63). The earliest images of warriors in lamellar cuirasses date from the reign of Assurnasirpal II (889–859 BC) (reliefs from Nimrud palace) and Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC) (decoration of bronze doors from Balawat) (all currently at the British Museum), see Gamber 1978, 186–9, figs. 185–7, 189; and compare the section of Central Asian lamellar armour from the New Armouries of the Tower of London which he shows on fig. 190); and more generally Bugarski 2005, 174.

[52] Lamellar cuirasses can be found on such works of Hellenistic art as the Pergamon altar (183 BC), currently in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, and (worn by Alexander the Great) on a mosaic with a scene from the battle of Issos (end of 4th C. BC) currently in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, see e.g. Gamber 1978, 296, 298, figs. 307, 312 (who also publishes an Etrusco-Greek statue, the so-called 'Mars of Todi', dressed in a lamellar cuirass of Eastern type; see also Gamber 1968, 12–14, figs. 9–10). Roman representations of such corselets include those worn by Sarmatian horsemen on the reliefs on Trajan's Column of AD 113 (Gamber 1993, 1–3). Two lamellar armours are depicted among the insignia of the *magister officiorum per Occidentem* in Not. Dign., fig. on p. 144. Finds from Dura-Europos are published by James 2004, 113, 122–7, figs. 64–70.

[53] See Żygulski (1998, 79, 137), who points out the Etruscan origins of the Roman lamellar breastplate.

[54] On the Palmyrene gods see above, nn. 76 on p. 81, 122–124 on p. 94.

[55] Haldon (1975, 15–17) notes that an increase in the number of illustrations of lamellar corselets can be observed from the 1st C. BC, while western European finds

close-fitting cuirass made of densely arranged iron scales worn by *cataphracts* who were also called *klibanarioi*, which provided excellent defence against archery; however this mainly referred to the Persian cavalry.[56]

It was precisely under the influence of the heavily armed cavalry of the Sasanians and nomad tribes that lamellar armour spread to the Byzantine army.[57] Borrowed along with it was its Persian name,

tend to be of Viking or occasionally of Magyar origin. A section of lamellar cuirass found on Cyprus is dated to the 7th/6th C. BC and may be a relic of the Persian occupation of the island; another piece (perhaps from a horse bard), found in tower 19 at Dura-Europos (now in the Syrian National Museum, Damascus) dates from the 3rd C. AD and can also be linked with Persian cavalry or mercenary *foederati* in Roman service (Brown 1936, 450–1; Robinson 1975, 162; Roztovtzeff 1935, 221; Bishop/Coulston 1993, fig. 113; Coulston 2002, 11–12, fig. I–10; and James 2004, 113–5, 129–34, figs. 74–84.). Meanwhile, the fragments found at Newstead, Scotland are undeniably linked with the Roman army (Bivar 1972, 277). Hoffmeyer (1966, 60) points to Alexander Severus as the reformer who introduced lamellar armour to the Roman army.

[56] Ammian., 1:165 [16.10.8], 4:134, 146, 157, 162, 169 [24.2.10, 24.4.15, 24.6.8, 24.7.8 and 25.1.12] referring to Persian *klibanarioi*; see also MacMullen (1964, 438–40) who cites other references to them in the Late Roman sources; and Gamber (1968, 28–9 and nn. 52, 54), who points out the key difference between the Greco-Roman *cataphracts* who were armed mainly in traditional muscled and scale cuirasses, and Persian *klibanarioi* who employed lamellar armour, mixed occasionally with mail. Meanwhile, Mielczarek (1993, *passim*) believes the two formations were distinguished mainly by tactics rather than equipment. Bivar (1972, 278) and Kolias (1988, 40) indicate that besides the lamellar cuirasses of the *klibanarioi* an important part of their armour was made up of mail. See also Żygulski 1998, 137. Iron *thorax*es are mentioned by George Pisid., *Expeditio Persica*, p. 103[130–31] [II].

[57] The rapid spread of this type of armour among the Steppe peoples is commented upon by Haldon 1975, 16 (see also n. 19, where he collects rich bibliog. on the graffito with the Persian *klibanarios* from Dura, reproduced e.g. by Diethart/Dintsis 1984, fig. 1), and mentions wood among the materials used for making lamellae. Kolias (1988, 38, 40) indicates Persia as the place from which the Byzantines adopted lamellar armour, and stresses (p. 28) the Byzantines' ability to quickly adopt equipment from their enemies); while the role of the Persians, Avars and other nomad peoples in the development of the *klibanarioi* is underlined by McGeer (1995, 211); Hoffmeyer (1966, 60–5) covers the appearance of this type of armour among the Sarmatians, Parthians, Mongols, and in Japan, Korea, Poland and the peoples of Central Asia (see also Nicolle 2002, *passim*). About 500–600 lamellae from two cuirasses discovered in Viminacium, each measuring *c.*7–8.5 cm in height, in an overlapping arrangement are dated to the end of the 6th C., and therefore may have been used by Byzantine soldiers under the emperor Maurice or, more likely, by Germanic, Allemanic or Avar warriors (Popović 1987, 28–30, figs. 22–23; Bugarski 2005, 161–7, 174–5, figs 1–8 [and the list of other finds from south-central Europe, pp. 168–72]). Recently fragments of a lamellar cuirass dated to the 6th C. have been uncovered in Pliska, Bulgaria (Haldon 2002, 70, n. 26). Further finds of iron lamellae with semi-circular ends from Preslav (at least five examples), Pernik, Batin near Ruse, and Brestak near Varna are evidence of the popularity of this type of armour in the first Bulgar state (Iotov 2004, 120–8, figs. 70–74). Undoubtedly of Greek origin was lamellar armour (114 iron pieces) found in a Byzantine settlement on the site of a Roman theatre at Cartagena (Spain) dating

klibanion, just as earlier the term for the type of troops who employed it, the *klibanarioi*, had been adopted.[58] The term *klibanion* (in its narrower sense) is associated by Haldon with the lamellar cuirass, a theory supported by Kolias and Dawson on the basis of entries in the 'Dream Book' of Achmet ibn Sirin[59] and references in military treatises. All three scholars indicate, however, that this expression appears in the sources only from the ninth century or as late as the tenth,[60] which may indicate that the lamellar cuirass was not in use in the Byzantine army

from before 625 (Sánchez 2008, 203–8, pp. 4–5, fig. 5). Additionally, see the Scythian kurgan finds in Gamber (1978, 307–8, figs. 323–325); and depictions of barbarian and Islamic horsemen in lamellar cuirasses in Gamber 1968, figs. 42–43; and 1995, figs. 11, 13–14; Mielczarek 1993, figs. 6–7, 9, 10, 12, 19a, b, 22–24; Hillenbrand 1999, figs. 7.5, 7.41, 7.42, 7.48, 7.49, 8.29, 8.32; and Świętosławski 1999, fig. 6 (lamellae found in central Siberia).

[58] On the origin of the terms *clibanarius* and *klibanion* see MacMullen 1964, 440 and nn. 21–2 (with literature); Michalak 1987, 73–7; Diethart/Dintsis 1984, 68–72 (with a commentary on the late-antique sources); Mielczarek 1993, 10–12, 30 (and his commentary on the older critical literature on the problem on pp. 12–15); and also above, n. 4.

[59] ACHMET, p. 114^{1-4} [155]. On Achmet ibn Sirin and his *Oneirokritikon* or "Dream book" see Oberhelman (1991, esp. 13–17) who narrows the date it was written to 873–1075 and Mavroudi (2002, 1–127) who dates the text to between 843 and 1075/85. More briefly see also S.M. Oberhelman, "Achmet ben Sirin" in *ODB*, 1:14.

[60] See Haldon (1975, 27–8) who stresses that the lamellar cuirass appears already in the 4th C. in Persian iconography, and that it may have reached Byzantium thanks to the Arabs in the 9th C.; and also Kolias 1988, 45–6; Dawson 1998, 42–43; Nicolle 1988, 2:606. Meanwhile McGeer (1995, 212) considers that the *klibanion* may be both a lamellar cuirass as well as a mail. Dawson (1998, 47) points out the lack of references to the *klibanion* in Procopius's *Wars* and Maurice's *Strategikon*, which may be evidence of its reintroduction only in the 10th or even 11th century. Gamber (1995, 6–7) accepts Haldon's and Kolias's terminology. Interesting here is LYDOS's reference to iron κηλίβανα (see below n. 100) which may be the earliest use of the term. Additional arguments for associating the term κλιβάνιον with the lamellar cuirass are found in passages in the PRAECEPTA, p. 36^{37-45} [III 5] (ἔχειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ στερροὺς ἵππους καταφράκτους, εἴτε ἀπὸ κεντούκλων καὶ νεύρων κεκολλημένων μέχρι τῶν γονάτων, ὥστε τὸ πᾶν σῶμα τοῦ ἵππου μὴ φαίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τοὺς ἀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ῥίνας, ὡσαύτως καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν γονάτων καὶ τὰ κάτω ἀσκεπεῖς τε καὶ ἀκαλύπτους, εἴτε ἔχειν αὐτοὺς **κλιβάνια** ἀπὸ βουβαλείων βυρσῶν ἐξειργασμένα πρὸς δὲ τὸ στῆθος τοῦ ἵππου, ἀπὸ τῶν βραχιόνων καὶ τὰ κάτω εἶναι σχιστὸν πρὸς τὸ ἀκωλύτως φέρεσθαι τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν.) (≈ TNU [MG], p. 114^{47-58} [LX 5]); and also a passage mentioning a *klibanion* made from oxhide, iron and horn listed among horse armour in the SYLLOGE, p. 62 [XXXIX 6] (= {LT, vol. B', p. 362 [XXXIX]}) (Οἱ μέν αὐτῶν ἵπποι [...] σκεπάσθωσαν ἢ λορικίοις ἢ **κλιβάνοις**, καὶ τούτοις ἢ σιδηροῖς ἢ καὶ διὰ κεράτων συμπεπλεγμένοις.). This evidence should be seen in combination with a miniature on fol. 31r of the *Madrid Skylitzes* on which Thomas the Slav's horse is depicted with scale armour covering its body (Tsamakda 2002, fig. 60). A Late Roman scale-armour horse barding dating from the mid-3rd C. was excavated at Dura-Europos, and is currently in the Archaeological Museum in Damascus (Robinson 1975, 194, figs. 529–530 = Diethart/Dintsis 1984, fig. 12). On horse armour see above, n. 11 and below, pp. 395–397.

in earlier centuries or, more probably, that it was known by a different term. A possible alternative name is μανδύας, which had been used earlier by Hesychios and Malalas to describe Persian armour. In the *Suda*, however, this term is glossed by the term *himation* (which is in turn identical to *lorikion*); in view of the original meaning of *mandyas* (a coat) it would seem more reasonable to associate it with a type of tunic, perhaps similar to or identical with the *kabadion*.[61]

Maria Parani notes that the popularity throughout the empire of lamellar body armour in tenth- and eleventh-century art is evidence of artists' use of actual cuirasses (probably parade models) as props. She also assumes the iconographic model spread from Constantinople, rather than being invented independently by craftsmen working in different media and living in different corners of the empire.[62]

Despite contrary opinions in academic circles,[63] it seems fairly certain that warrior saints in the Middle Byzantine period were depicted in two types of *klibanion*. The first type, whose invention Haldon attributes to the Byzantines themselves, is characterized by increased flexibility thanks to the horizontal leather strips interleaved between the rows of lamellae, which prevent the rigid metal elements from abrading each other (fig. 35).[64] Warrior saints are frequently portrayed in this type

[61] See HESYCHIOS, 2:230, M 229 [3:70]: μανδύας· εἶδος ἱματίου Περσῶν πολεμικοῦ; MALALAS (p. 24[91] [II 8]) speaks of it as the cape of the kings of Phoenicia. If we accept the interpretation of the term *lorikion* proposed by Haldon and Kolias (see above, n. 10), then in accordance with the SUDA, 3:317[31] [139] "Μανδύας· εἶδος ἱματίου, ὅπερ καλεῖται λωρίκιον, we can suppose that it was a mail-shirt. See also Belyaev (1929, 56, 58, n. 55), who proposes that the *Suda* references denote soft armour made from leather thongs. The failure of the lexicon's author to use the term *klibanion*, which had been known since the 10th C., is somewhat surprising. The term *mandyas* is used in a later period to describe a dark tunic worn by clergy, particularly monks, see e.g. CHONIATES, p. 216[29–31] (on the *mandyas* of Eustathios of Thessaloniki, which he refers to in discussions with the emperor Manuel); and also N.P. Ševčenko, "Mandyas" in *ODB*, 2:1282; K. Wessel, "Insignien" in *RbK*, 3 (1973–1975): 450; and E. Pochmarski, "Mandye" in *BKR*, 163. On the *kabadion* see below, pp. 166–170.

[62] See Parani (2003, 109–10, 157), who also mentions the group of armour scales discovered in the ruins of the Great Palace as evidence for the continuity of use of the *klibanion* in the 12th C. (see above, n. 11 on p. 21 and below n. 84).

[63] Parani (2003, 107 and n. 25; 2007, 187 and n. 35) opposes the interpretation of the lamellar cuirass depicted with darker bands alternating between rows of scales as a separate type. In her opinion these bands were an artistic convention to portray shaded areas of the armour, a view that seems highly improbable.

[64] Haldon (1975, 28; 1999, 134; 2002, 79; Dawson 1988, 43–44 (on the basis of experiments with a *klibanion* reconstructed from representations in art); Dawson 2001/2, p. 90, figs. 3–10, 13 (together with his own proposed typology); Dawson 2002, figs. VII–2, 8–13; Dawson 2007, 23, plates. C4 and H; Dawson 2009, 38, 42, figs. on

of armour in murals in the rock-cut churches of Cappadocia; examples include: George, Theodore, Procopius, Orestes(?) and Nestor in St John's Church (chapel 2A, Sakli Kilise) of *c.*1070; Orestes in the early eleventh-century church of the Theotokos (Kiliçlar Kuşluk) in Korama (Göreme); Theodore and an unidentified warrior in the late eleventh-century chapel at Tağar (Yeşilöz) near Ürgüp (formerly chapel of St Panteleimon);[65] and also George on the north wall near the sanctuary in the tenth- or early eleventh-century Church of Lilies (Sümbüllü Kilise) in the Ihlara valley (fig. 35a).[66] This type of *klibanion* with leather strips separating rows of scales is also worn by warrior saints depicted in other regions, for example: several saints on the north wall of the chapel of St Panteleimon (from 991/2) and in the church of the Hagioi Strategoi both in Upper Boularioi on the Mani;[67] Theodore Stratelates, Merkourios and Nestor in the katholikon of Hosios Loukas monastery in Phokis (figs. 25b-d, 37);[68] George in the *parekklesion* of the church of the Panagia Protothroni (after 1052) in Chalki on Naxos; Merkourios in the church dedicated to him in Hagios Markos on Kerkyra (1074/1075);[69] Nestor on the south arch of the northern chapel of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo;[70] St Orestes on a fresco in the church of the Dormition (*Koimesis*) in Episkopi, Eurytania (fig. 38);[71] as well as St Theodore Stratelates in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vatican

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pp. 25, 39 (2C4D), 49, 52–3; his reconstruction is corroborated by finds from Svetinja in Viminacium where lamellae dated to beginning of the 7th C. were accompanied by traces of leather (Bugarski 2005, 172). It is worth noting that bands of lamellae in an alternating arrangement with a soft base appear already on Assyrian reliefs from Sargon's palace, as well as in the Late Roman reliefs from Palmyra, although in both cases the lamellae are of a different shape to those seen in the iconography of the warrior saints (Gamber 1978, fig. 191; Morehart 1958, figs. 11–15, 17, 28 = Teixidor 1979, fig. 32).

[65] See Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 21, 28, 44, 250, 288; Jolivet-Lévy 1991, 213, 215, fig. 130/3; Parani 2003, fig. 116; certain of these are also mentioned by Haldon (1975, 35, n. 122) along with other examples.

[66] See Thierry 1963, 176; also illustrated in Parani 2003, fig. 117.

[67] See Drandakes 1995, 369–87, fig. 19 (and sketch 34 on p. 420 north wall of the church of the Hagioi Strategoi), who links the murals in the chapel of Panteleimon stylistically with provincial trends in Cappadocian painting.

[68] See Marković 1995, fig. 40; Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 47, 57 (= Maguire 1996, fig. 13).

[69] See Chatzidakis et al. 1989, figs. 17, 20 on pp. 42–3; Skawran 1982, fig. 119 (= Nicolle 1988, vol. 2, fig. 93).

[70] See e.g. Borsook 1990, figs. 35–36.

[71] The church is now flooded by an artificial lake and the frescoes have been transferred to the Byzantine Museum in Athens (see e.g. *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 17).

Library, *Cod. Vat. gr. 1613*, p. 383);[72] and on an eleventh/twelfth century Constantinopolitan icon in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (fig. 39).[73]

Constructional elements of lamellar armour, such as the holes in the individual plates, thongs threaded through holes and the strips of soft lining, are especially clear in relief sculpture. Good examples on steatite icons include St Theodore Stratelates in the Vatican Library (eleventh century; fig. 34), and the same saint in the company of Sts George and Demetrios, the latter wearing a scale cuirass (twelfth century) in the Cherson Museum in Sevastopol. Examples in other media include an eleventh/twelfth century panel with St George on horseback in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence,[74] and an eleventh/twelfth-century sardonyx cameo with Sts George and Demetrios in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.[75]

The second type of *klibanion* seen in depictions of warrior saints does not have strips separating the rows of lamellae. As Dawson has shown, a corselet constructed this way would have been considerably stiffer and might have served as parade armour.[76] Initially, plates of this type of armour have the form (as with the first type) of an elongated, vertical rectangle with a semicircular ending at the top. Such *klibania* are worn, for example, by Sts George, Merkourios and Prokopios in the Cappadocian rock-cut churches of St Barbara (Tahtali Kilise) (figs. 41a,b) in the Soandos valley (currently Soğanli Dere); Theodore and George on horseback in the eleventh-century church of the Snake (or 'of Honorius', chapel 18, Yilanli Kilise; fig. 42) in Korama; George in chapel 21 also in Korama;[77] and also the warrior saint on a pier in the

[72] See Ševčenko 1962, fig. 12 (= Marković 1995, fig. 41).

[73] See Bank 1966, no. 227; *Sinai, Vizantija, Rus'*, no. B88.

[74] See Nicolle 1988, vol. 2, fig. 89.

[75] See for example *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 104, 132, 203 (= *Byzance*, no. 193); Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985 nos. 6, 21. A cuirass with lamellae arranged in bands appears also in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, fols. 13v, 80r, 114r (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 11, 194, 261).

[76] Dawson (1998, 49) cites an example of this type of *klibanion* worn by the emperor in a donor miniature in the *Psalter of Basil II* (*Ven. Marcianus gr. 17*, fol. 3r) in the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice (see above, n. 186 [to chapter 03 Origins]); see also the donor miniature showing *protospatharios* John on fol. 8r of the *Adrianople Gospels* of 1007, currently in the Library of San Lazzaro Monastery, Venice, no. 887/116 (*Glory of Byzantium* no. 239 = Nersessian 2001, no. 110). On lamellae that are inverted so that they overlap 'upwards' see Dawson 2002, 89 and n. 72; and 2001/2, pp. 90–2, figs. 1–11, 13.

[77] See Restle, vol. 2, figs. 246, 247, vol. 3, fig. 436 (=Walter 1999, fig. 11); Neg. nos. L.75.1150 (AE), L.75.1387 (AE), T 3–22 in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Wash-

ninth/tenth-century church of Hagios Stephanos in Kastoria[78] (fig. 43). This type was readily employed in the eleventh century on smallish bronze panels of a votive character (examples in the British Museum, and in the Kanellopoulos collection and Byzantine Museum both in Athens).[79]

Cuirasses made from densely arranged lamellae, reminiscent of the early type of scale armour, are worn by Demetrios on a late-tenth-century ivory icon in the Metropolitan Museum, New York; Theodore on a Constantinopolitan panel in the Museo Archeologico, Venice; and George on a twelfth-century alabaster panel in the Archaeology Museum of Plovdiv.[80] Lamellae that are squarer in shape[81] are visible on mosaics depicting Sts Theodore and Orestes on the inner narthex cupola of the katholikon of Nea Mone monastery on Chios (figs. 44a,b); Theodore in the church of the Saviour in Megara (*c*.1200); and on the twelfth-century marble reliefs with seated figures of Demetrios and George adorning the façade of San Marco in Venice.[82]

In the second half of the twelfth century warrior saints were often depicted in a *klibanion* made of large lamellae, rectangular or almost square in shape, sometimes ending in a point or a small projection that overlaps the next plate. Examples of such cuirasses appear on frescoes in the northern Greek churches of the Virgin-Saviour of the World (*Kosmosoteira*) at Bera (currently Pherrai) in Thrace (1152), worn by Theodore Stratelates; in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria—Theodore Stratelates and Demetrios; and in the church of St Panteleimon in Nerezi (now Macedonia)—Theodore Stratelates,

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ington, D.C. See also the cuirasses of St Hieron in the churches at Ören, Karabulut kilise near Avcilar and at Sakli kilise, Korama (Jolivet-Lévy 1992: figs. 110a, 112).

78 For a discussion on the dating of the two painted layers see Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, 14–28.

79 See *Byzantium*, no. 160. The panels from Athens (cat. nos. 1071 and 475) are as yet unpublished.

80 See above, n. 26 and also Cutler 1994, 117–19, figs. 126 & 130; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 81; Nicolle 1988, vol. 2, fig. 106.

81 Hoffmeyer (1966, 63) indicates that this type of body armour is the most archaic variant.

82 See Mouriki 1985, vol. B, figs. 59, 61, 198–199, 202–203, 304, 305; Skawran 1982, fig. 334; and e.g. Marković 1995, fig. 42 (= Papamastorakes 1998, fig. 8; Maguire 1996, fig. 67). It is worth noting that the cuirasses depicted in the *Madrid Skylitzes* are often made up of rectangular scales—see fols. 15v–16r, 18v, 22v, 30v–31r, 32v, 36r, 76v, 109r, 113v, 121v–122v, 129v, 136r–v, 140v, 142r, 149v–151v, 153r–v, 154v, 156r, 195v, 200v, 212r–213v (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 17–19, 27, 39, 59–60, 65, 74, 186, 247, 260, 282–284, 308, 326, 329, 340, 346, 373, 377–379, 381–383, 385–386, 389, 393, 467, 477, 501, 503–505).

George and Demetrios (figs. 30a, 30d, 45a,b).[83] Although the sources do not specify the shape of the *folides* used to make a *klibanion*, there is no reason for their representation in art to be treated as artistic invention, and the variety of lamellae found in the workshops by the Great Palace in Constantinople confirms the idea that actual plates were copied faithfully.[84]

Both types of *klibanion* also appear widely in Georgian depictions of warrior saints. On such images lamellar armour clearly dominates over scale, while the muscled cuirass is almost completely absent.[85] The royal painter Theodore (Georgian: Tevdore) who was active in Upper Svanetia at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries typically depicted warrior saints (chiefly St George and St Theodore on horseback) in a Byzantine *klibanion*;[86] while Michael of Maglaki, who was a generation younger, also painted Sts Demetrios, George and Theodore

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[83] Sinos 1985, 196, fig. 123; Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 21 (= Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 32–33); Maguire 1996, figs. 10–11. Fragments of a lamellar cuirass made from rectangular plates of 12th/13th-C. date was found at Kitaev near Kiev, see Kirpichnikov (1971, 17–18, figs. 17–19), who compares the find to a mural in the Spaso-Mirozhski monastery (of *c.*1156) in Pskov, and a miniature (of 1321–27) depicting Theodore Stratelates in the *Evangeliary of Theodore*, fol. 1v, currently in the Museum of History and Architecture, Yaroslavl, inv. no. 15718.

[84] Brett (1947, 99) reports the presence of six regular sizes of scales in the armour fragments discovered in the grounds of the Great Palace; the scales have fastening holes—normally three along the lower edge, one on the top edge, and two on each of the sides—which indicates that they were part of a lamellar corselet. The complete scales, which are twice as long as they are wide, confirm Dawson's reconstruction, see above, n. 64. Cf. also the variant reconstruction of a cuirass based on the Constantinople finds by Beatson (1998), who believes that the scales overlapped to a far greater extent than does Dawson. To the above examples, one can putatively add a long, rectangular scale with rounded end and eight holes found during excavations at Birka near Stockholm, which was abandoned in 970. Dawson (2001/2, p. 90, figs. 2–3) regards this find as a Byzantine import, which reached Scandinavia by way of the Varangians.

[85] A warrior saint is depicted in a muscled cuirass for example on a 12th-C. icon cover from Sagolasheni; meanwhile St George appears in a scale cuirass on an 11th-C. panel from Gebi, on an icon of 1010–20 currently in the Hermitage, and again (in the company of Theodore) on a pre-altar cross of *c.*1030 from Samtavisi (Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 254, 284–288, 402; Nicolle 1988, vol. 2. fig. 168). Parani hypothesizes (2003, 110–11 and n. 43 and fig. 123) that the *klibanion* with nearly square, pointed scales reached Greece at the turn of 11th and 12th centuries from Georgia by way of mercenary troops in imperial service; as an example of such a soldier she cites the career of Gregory Pakourianos, *Megas Domestikos* under Alexios I.

[86] In the churches of St George in Nakipari (1130), the Holy Archangels in Iprari (1096), and Sts Kvirike and Ivlita in Lagurka (1111) (Aladashvili/Alibegashvili/Volskaya 1966, figs. 18–19, 33–34, 50–51); see also the frescoes from St Kvirike Church (1112) in Kala (Novello/Beridze/Dosogne 1980, 94, fig. 115).

in the same manner, all on horseback on frescoes in the Church of the Saviour in Matskhvarishi (1140) also in Upper Svanetia.[87] Meanwhile, on an eleventh/twelfth-century mosaic icon from the same church St George wears a corselet made from square lamellae; such lamellae can also be seen on frescoes in the katholikon of the Timotesubani monastery (dated to the twelfth century, before 1230).[88] Both types of body armour are frequently depicted on smaller items of decorative metalwork and in stone relief.[89] A similar custom of depicting military saints primarily in *klibania* can be observed in Armenian art, as well as in the Slavic states.[90] This popularity of lamellar body armour in images of military saints created in provincial circles—which were free from the influences of traditional iconographic formulas of the ancient world—indicates that when artists were depicting warrior saints they reached for costumological motifs known to them from their everyday lives.[91]

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[87] See Virsaladze 1955, 221–5, figs. 70–72, 78, as well as on p. 192. This type of body armour is also worn in several depictions: St George in a painting on the façade of the church dedicated to him in Adishi (end of 11th–12th C.); a warrior saint in the 12th/13th-C. katholikon of the Dormition of the monastery in Vardzia; and group of military saints on frescoes in the church of the Annunciation in Udabno (2nd half of 13th C.), (Aladashvili/Volskaya 1987, fig. 31; neg. nrs Acc. 91-0852, Acc. 91-0401, Acc. 91-0402 in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington D.C.).

[88] See Alibegashvili 1979, figs. 69–70; Privalova 1980, figs. 50–52. A possible local Georgian sub-type with vertically arranged strips of lining is depicted on a fresco in St George's Church, Phavnisi (1158–84), see Privalova 1977, fig. 15; see also Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 156, 162–163.

[89] See e.g. Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 36–47, 131, 178, 180–85, 187–98, 287, 406–07, 409–11, 470, 473, 475 (= Novello/Beridze/Dosogne 1980, figs. 55, 58–61); Nicolle 1988, vol. 2, figs. 162a, 173b, Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 23.

[90] Armenian examples include the reliefs depicting Sts Theodore, Sergios and George on the southern façade of the cathedral of the Holy Cross on Aght'amar (Der Nersessian 1965, figs. 49–50; Jones 2007, 89, fig. 4.27); this motif is also attested on soldiers depicted on manuscript miniatures (Nicolle 1988, 1:54–62, vol. 2, figs. 138c, 142, 151a, 152c–g, i, m, q, 154a–b); see also the equestrian images of Sts Sergios and George on fols. 281v and 284r of the 14th/15th-C. *Evangeliary no. 6305* in the Matédnadaran collection in Yerevan (Mirzoyan 1987, esp. figs. 1, 4). Greek and Bulgarian examples from the 12th to 14th C. are discussed in comparison with later Russian *bekhterets* laminar-in-mail armour by Manova (1969, 190–7, figs. 7, 11–12). In Rus' art, the Byzantine *klibanion* appears already in *c.*1062 on reliefs from the altar screen of the Kievan church of St Demetrios depicting George, Theodore, Eustathios and Demetrios on horseback (currently in the church of St Sophia in Kiev and the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow), and also on murals in the Spaso-Mirozhski Monastery of *c.*1156 in Pskov (Sidorenko 2000, figs. 1–3; Nicolle 1988, vol. 2, figs. 204a–b).

[91] Cf. Marković (1995, 597–8) who believes that as rule warrior saints' breastplates were modelled on depictions of Roman emperors, although he admits that the continuing influence of Classical tradition on Byzantine uniform in the iconography of the military saints cannot be excluded.

When depicted in a group the individual saints often appear in different types of body armour.[92] This device was probably intended to vary and enliven the composition. It is not possible, however, to discern any regular system in representing any individual warrior saint in a single, specific type of cuirass that can be treated as his attribute. This implies that the artist's choice was not directed by iconographic considerations, but was a free creation within the framework of a general canon. The preponderance of scale armour (which was not popular in Classical art) and especially of lamellar armour in images of warrior saints in preference to the traditional muscled cuirass indicates that to a great extent Byzantine artists took their model from types of armour popular in the imperial army.[93]

Both the form and the colour of depicted armours also seems to reflect the actual armament of Byzantine troops. Muscled and scale corselets, and to a certain extent also lamellar ones, are often coloured gold in painted representations. Examples include: mosaics in the monasteries of Hosios Loukas in Phokis, and Nea Mone on Chios, and from the Kievan monastery of St Michael (figs. 25a,b, 27, 44a); Sicilian mosaics in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo and the cathedrals in Cefalù and Monreale; and also a group of eleventh/twelfth-century icons in the Hermitage (figs. 39, 70); panels from the Venetian *Pala d'Oro* (before 1209); miniatures in the *Menologion of Symeon*

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[92] e.g. on miniatures in the *Menologion* for the year 1055/6 (*Vind. Hist. gr. 6*, fol. 3v; *Par. gr. 580*, fol. 2v—Arethas and Merkourios in scale armour in the *Bodl. Barroci 230*, fol. 3v—St (Eustathios?) in muscled cuirass), see Spatharakis, figs. 113, 116, 118; the *Evangelistarion* from the Athonite monastery of St Dionysios (*Dionysiou 587*) from the year 1059, fol. 41v—St Theodore in scale armour, as well as fols. 123r, and 151v: Sts Demetrios and George in *klibania* (*Athos*, vol. A', figs. 216, 241, 265); and on drawings from the turn of 12th/13th centuries illustrating the second volume of *John Chrysostom's Commentaries to the Book of Genesis, Magdalen College gr. 3*: St Demetrios in an ornamented muscled cuirass (fol. 166r); and 209v: St George in scale armour (Velmans 1974, 160, fig. 22; Hutter 1999, fig. 20). Among murals one can mention the frescoes in the churches in Kastoria and Nerezi (see Maguire 1996, 20–22, figs. 10–11, which however is mainly concerned with the physiognomic characteristics of the figures).

[93] Dawson points out (1998, 45 and n. 31) that lamellar armour was relatively light, did not hinder movement, and offered excellent protection from the light Arabian and Turkish horse archers who dominated the armies of the Empire's main rivals. On the importance and Persian origins of horse archers in the armies of the Arabs, Turks, Turkmen and steppe nomads see Darkó 1935, 446–9; and more recently Hillenbrand 1999, 512–14; and Świętosławski 1999, 58–66; see also the discussion of Byzantine references to Arabian and mounted nomad archers culled by Darkevich (1975, 141–3) from Komnene, Choniates, Leo's *Taktika* and *Digenes Akritas*.

Metaphrastes for 1056 (*Vind. Hist. gr.* 6, fol. 3v), and in the Athonite *Evangelistarion Dionysiou 587*, fols. 41v, 123r, and 151v (fig. 46).[94] Gilded arms are also mentioned in the epic poem *Digenes Akritas*.[95] This might be regarded as mere literary hyperbole if not for the recommendations in *De re militari* stating that, following ancient practice, only iron weapons should be taken on campaign, not gold, silver and extravagant ones, since these are unusable and the fashion for them leads to the army's impoverishment.[96] This advice, and to a certain

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[94] See the coloured illustrations in Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 47–48; Mouriki 1985, figs. 59, 61; Bank 1966, no. 227; *Sinai, Vizantija, Rus'*, nos. B85, 88; *Athos*, vol. A', figs. 216, 241, 265; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 70 and fig. on p. 283; Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, figs. 127–29; and also Borsook 1990, figs. 9, 35–36, 95; as well as the description of the Vienna menologion by Buberl/Gerstinger 1938, 41.

[95] The Escorial version of DIG. AKR. (p. 258^{277-79}) speaks of golden breastplates only in relation to Arabs, in a description of how the emir's mother in an effort to convince him to abandon his prospective Greek spouse and return to Syria, sent him five hundred young Arabian *archontes* dressed in gold *klibania* along with a gold *lorikion* that had been worn by his father (πεντακοσίους ἄρχοντας χρυσοκλιβανιασμένος / καὶ τὸ λορίκιν τὸ χρυσὸν τὸ ἐφόρει ὁ πατήρ σου.). Cuirasses made from precious metals are also mentioned later in a similar context (p. 262^{343}, 282^{579}). The gold-edged *lorikion* of the Amazon Maximo appears in the Grottaferrata version (DIG. AKR., 184^{556} [VI]) while the Escorial redaction speaks of her silver *lorikion* adorned with precious stones (p. 348^{1491}).

[96] DE RE MILITARI, p. 288^{3-17} [16 **Περὶ τῆς ἁρμοζούσης πανοπλίας.**]: Οὐ καλὸν δὲ οὐδὲ συμφέρον ἀποσιωπῆσαι καὶ περὶ τῆς πολυτελείας, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀχρηστίας τῶν τεθρυμμένων πανοπλιῶν, καὶ τοῦ ἀργοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου τοῦ πρὸς κόσμον καταβαλλομένου τῶν ἵππων καὶ τῶν ἀνωφελῶν ἀργυρῶν σκευῶν τῶν διὰ περπερείαν παρ' ἐνίων ἐν τῇ πολεμίᾳ βασταζομένων· ἀλλὰ δεῖ καὶ περὶ τούτου τὰ προσήκοντα ὑπομνῆσαι. ἐκείνων μόνων ἐστὶν χρεία τῶν ἐπιτηδείων πρὸς πόλεμον καὶ χρησίμων, ἵππων ἀρίστων, θωράκων ἀχυρῶν καὶ περικεφαλαιῶν φασγάνων τε καλλίστων, ἐν οἷς ὁ σίδηρος μόνος τῶν ἄλλων ὑλῶν πλεονεκτεῖ. ἡ δὲ ἀνόνητος πλησμονὴ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀργύρου πρὸς τῷ ζημιοῦν καὶ πενίαν προξενεῖν τῷ στρατεύματι πάντῃ τὸ περιττὸν καὶ ἀνωφελὲς ἐν τοῖς τῶν πολέμων καιροῖς ἔχει, καὶ εὕροις ἂν φιλοπόνως τὰς ἱστορικὰς βίβλους ἀνερευνώμενος τοὺς ἐγείραντας ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις μεγάλα τρόπαια Ἕλληνας καὶ Ῥωμαίους πᾶσαν λιτότητα εἴς τε τὰς διαίτας καὶ τὰ σκεύη καὶ τὰ ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἔχοντας. In the Late Roman period gilded bronze officers' armour was produced in special workshops called *barbaricarii*, which were supervised from the end of the 4th C. by a *comes sacrarum largitionum*. Their existence in the Early Byzantine period is attested in Constantinople and Antioch (Jones 1964, 2:835). Gilded armours also appear frequently in the *Madrid Skylitzes* (mainly painted by Master I) on fols. 11r–12r, 13v, 14v, 15v–16v, 18v–19r, 22v, 26r, 28v, 30r–32v, 33v–34v, 35v–41v, 49r, 54r–v, 57r, 58r–59v, 60v, 66v, 70v, 72r–v, 73v, 76v, 78v, 80r–v, 82r, 85v–86r, 107v–108r, 109r, 114r, 115r, 119r, 121v–122v, 126r, 129v, 135r–v, 136v, 140v, 142r, 145r, 149v, 150r–v, 151r–v, 153r–v, 154v, 156r, 160r–162v, 163v–164r, 165r–168r, 169v–171r, 173r, 175v, 176v–177r, 181r, 182v, 184v–185r, 186v, 195v, 200v, 202r–v, 212v–213v, 217v, 224v, 226r, 227r, 228v–230v, 232v–233r, 234r (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 4–7, 11, 16, 18–21, 27–28, 39, 50, 54, 58–65, 67–69, 72–90, 112, 127–128, 137, 139–143, 145, 165, 174, 177–178, 180, 186, 191, 194–196, 199, 208–210, 243–245, 247, 261, 263, 276, 282–284, 294, 308, 324, 326, 329, 340, 346, 373, 377–379, 381–383, 385–386,

degree other references to the glistening armour of Byzantine armies[97] are evidence that gilded cuirasses were being worn in the field in the second half of the tenth century and were not—as Kolias prefers[98]—merely parade attire, worn mainly by imperial family members and palace guard units.[99]

Aside from such gilded corselets, the warrior saints were also depicted in less expensive protection made from iron components, which are generally depicted in shades of blue.[100] Their *klibania* were

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389, 393, 405–410, 412–414, 417–422, 424–425, 427–429, 435, 442, 444–445, 454, 456, 461–462, 467, 477, 480, 482, 503–506, 516, 531–532, 536, 538, 542–546, 549–551, 553; see also the reproductions in Bozhkov 1972, figs. 5, 9, 10, 13, 19, 25–26, 31, 34, 36–37, 44–46, 65, 98; and *Glory of Byzantium*, pp. 6, 14–15).

97 The helmets, armour and steel swords of the Greeks which glistened in the sun are mentioned by Al-Mutanabbi in a panegyric commemorating the retaking by his patron, Sayf al-Dawla, of the fortress of Al-Hadas in 954 (Vasiliev, 2/2:333^{17}); see also LT 1:25$^{347-50}$ [II 15 (18)], 2:158$^{4927-30}$ [XIV 37], Komnene, 3:208$^{30-31}$ [XV 6/4]. Golden armour is mentioned among the loot captured by Heraclius from the Persian commander Razates in 618 by Theophanes, p. 319^{16}: καὶ τὸ **λωρίκιν** αὐτοῦ **ὁλχρυσον** ἔλαβον [see also Kolias (1988, n. 178 on p. 61), who cites references in LT (VI 4 and XX 188) and Theodore the Deacon]. Maurice (Strat., p. 80$^{56-58}$ [I 2]) mentions the need to wear a coat over the *zaba* during patrols so that its glinting would not be seen by the enemy. In both cases, however, the authors may have had in mind armours made of iron—which is also how Kolias (1988, 39–40) interprets the order to cover the *zaba*. See also MacMullen 1964, 439.

98 Kolias (1988, 46–7 and n. 73 giving sources); however, the passage Kolias cites from the chronicle of Kinnamos (p. 109^{24}–110^{4}) describing how John Kantakouzenos, a relative of Manuel (son-in-law of his brother Andronikos) who had been sent against the Serbs, was recognized by them by his golden *klibanion*, upright posture and hero-like abilities, may be merely a stylistic figure and should be used with care. See also Komnene (2:213$^{26-7}$ [X 7/3]) who in her description of the embassy of the king of France's brother to the *doux* of Dyrrachion states that the envoys: θώραξι χρυσέοις σὺν αὐταῖς κνημῖσι περιπεφραγμένους.

99 In accounts of the triumphal entries into the capital conducted by Basil I after victory over the Paulicians in 878 and by Theophilos after the campaign against the Cilician rebellion in 831, Porph. (pp. 142$^{753-4}$, 148$^{840-1, 856-8}$[C]) states that Basil's son: Κωνσταντῖνος ἐφόρεσε **κλιβάνιον χρυσοῦν** καὶ σπαθὶν ζωστίκιν, **ποδόψελλά** τε **χρυσᾶ** καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔλαβεν **λόγχην χρυσῆν** διὰ μαργαριτῶν ἠμφιεσμένην, and that the caesar also: φόρεσεν **χρυσοῦν κλιβάνιον**; while a half century earlier Theophilos had been accompanied by mounted *praipositoi* and the *kouboukleion* (members of imperial court), **χρυσοκλίβανοι**, eunuchs and *protospatharioi* who appeared μετὰ χρυσῶν **κλιβανίων**. According to Al-Hatib Al-Bagdadi ten thousand golden armours were said to have been stored in the vestibule of the palace of the caliphs in Baghdad (Vasiliev, 2/2:78). This implies gilded armours would also have been common at the neighbouring Byzantine court. Parani (2003, 103) suggests that items of arms and armour described as 'golden' were in fact probably gilded.

100 Iron armours are mentioned in Peri strategias (p. 56$^{60-1}$ [16]: καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν **σιδηρῶν θωρακίων** καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλέγομεν.); Leo's Taktika (LT, 1:91^{1174}–92^{1175} [V 3]: **κλιβάωια σιδηρᾶ** ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὕλης); and by Lydos (p. 74$^{4-5}$ [I 12/46]: κλιβανάριοι, ὁλοσίδηροι· κηλίβανα γὰρ οἱ ῾Ρωμαῖοι τὰ σιδηρᾶ καλύμματα καλοῦσιν,

also painted in shades of ochre, yellow and warm browns, apparently imitating *folides* made from hardened leather and horn, which were lighter and more flexible than metal.[101] Representations of iron armour appear most commonly in works executed in enamel technique, no doubt as a result of the technical ease of applying various hues of powdered smalt. Cuirasses with blue scales on a yellow base are worn by saints in the following representations: St George on the twelfth/thirteenth-century enkolpion-reliquary of St Demetrios from Thessaloniki,

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ἀντὶ τοῦ κηλάμινα). Meanwhile in the SYLLOGE they are referred to alongside *klibania* made of horn (pp. 59, 60 [XXXVIII 4, 7, XXXIX 1] = {LT, vol. B', pp. 356, 358, 360 [XXXVIII, XXXIX]}: Πρὸς τούτοις **λωρίκια** φορείτωσαν ἢ καὶ **κλιβάνια** καὶ ταῦτα ἢ **σιδηρᾶ ἢ κεράτινα** [...] λωρίκια δηλαδὴ καὶ κλιβάνια, ἢ **σιδηρᾶ** καὶ ἄμφω ἢ καὶ **κεράτινα**) also in reference to horse armour, see above, n. 60. Leo and the *Sylloge* also speak of iron body armour in the context of ancient weaponry: (SYLLOGE, p. 52 [XXX 2, XXXI 1]; and LT, 1:124[1486] [VI 30 (31)]) after the tactical works of Aelian [II 11] and Arrian [IV] (Haldon 1975, 35, n. 119). See also PSELLOS, 2:20[20-1], 81[17-18] [VI 107, 18]: (σιδηροφοροῦσιν ἀεὶ κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς 'Ακαρνᾶνας); KOMNENE, 2:217[23-4] [X 8/6]: (θώρακα βαρυσίδηρον); LEO THE DEACON (59[4-5] [IV 3]), who recalls the iron-clad horsemen employed by Nikephoros Phokas during the siege of Tarsos in 965 (τοὺς πανσιδήρους ἱππότας); and below, n. 136. See also Haldon (1975, 28 and n. 86, p. 34); and Kolias (1988, 45 and n. 64), who refers to miniatures in the *Khludov Psalter* and the Slavonic MS of the *Manasses Chronicle*, where soldiers wear armour that the artist has painted in blue and grey. Breastplates painted in a light blue colour appear alongside gold ones in an 11th-C. *Menologion* from the Athonite monastery of Esphigmenou (*cod. 14*, on fols. 404r, 410r, 416v–418r); in a 13th-C. codex containing the *Legend of Barlaam and Joasaph* from Iveron Monastery (*cod. 463*, on fol. 7r); in *Pantokrator Psalter 61* (fols. 39v, 89r); as well as in the 11th-C. *Vatopedi Psalter 760*, fols. 263v, 283r, 286r (*Athos*, vol. B', figs. 59, 381, 391, 404–407; vol. Γ', figs. 186, 205; and vol. Δ', figs. 194, 202, 204). Iron scales dated to 12th century were discovered recently in Pernik and Ras, and in a 13th-C. layer during excavations in the ruins of the monastery of St George Diasorites in Vranokastro near Kavala (Bugarski 2005, 171–2; Zekos/Bakirtzes 1996, 854).

101 Armour made from horn is mentioned by Leo, Nikephoros and the Sylloge (see above, n. 100), while AL-TARSUSI adds leather to the materials from which cuirasses were made—see below, n. 136; and PERI STRATEGIAS, 54[59] [16] (although this may refer to leather or felt helmet-liners, see AMMIAN., 2:142 [19.8.8]; Kolias 1988, 82; and Robinson 1975, 144). On leather armours see the interpretations of Kolias (1988, 45, n. 66) and Nicolle (1988, 1:35); the latter believes the corselets on the Çavuşin murals are painted brown to represent scale or lamellar cuirasses constructed from cuir-bouilli or hardened leather. AL-TARSUSI (p. 116 [V]) provides information on a method of production of armour from the pulp obtained from leather ripped to shreds while wet, mixed with powdered wood and glue, and after the appropriate moulding, faced with a layer of leather and lacquered; he also mentions another method based on the tanning of camel hide in milk. The production of armour from leather that has been prepared in various ways, especially in Asia and the Islamic world in the 12th–14th centuries, is covered by Nicolle (2002, 181–206). A light-brown body armour probably made from one of these materials is already worn by Alexander the Great in a Pompeian mosaic depicting the battle of Issos (see above, n. 52).

now in the British Museum; Sts George Tropaiophoros and Theodore Teron on panels in the Venetian *Pala d'Oro*; the same two saints on an eleventh/twelfth-century enkolpion from Constantinople, in the collections of Cleveland Museum of Art in Ohio; and also by St Theodore on a twelfth-century panel from his sanctuary at Bathys Ryax ('Deep Brook') near Constantinople, now in the Hermitage (fig. 47).[102] 'Leather' *klibania*, meanwhile, appear primarily in wall painting, a technique in which it would be difficult to use gilding. Saints are depicted in these as a rule in Cappadocian painting, in the churches of the Mani peninsula, as well as in northern Greece and modern Macedonia (Kastoria, Nerezi; figs. 45, 48a,c).[103]

[102] See *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 111, 116 (= *Byzantium*, no. 200; Bank 1966, no. 190; Grabar 1950); Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, figs. 132, 139; Papamastorakes 1998, 215 and n. 6 (with literature on the cult of Theodore in Bathys Ryax), fig. 5. On the basis of an inscription accompanying the depiction of St Theodore (Ο ΑΓΙΟϹ ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟϹ Ο ΒΑΘΗΡΙΑΚΗϹ) Pantchenko (1911, 200–01) regards the panel as a copy of a miraculous icon venerated in the sanctuary, which is mentioned by Komnene (2:133$^{16-27}$ [VIII 3/1]) and by Choniates (p. 231$^{20-6}$) when referring to the emperor's procession to this place on the saint's feastday; cf. also Janin (1935, 62; and 1969, 151) who considers a possible identification of the sanctuary with the church of St Theodore in the 'Rhesion' suburban quarter of Constantinople. In turn Walter (2003a, 44) points out that Choniates' reference indicated that the sanctuary was dedicated to Theodore Teron venerated on the first Saturday of Lent, but at the same time erroneously describes the panel as a mosaic icon. Walter also (pp. 49–50) considers identifying Bathys Ryax with Rhesion. For a variant dating (end of 13th C.) and further literature see *Sinai, Vizantija, Rus'*, no. B64 (Zalesskaja ascribes the enamel to a Constantinople workshop); Walter 2003, 95. See also examples in miniature painting e.g. the miraculous conversion of Eustathios–Placidus on fol. 138r of the Athonite psalter *Pantokrator 61* (*Athos*, vol. Γ', fig. 226 = Der Nersessian 1966, fig. 21), and also fresco painting, e.g. St George depicted at Kurbinovo (Grozdanov 2006, fig. 181).

[103] In Cappadocian painting military saints are depicted in such cuirasses as a rule, see for example the images in the following chapels: of John (A2, Sakli Kilise), of the Theotokos (Kiliclar Kuşluk) and of the Snake in Korama; in St Barbara's church in the Soandos valley (Soğanli Dere) and Direkli Kilise in the Ihlara (Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 21, 28–30, 32, 43, 44, and vol. 3, fig. 436; albeit mostly monochrome reproductions). On the Mani peninsula one can mention warriors in the churches of the Hagioi Strategoi in Upper Boularioi and in Episkopi (Drandakes 1995, fig. 112 [in colour] and diagram 21 on p. 168). Examples in northern Greece worth mentioning include saints in the churches of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria, St Panteleimon in Nerezi, and the church of the Koimesis in Eurytania (Pelekanidis/Chatzidzakis 1985, figs. 12–13 on pp. 60–1; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 17; Maguire 1996, fig. 10 = Cutler/Spieser 1996, fig. 240).

The following saints have cuirasses painted in fresco technique in an intensive yellow colour probably intended to imitate gilding: Theodore, Christopher and Prokopios in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria; George in the narthex of the 12th/13th-C. church in Asinou, Cyprus; and Theodore in the church of Hagioi Theodoroi near Kaphiona (Stylianou 1995, fig. 70; Drandakes 1995, figs. 13, 14).

In fresco painting it is less common to find warrior saints wearing grey or blue cuirasses (figs. 30a,e,f, 31, 42).[104] An exception is the malachite-green scale armour of St George on the south wall of the nave of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze church, Kastoria, so named after its founder, the *magistros* Nikephoros Kasnitzes (fig. 48b).[105] Presumably the artist here wished to depict an armour made from copper. After the appropriate hardening copper is no less durable than iron, and was still in use in Byzantium, indeed there is evidence that in Manuel I's reign it was being employed in armour production.[106]

Soft armour (neurika, lorikion psilos)

Towards the end of our period another type of corselet makes its appearance in the warrior-saint iconography. This is a quilted armour, made either from felt (κέντουκλον, κένδουκλον or πῖλος),[107] from linen dipped in wine and salt,[108] from sheep's wool or cotton,[109] or from

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[104] For example St George in the Church of the Anargyroi, Kastoria (Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 12 on p. 33).

[105] See Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 12 on p. 60.

[106] Bronze lamellar armours had been employed in Etruria and Rome, see Żygulski 1998, 79, 137; Robinson 1975, 154, figs. 436–41; Rankov 1994, fig. on p. 50 (group of bronze scales found in Britain). CHONIATES (p. 156^{28-29}; see also above, n. 25 on p. 24) lists alongside 'equipment' (meaning cuirasses) of iron also those made of bronze employed by the Byzantines in a battle against the Hungarians on 8 July 1167. In view of the archaization of the narrative (see above, n. 126 on p. 48) this reference might be dismissed as unreliable if not for the bronze armour scales found in a workshop by the Great Palace in Constantinople dating from the time of Manuel I (see above, n. 84). Bronze is also referred to as an armour-making material during the time of Justinian I (Haldon 1975, 13, n. 8).

[107] From the Latin terms *centulus* and *pileus* meaning felt and clothes made from it (in contrast to the Classical 'Αχίλλειος σπόγγος—used since it was believed that Achilles was the inventor of felt, see e.g. EUST. IL., $1:536^{26}$). See DE CER., $1:670^{17}$, 671^{45} [II 45], and commentary, 2:571; EUST IL, $1:468^{23-24}$; EUST. OD., $1:31^{26-27}$, 242^{18}, $2:290^{12}$, 321^{37}; SUDA, $4:131^{16}$ [1601]: Πῖλος· τὸ κέντουκλον; PERI STRATEGIAS, p. 54^{59} [16]. On the etymology of both words and their use in the context of military cuirasses see W. Kubitschek, "Cento" in *RP* 3:1899; T. Kolias, "Kentuklon" in *BKR*, 132; Koukoules, 2/2:23 and n. 13; McGeer 1995, 61 and 204–5; Kolias 1988, 54–5 and n. 136; Mihăescu 1968, 487; and Fauro 1995, 510.

[108] CHONIATES states (p. 386^{2-6}) that the German emperor Konrad wore in battle: ἐκ δὲ λίνου πεποιημένον ὕφασμα οἴνῳ αὐστηρῷ ἱκανῶς ἡλισμένῳ διάβροχον πολλάκις περιπτυχθὲν δίκην θώρακος ἐνεδέδυτο, ἐς τοσοῦτον δ' ἦν ἀντιτυπὲς ἁλσὶ καὶ οἴνῳ συμπιληθέν, ὡς συμπιληθέν, ὡς καὶ βέλους εἶναι παντὸς στεγανώτερον. For the Byzantine terminology connected with linen and flax see Georgacas 1959, 254–9.

[109] See e.g. ACHMET, p. 218^{22-3} [266]: ὅπλα [...] ἀπὸ βάμβακος ἢ ἐρίου; see also Kolias 1988, 56.

leather.[110] Soft armour had been known since antiquity, especially in the late Classical period, under the name λινοθώραξ (Lat. *lorica lintea*, linen armour).[111] In the Byzantine army it appears as νευρικά and, as is evident from the military treatises, must have played an important role. The manuals make repeated recommendations that this type of cuirass should be worn by warriors who do not have more solid protection, especially those in the rear ranks of battle formations.[112] Military saints are, however, shown in such armour only occasionally.

One of the earliest depictions of a military saint in a 'soft' cuirass is in the eleventh/twelfth-century church of St George Diasorites on Naxos (fig. 49).[113] The provincial artist has depicted a light-grey padded corselet with elbow-length sleeves. The seams are shown as three horizontal black lines and a single vertical line running down the middle, with small diamond shapes at the intersections. The corselet of Joshua and an accompanying soldier on the wall of the church's prothesis are depicted in a similar manner, whereas the archangel Michael depicted alongside them wears a *klibanion* of the usual Byzantine type.[114]

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[110] See Mihăescu 1968, 486.

[111] See e.g. F. Lammert, "Thorax" in *PR*, 6:332; R. Grosse, "Art lorica" in *PR*, 13:1448; Żygulski 1988, 36, 48, 51; and Kolias 1988, 57. The terminology change was probably the result of the different material used in the production of quilted armour by the ancients (linen) and the Byzantines (felt). Parani (2003, 120–1) suggests linking the *kazkan* mentioned in Late Byzantine sources with the Arabic *kazāghand* (Pers. *qazākand*), designating a mail-shirt covered with fabric both inside and out; it would therefore be a variant of corselet related technologically to quilted armour.

[112] See above, nn. 9 and 11; and {LT, vol. B', pp. 184–6 [XIX 13]} (≈ NAUMACHICA, pp. 21, 74 [I 14, VI 12]): Οἱ δέ μή ἔχοντες λωρίκια, ἤ κλιβάνια, πάντως φορείτωσαν τά λεγόμενα νευρικά· (and worded slightly differently in SYLLOGE, p. 59 [XXXVIII 4] (= {LT, vol. B', p. 356 [XXXVIII]}) recommending the use of cotton *kabadia*, see below, n. 157). See also Kolias 1988, 54; Haldon 2002, 72; McGeer 1995, 214 (who believes they were mainly worn by poor *akritai*). Meanwhile, Heath (1979, 31–2 and plate A3) reconstructs a light-armed peltast on the assumption that it was mainly this troop type that employed soft armour.

[113] See Kitsou (1978, 345–6, fig. 168β), who dates the oldest layer of the mural with the unidentified warrior to the 12th–early 13th C.; although Chatzidakis et al. (1989, 67) support an earlier dating. Górecki (1980, 209) already finds traces of painted checks (implying a form of *neurika*) on the tunics of warrior saints from the cathedral of Faras, and in other 10th–11th C. Nubian murals. See also the later (early-14th-C.) examples of mosaic icons with head-and-shoulders depictions of St Theodore Stratelates in the Hermitage, from the former Basilevsky collection (Bank 1966, no 250).

[114] See Chatzidakis et al. 1989, fig. 10 on p. 74. Their corselets are also termed 'quilted' by Dawson 2002, 87 (see also his reconstruction of quilting patterns on figs. VII–1a–c). It is likely that the corselets of the guardsmen (*skoutatoi*) accompanying Joshua on the ivory facing of an 10th-C. casket in the Victoria and Albert Museum,

From the twelfth century the *neurika* begins to be depicted as a quilted kaftan with diagonal stitching that forms a regular grid of small rhomboids or diamonds.[115] Early depictions of it include: St George on horseback engraved on the gilded interior of a twelfth-century(?) silver dish from Berezovo made in a Greco-Georgian artistic circle, now in the Hermitage (fig. 50), and a fighting horsemen in repoussé on the wall of the same vessel;[116] and also a sgraffito with a warrior on a twelfth/thirteenth-century dish in the Agora Museum, Athens (fig. 57).[117] Other depictions of military saints wearing the *neurika* include thirteenth-century cameos with Sts George and Demetrios in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris and in the British Museum; a thirteenth-century steatite icon in the Vatican Museum (Demetrios with Theodore); and finally thirteenth/fourteenth-century steatite plaques in the Louvre (Demetrios standing with bow) and in the armoury of the Moscow Kremlin (Demetrios on horseback; fig. 51).[118] In the last two cases small openings have been drilled in the centre of the diamonds, imitating the depressions created by threads passing through the quilting as reinforcement. The motif of the quilted armour corselet, seen at first mainly in depictions of St Demetrios,

London can be interpreted as quilted armour (Heath 1979, fig. on pp. 34–35 = Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 1, nos. 1–3).

[115] Dawson (2002, 82 and n. 11, and reconstruction on fig. VII-1d; 2007, fig. on p. 18; 2009, 38 and figs. on p. 39 [A1–3], 41) identifies this variety as a type of parade *epilorikion* and links it with the imperial 'rose-cluster' tunic mentioned in PORPH., p. 148[837–38] (Μετά ταῦτα δὲ ἀναστὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφόρεσεν χιτῶνα χρυσοῦφαντον ἐπιλώρικον τὸν ῥοδόβοτρυν). Still open to debate is the identification of the corselet of St Lupus made of scales arranged in a diamond pattern on the silver reliquary of St Demetrios from a goldsmith's workshop in Thessaloniki (1059–67); this object which belonged to the Moscow Patriarchate, is now in the Historical Museum in the Kremlin (Grabar 1950, 18–21, fig. 20 = *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 36). Armstrong/Sekunda (2006, 19) interpret the armour covered with crisscross lines of a warrior on a dish from Vrea on the Chalkidiki Peninsula as a 'mail cuirass' or 'scale'.

[116] See Darkevich 1975, 140, figs. 106–107; Nicolle 1988, 1:43–4, figs. 110a–b (who mistakenly claims the current whereabouts are unknown).

[117] See *Byzance*, no. 306; cf. also the quilted armour reconstructed by Heath (1979, 31–2 and pl. A3) which he links with an 11th-C. formation of *peltasts*.

[118] See Buckton 1981, figs. 8b–c (and also Timashkova 1992, 168, who links similar works of art in the Museum in Odessa and the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg with the cameo workshops of Constantinople or Venice); *Byzance*, nos. 324, 334 (= Heath 1995, fig. on p. 12, where he dates the icon to the 12th C., and although his identification of the saint as Michael is false, he correctly identifies the corselet as quilted); Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, nos. 107, 124 (= Bank 1966, nos. 150–151; Walter 1973, figs. 10, 12).

only became commonplace in the military saint iconography in the time of the Palaiologan dynasty and in post-Byzantine art.[119]

The zaba *and* lorikion *and the problem of the mail-shirt*

Mail armour was a Celtic invention and was known by no later than the end of the 3rd Century BC. It enjoyed great popularity in the Imperial Roman army where it was known as *lorica hamata*.[120] Yet mail does not seem to appear in Early or Middle Byzantine art, whether sacral or secular. (Similarly absent from Byzantine art is the banded armour equally popular among Roman legionaries known as *'lorica segmentata'*.)[121]

Students of Byzantine arms nevertheless agree that mail armour, which was unusually comfortable thanks to its airy and flexible construction, was widely used in the armies of the Eastern Empire throughout the Middle Ages, as is confirmed by numerous examples in the sources. Their views nevertheless differ in the details. John

119 See e.g. Late Byzantine examples in Boyana (St Theodore Teron), and the monasteries in Zemen (Theodore Stratelates) and Boboshevo (St Demetrios) reproduced by Manova 1969, 198, figs. 6–7, 13, and also post-Byzantine examples, e.g. in the Cypriot churches in Asinou (14th C.), and of the Transfiguration in Paleochorio (16th C.), (Stylianou 1995, figs. 67, 156). This process may be linked with the introduction in the Middle Byzantine period of the bow and arrow into warrior saint imagery (see below, pp. 373–374), attributed to light-armed *psiloi* who wore soft, quilted armour (see above, n. 11); on their arms and armour see also STRAT., p. 422[1–10] [XIIB 5]; LT 1:117[1431]–119[1439] [VI 26].

120 On the Celtic origins of mail, on the basis of Varrus's reference, excavated finds and representations in art, see Gamber 1978, 339, figs. 360–361; Kaczanowski 1992, 57, 94–5; Żygulski 1998, 164–5, fig. 173; and also Williams 1980, 105 on Celtic finds from modern Romania and the Czech Republic. Nicolle (2002, 220, n. 257) regards the mail leg defences found in Afghanistan as evidence of the independent development of mail by different ancient cultures. On the mail-shirt in the Roman army see Robinson 1975, 164–73, figs. 17, 459–484; Żygulski 1998, 137–8, figs. 148–149; Kolias 1988, 40, 149; Southern/Dixon 1996, 96–7, fig. 15; James 2004, 110–16 (who also discusses finds from Dura-Europos—including at least one complete mail shirt, and representations in art); Mielczarek 1993, 83; and also the reference in LYDOS, p. 22[22] [I 5/12] (θώραξ κρικωτὸς—together with an interpretation of the term: Mihăescu 1968, 488; T. Kolias, "Krikellion" in *BKR*, 147). MacMullen (1964, 439–40), Bivar (1972, 276–8, figs. 6–10) and after him Haldon (1975, 13, 18) and prove that mail was popular in the Early Byzantine Empire and in Sasanian Persia.

121 On this purely Roman style of armour, which was developed in the 1st C. AD see Robinson 1975, 174–86, figs. 486–504 (including a reconstruction made on the basis of the finds at Corbridge-on-Tyne); Gamber 1978, 368–9, figs. 382–83; Gamber 1993, fig. 2; Żygulski 1998, 138–40, figs. 150–51; Rankov 1994, 45; Haldon 1975, 17, who points out its disappearance after the 7th C.

Haldon believes that the mail-shirt was the most popular type of protection for Byzantine soldiers and associates it with the references to iron cuirasses in pre-Iconoclastic treatises, as well as with the *lorikion* (identical with the *zaba*) in the *Sylloge tacticorum* and Leo's *Taktika* (although in the second case he does not rule out that the term might be used to describe lamellar armour).[122] Kolias takes a similar position, indicating that the references to λωρίκα ἁλυσιδωτά in the *Sylloge* refer to mail. On this basis he extends the meaning of 'mail-shirt' to each and every type of *lorikion* (including the λωρίκα ψιλὰ, δηλαδὴ and κοινὰ mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennetos in *De ceremoniis*) and to the *zaba*, and in some cases also to *thorax*. This view is also approved by Eric McGeer, although he judges that the *zaba* can be interpreted both as a mail-shirt and as lamellar armour.[123] David Nicolle, meanwhile, erroneously considers that λωρίκα ἁλυσιδωτά refers to horn or leather lamellar armour, worn together with a mail *zaba*.[124] Only Dawson has recently inclined to the view that the term *lorikion* was used to describe scale armour, while mail-shirts were introduced into the equipment of the Byzantine army on a wider scale only in the thirteenth century thanks to the Crusaders.[125]

In light of the above opinions, students of Byzantine arms have attempted to recognize certain depictions of scale cuirasses—especially those made up of small *folides*—as inexactly rendered mail-shirts (figs. 30a,c,e, 31).[126] This would appear to be an error, especially when

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122 Cf. Haldon 1975, 18–20, 24 n. 65, and also pp. 25–6, 34, n. 117 on the basis of references in the SYLLOGE [XXXVIII 7, XXXIX 1, 6], LT [V 3, VI 2] and the PRAECEPTA [IV 1]; Haldon 2002, 68–70, 73, in references mainly to the cuirasses of *kataphraktoi*. See also Haldon 1999, 130–1, 134.

123 Cf. Kolias 1988, 37 and n. 4 (on the *thorax* in Byzantine epistolography); McGeer 1995, 215; and also above, n. 10. Cf. also Schreiner (1981, 218–19), who believes that the *zaba* referred to in Maurice's *Strategikon* was a mail cuirass. The term λωρίκα κοινὰ appears in DE CER. (1:669[17] [II 45]) and can be translated as 'ordinary' armour; see also Dawson (1998, 46–7) who indicates that the mail-shirt, popular still in the 6th and 7th C., was pushed out in the later period by the lamellar cuirass.

124 Cf. Nicolle (1988, 2:608) who sees mail hauberks hiding behind the term *lorikion* (*lorica*) in Greek as well as in Medieval Latin and even Spanish. Cf. also n. 10 added by the publishers of Leo's tactical manual {LT, vol. A', p. 93} stating that *zaba* may have referred to the mail-shirt as well as the lamellar *klibanion*.

125 See Dawson 2002, 86, n. 50, and 89, n. 73, fig. VII–13. Kolias's hypothesis that the *lorikion* was a mail-shirt is also opposed by Magdalino (1997, 21) who assumes it was worn by *kataphraktoi* along with the *klibanion*.

126 Cf. e.g. Haldon 1975, 26, nn. 78–80 (who sees rings of mail on the *Harbaville Triptych* among other places); Haldon 2002, 78, figs. VI–7 and VI–8 (identifying mail-shirts in the *Madrid Skylitzes* and in *Pantokrator Psalter 61*); Hunt 1991, 97;

Byzantine depictions are compared with those in Hellenistic, Roman, Persian and medieval Western art. Artists working in these cultures would have seen mail in their everyday lives, and always attempted to render the individual rings. The meticulous illustration of mail-shirts can be seen on a number of works, for example: the bas-reliefs in the Temple of Athena in Pergamon (183 BC; fig. 52), currently in the Pergamon Museum, Berlin;[127] the Tropaeum Traiani monument at Adamklissi (AD 109), and the columns of Trajan (AD 113) and Marcus Aurelius (AD 196);[128] on equestrian depictions of Sasanian *klibanarioi* on the rock relief of King Ardashir I at Firuzabad in southern Persia (AD 227; fig. 53);[129] and also in ankle-length hauberks of the Norman

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Nicolle (1988, 1:41, 45, 50, figs. 98s, 114a–d, 115a–b, d, g, 134a), who interprets as mail the scale cuirasses of Goliath in the *Theodore Psalter* (*Brit. Add. 19352*), as well as those worn by the executioners in Passion cycles in the hermitage of St Neophytos on Cyprus (*c.*1200), and on illustrations from the 12th/13th C. *History of Barlaam and Joasaph* from Iveron Monastery on Mt Athos (*Ms. 463*); and also of St George on a 13th-C. fresco from the church of the Panagia Kera in Kritsa on Crete (although he describes the cuirasses of the murderers in the *Massacre of the Innocents* scene on the opposite wall as scale). He even goes so far as to describe the soft corselet of St Demetrios on a steatite icon in the Armoury of the Moscow Kremlin (p. 38, fig. 88) as a mail-shirt! Cf. also Heath (1979, 11, 13) who sees mail armour in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, whereas Hoffmeyer (1966, 65, fig. 48) was only able to provisionally identify an example on fol. 195v; as an example of a mail-shirt in art she cites the repoussé-work horseman on a 7th/8th-C. jug from Nagyszentmiklós in Hungary (Mavrodinov 1943, 120–1, fig. 77 = Gamber 1993, fig. 32); see also the similarly depicted tunic of Diocletian pierced by a lance by St George on horseback on an 11th-C. silver Georgian icon from Sakao (Racha) (Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 191–92 = Novello/Beridze/Dosogne 1980, figs. 59–60). For the Late Byzantine period a similar error is made by Bartusis (1997, 324 and fig. 1). It is necessary to take into account the vagueness of the word 'mail' which some English-speaking authors use to describe both 'chain-mail' and scale armour, although Blair (1958, 19) clearly defines mail as made of interlinked metal rings. The difficulty of distinguishing scale armour from mail is also noted by Górecki 1980, 196.

[127] Depicted on a Galatian *tropaion* is mail made from large rings, each of which is attached to four others (see e.g. Gamber 1978, fig. 360 = Robinson 1975, fig. 459).

[128] See Robinson 1975, 170, figs. 476–479 = Gamber 1978, fig. 381); Bivar (1972, 277, fig. 8); Rankov 1994, fig. on p. 59; Mielczarek 1993, fig. 4, where mail-shirts are illustrated with the aid of small depressions densely covering the entire surface of the armour. Besides this method of depicting mail, two others are used in Roman art: with the aid of meticulous reproduction of the individual rings similar to the Pergamon relief, e.g. mail-shirt of a standard bearer on the mid 3rd-C. *Great Ludovisi Battle Sarcophagus* in the Museo Nazionale, Rome (Bivar 1972, fig. 9); and by means of semicircles arranged in regular intervals, as on a Gallo-Roman sculpture from the end of the 1st C. BC of a Gallic warrior from Vechères in the Musée Calvet in Avignon (Robinson 1995, fig. 461 = Gamber 1978, fig. 361; Vermeule 1960, fig. 14).

[129] King Ardashir I fighting on horseback (against Ardavan V) and Prince Shapur spearing an opponent are depicted in knee-length, long-sleeved kaftans made from a dense mesh of thick rings (Bivar 1972, 275, figs. 6–7, 10 [= Gamber 1968, fig. 41;

knights embroidered on the Bayeux 'Tapestry' (*c.*1105; figs. 54a–b).[130] In view of the tendency for realistic portrayal of mail in other cultures it is difficult to understand why Byzantine artists, who were equally precise in other matters, would treat their own mail-shirts in such a conventionalized manner.

The question therefore arises—what caused Byzantine artists to cease representing soldiers in mail armour? Was it, as Marković suggests, that the mail-shirt had been linked in the Roman army with the lower ranks[131] and was therefore regarded as unworthy of the warrior saints, or was it something else? The first possibility can be rejected since since clear depictions of mail-shirts cannot be found in other categories of Byzantine illustration, whether religious (e.g. Old Testament cycles with the history of Joshua, and scenes of David's duel with Goliath) or secular (e.g. miniatures in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, and decorations on ceramic vessels).[132] The suspicion therefore arises that the lack of an established pictorial formula for warriors equipped in mail armour may be because it was less popular in the imperial army than once suspected.

We can confirm this suspicion by reanalyzing the written sources, identifying those that speak clearly about armour constructed from interlinked metal rings. References to the terms *thorax* and *lorikion* accompanied by the epithet 'chain' (*alysidotes*) do indeed appear in the *Sylloge tacticorum* and in Leo's *Taktika*,[133] but the interpretation of the terms *lorikion* and *zaba* as mail corselets arouses doubt. An example of such ambiguity appears in references to helmet neck-guards. Leo VI

Diethart/Dintsis 1984, fig. 2; Mielczarek 1993, fig. 10 together with an interpretation on pp. 66, 84 of the corselet as mail, which become popular among the Sasanians from the mid-3rd C. AD]).

[130] Large rings embroidered in brown, grey or blue thread are used to depict the mail-shirts of the infantry and cavalry in scenes showing the preparations for the Hastings campaign of 1066 and the battle itself (Rud 1983, 87, figs. on pp. 50–3, 69, 74–89 = Gamber 1995, fig. 21).

[131] Marković 1995, 597–8. Similarly, Parani (2003, 113) regards the preponderance of lamellar armour in the warrior-saint iconography and the lack of mail as a side-effect of the former being linked with court ceremonial armour, while the latter had a field character.

[132] See above, nn. 30, 114 and 126. Parani (2003, 114) notes the lack of depictions of the mail-shirt in Byzantine art also in the Palaiologan era. An exception is a mounted figure of St George at Yusuf Koç Kilise in Korama (11th C.), where the presence of mail is indicated by several rows of painted rings on the forearm and hips. This kind of depiction is, however, unique.

[133] See above, nn. 10 and 123.

clearly refers to περιτραχῆλια ἀλυσιδωτά, which are known from preserved spangenhelm-type helmets of the Early Byzantine period (fig. 55).[134] McGeer interprets the face protectors made from tripled *zaba* worn by *kataphraktoi* that are referred to in the *Praecepta Militaria* as constructed from mail; but the lack of surviving examples of this type of helmet and the depictions in the *Madrid Skylitzes* of neck-guards that are clearly made from scale or textile mean that McGeer's idea must remain hypothetical.[135] The diverse meanings of the term *zaba*

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[134] See LT, 1:92$^{1175-77}$ [V 3] (διὰ τοὺς μὴ ἔχοντας περιτραχήλια ἀλυσιδωτά, σιδηρᾶ, ἐνδεδυμένα, ἔσωθεν ἀπὸ ἐρίου καὶ ἔξωθεν λίνου); on the *peritrachelion* see also Haldon (1975, 37–8, n. 127) and T. Kolias ("Peritrachelion" in *BKR*, p. 192; and 1988, 79–80) who both assume on the basis of the above passage from Leo's *Taktika* that linen as well as wool could only have served as linings (ἐνδεδυμένα) for a mail collar that was reinforced on the outside with mail or scales; see also Bivar (1972, 291, no. 3) and Kolias (1988, 43) on the *skaplion* worn with the *zaba* mentioned in STRAT., p. 78^{1} [I 2] (ζάβας σὺν σκαπλίοις τελείας μέχρι τοῦ ἀστραγάλου), which they identify with the mail coif, although Aussaresses (1909, 48) believes it was worn over the helmet. On the *skaplion* as a neck defence see Mihăescu 1968, 488; and Diethart/Dintsis 1984, 76 (although their identification of the term with the *maniakion* is unfounded, see below, p. 127). Probably of similar meaning is the term στρογγύλιον (of Avar type) mentioned by Maurice (STRAT., p. 78^{20} [I 2]); see Aussaresses 1909, 49; Haldon 1975, 21; and Diethart/Dintsis 1984, 76. Parani believes (2003, 116–17 and nn. 66–7) that neck defences may have spread in Byzantium under Western influence, but were adapted to local needs. For 3rd–6th-C. examples of helmets with mail neck-guards see: Southern/Dixon 1996, 94, fig. 13 (from Dura-Europos); Gamber 1993, fig. 11 (late Sarmatian); *Byzance*, no. 74 (Early Byzantine). See also the Rus' example of *c.*1100–1250 found in the village of Peshki (Nicolle 1988, vol. 2, fig. 192); and other Rus' examples (Kirpichnikov 1971, figs. 13/2, 15/2).

[135] PRAECEPTA, p. 36$^{34-7}$ [III 4] (≈ TNU [MG], p. 114$^{46-7}$ [LX 4]: ἔχειν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ κασίδας σιδηρᾶς καὶ πάνυ ὠχυρωμένας, ὥστε καλύπτεσθαι τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῶν διπλῶν καὶ τριπλῶν καὶ παχέων ζαβῶν καὶ μόνους τοὺς ἀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῶν φαίνεσθαι.). In his commentary to this passage McGeer (1995, 70) assumes that it was a mail protector (after Kolias [1980, 28–9 and 1988, 65–7] who believes that this term initially, in the 6th–7th C., indicated the whole armour, but by the 10th C. only one aspect of it—namely the mail itself—although he later (p. 215) agrees that the term is not entirely clear and might also have meant both mail-shirt as well as plates of leather or horn; see also Gamber 1994, fig. 11; Mielczarek 1993, 65—on the basis of a reference in AMMIAN. [25.1.12]; and Diethart/Dintsis 1984, fig. 5, showing Persian *klibanarios* helmets with mail face protection [τὰ προσωπεῖα]). Haldon (1999, 129) indicates that initially in the 6th C., the term *zaba* was used to describe a quilted kaftan, but by the 10th C. referred to a material used in making *manikellia* and *kremasmata*. Helmets with scale or textile neckguards are worn by warriors (mainly cataphract horsemen) in the *Madrid Skylitzes* on fols. 11v–12r, 16r–v, 18v–19r, 26v, 28v, 30r–31v, 32v, 33v–34v, 35v–37r, 38r–39v, 40v–41r, 43r, 54v, 58v–59v, 60v, 72r–v, 73v, 76v, 85v–86r, 195v, 202v, 229r–v, 230v, 232r–233r, 234r (Tsamakda 2002, il. 5–7, 19, 21, 27–28, 50, 54, 58–62, 64–65, 67–69, 72–77, 79–84, 86–88, 95, 128, 139, 141–143, 145, 177–178, 180, 186, 208–209, 467, 480, 542–543, 545–546, 549, 551, 553–554; and also Hoffmeyer 1966, 72–3, figs. 12$^{12-14}$, 13$^{1-5,\,8-20}$). A *peritracheilon* made of white textile is worn by Joshua in a fresco in the church of the Virgin at Hosios Loukas monastery in

(and therefore also of lorikion) are best seen in the comparison in the twelfth-century treatise by Al-Tarsusi, of its Arabic equivalent, the *jubbah*, to the lamellar cuirass made from iron, leather or horn by the 'barbarians' (presumably including the Greeks).[136]

Although the expression 'chain armour' does not appear outside of the military manuals, one can assume that the *chiton* made from chains worn, according to Leo the Deacon, by Sviatoslav during the first battle at Dorostolon in April 971,[137] refers to a mail-shirt, as do the

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Phokis (currently moved to the northern part of the katholikon; see Chatzidakis 1997, fig. 5), and in Pseudo-Oppian's *Kynegetika*, *Ven. Marcianus. gr. Z 479*, on fols. 6v, 7v–8r (Kádár 1878, figs. 142/1, 3, 143/2). It is likely that the linen neckguards of warriors in the *Madrid Skylitzes* illustrate the type mentioned by Leo as worn by soldiers who lack iron protection—padded with wool on the inside and lined out the outside with linen. It is also probably a neckguard that is referred to in DAI (1:270[218–20] [53]) describing a duel between Pharnakos and Sauromatos, who was wounded when "the plating of his helmet opened a crack" just as he turned his face to the rear (Εν δὲ τῷ περιστρέψαι τὸν Σαυρόματον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ὄψιν εἰς τὰ ἀπίσω διηνοίχθη μικρὸν τὸ τοῦ **κασσιδίου** αὐτοῦ **πέταλον**).

[136] AL-TARSUSI, p. 116 [V]: "As for lamellar cuirasses [jawshan] they come from under the hands of the barbarians, be it [made] from small metal plates, be it from horn, be it from leather, they are re-formed from splinters of horn and from intestines, openings are pierced in them and they are linked together" (transl. after M. Marciniec's Polish translation); see also Cahen's French translation on pp. 138–9, and the English translation which was largely based on it by Nicolle (2002, 203), where there is more on the lamellar *jawshan*. On the etymology of the Greek *zaba* and changes in its meaning, see above, n. 5.

[137] LEO THE DEACON (p. 153[1–2] [IX 8]) describes how this *chiton* saved Sviatoslav from a blow from the sword of Anemas (καὶ ξίφει παίει κατὰ τῆς κλειδὸς, καὶ τὸ μὲν πρηνῆ καταβάλλει, οὐ μὴν κατακτείνει. ἐπήρκεσε γὰρ ὁ **ἁλυσιδωτὸς χιτὼν**). Evidence of the widespread use of mail in Rus' are the numerous finds—about 112 mail-shirts of 9th- to 13th-C. date—from the vicinity of Kiev and further north, see Kirpichnikov 1971, 7–9, 12–13, 81–4, figs. 14–15 and plates I–V (see also his discussion on the origins of mail on pp. 10–12 and fig. 21 with reproduction of the early 13th-C. stone icon from Kamyanets-Podilsky in Ukraine, on which St Demetrios appears in a mail cuirass rendered with the aid of circles in relief); Nicolle 1988, 1:72–74, 76, 78, vol. 2, figs. 178a–b, 189a–b, 190a–d; and Gamber 1994, 94 (on the mail coif). Possibly related to Rus' presence in the Balkans is a 10th-C. mail-shirt in the National Archeological Museum in Sofia (Kolias 1988, fig. 2; Haldon 2002, 73). Worthy of note is the mail-shirt found by J. Chojnowski in 1894 in a kurgan at Korolevino near Kaniv, which was accompanied by fragments of Byzantine ceramics. Cf. also Schreiner (1981, 226–8) who believes that the equipment of Rus' princely retinues was modelled on that of the Byzantine army, forgetting that Varangians and Slavs were the main influences on Rus' equipment and tactics, and even that earlier Scythian influences cannot be ruled out (on an 'armour of mail' said to date to the 5th C. BC found in a grave at Zhurovka near Kiev see Bivar 1972, 276 and n. 18). On the part played by Rus' warriors in Byzantine imperial campaigns see DE CER., 1:651[18] (in 911), 660[18] (in 935) [II 44], 664[15–16] (in 949) [II 45]; THEOPH. CONT., pp. 476[14], 481[6] (in 960–1). On the history of the Varangian Guard which originated from Russia in the 10th and 11th centuries see Benedikz 1969.

iron chitons of the Normans ('Celts') mentioned by Anna Komnene.[138] The use of the word *chiton* may be evidence that the characteristic close fit to the body of mail and its flexibility that does not hinder movement were associated by these authors with textile garments. Such an 'iron *chiton*' also protected Toros II of Armenia against the attack of Andronikos Komnenos during the war of 1166. The presence of mail-shirts in Cilician Armenia in the second half of the twelfth century should not be surprising, since the region had close contacts with the Crusader states, where the knights made extensive use of mail. Indeed, Toros himself was related to the de Courtenay family who ruled Edessa.[139]

Worthy of note is also that all the chroniclers' references relate to foreign armies, while Komnene clearly underlines the unusual nature of cuirasses made from interlinked rings. This small number of clear references to mail-shirts, as well as the lack of an established term for them even in the Late Roman period, is evidence of their very limited use in Byzantine armies.[140] The ceasing of production of mail-shirts—

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[138] KOMNENE, 3:114$^{20-21, 23-26}$ [XIII 8/1, 8/2]: τοῦτο μὲν εἰδὼς ὅτι ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῖς θώραξι καὶ τοῖς **σιδηροῖς χιτῶσι** δύστρωτοι ἦσαν ἢ καὶ παντάπασιν ἄτρωτοι. [...] Ὅπλον γὰρ κελτικὸν **χιτών** ἐστι **σιδηροῦς κρίκος ἐπὶ κρίκῳ** περιπεπλεγμένος καὶ τὸ σιδήριον ἀγαθοῦ σιδήρου, ὥστε καὶ βέλος ἀπώσασθαι ἱκανὸν καὶ τὸν χρῶτα φυλάξαι τοῦ στρατιώτου. See also McGeer 1995, 312; Schreiner 1981, 225; Boccia 1992, 59–60, where he draws attention to the different construction of eastern lamellar cuirasses and western European mail corselets; Kolias (1988, 37, n. 7) who on the basis of the above references considers that the word *chiton* is also used to denote armour, as is confirmed in the SUDA, 2:724^{8} [439]: Θώραξ· πύργος, χιτών, στῆθος.

[139] See CHONIATES, p. 138$^{25-27}$. Toros II Rubenid (1145–68) was the youngest son of Levon I (1129–39) and the daughter of the Latin ruler of Edessa Joscelin I de Courtenay. There also—at the court of his cousin—Joscelin II he found refuge in *c.*1143 from Manuel I who was continuing John II's policy of bringing Cilician Armenian under the full control of the Empire. In Edessa Toros assembled the army with which he marched against Byzantium. There is evidence that he also married Isabella, the daughter of Joscelin II. There can be no doubt that at Joscelin's court he would have come into contact with the methods of warfare and military equipment employed by the Crusaders. See also N.G. Garsoïan, "T'oros II" in *ODB*, 3:2098. The Archaeological Museum in Urfa holds a sculpture showing the mailed torso of a Crusader (unpublished), which proves that the type of armour was known in Edessa.

[140] Late Byzantine writers who mention the mail-shirt include Doukas, who calls it 'black iron', and the pro-Western Theodore Palaiologos, whose treatise is preserved only in an Old French translation, in which it appears under the Old French term *hauberjon* (Bartusis 1997, 323–33). The oldest of the three mail-shirts preserved on Mt Athos (see above, n. 61 on p. 33) may be of Byzantine or Western origin (left by the Crusaders), although the later examples were undoubtedly made under Turkish rule. Also unclear are the origins of pieces of fine mail found on the elbow of a man buried in the 12th/13th-C. in the southern nave of the basilica of Agios Achilleios on a small island on the lake of Mikre Prespa in Northern Greece (Parani 2003, 113). An

which had been popular in the Roman army—may also be related to their time-consuming process of manufacture, the mail-shirt's weight, as well as its limited resistance to archery and to piercing blows from edged weapons.[141]

We can therefore risk the conclusion that the spread of mail in the Byzantine army took place only as a result of contact with the Crusaders. Confirmation of this process can also be found in the iconography of the warrior saints.[142] Among the earliest examples of saints depicted in mail-shirts are thirteenth-century icons of *St George saving a youth from imprisonment under an Arab emir on Crete* in the British Museum, London (fig. 56), and Sts Theodore and George *Diasorites* on horseback in the collections of St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai. Both works are associated with Latin workshops operating in the Near East. The body armour of these saints is painted in the same manner as the mail-shirts of knights on the leaves of the *Westminster Psalter* which came into being in St Alban's Abbey in *c.*1250 (fig. 99; now in the British Library, *Ms. Royal 2AXXII*), and also in the so-called *Morgan Bible of Louis IX* of *c.*1240 from a Paris scriptorium (known also as *Maciejowski Bible*, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, *M. 638*).[143]

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accompanying fragment of silk textile embroidered with gold medallions with bird motifs does not securely link the burial with Byzantium, and the mail might well be of Norman or Slavic origin.

141 Kolias 1988, 40–1; Haldon 1975, 42 (who believes there was a drastic reduction in the number of mail-shirts being produced in the 6th and 7th centuries). In experiments with a reconstructed *klibanion*, which he struck with arrows, spears and a sword Dawson (1998, 45–8) determined that it was considerable more resistant to blows than a mail-shirt. The introduction of the 'needle' arrow-head and the growth in popularity of the bow among the Barbarian peoples of Europe in the Late Roman period is noted by Kaczanowski (1992, 75). On the technology of mail production and its durability depending on the density of rings see also Williams 1980, 106–08. A different point of view is presented by Bugarski (2005, 167–8, 173) who notes the better state of preservation of mail pieces in archaeological finds. He agrees, however, that lamellar armour provided especially effective protection against arrows with trilobate heads shot from the composite bow. On the mail-shirt's weight see Kolias (1988, 51, n. 109); and Rud (1983, 63) who estimates it at 12–14 kg.

142 Similar conclusions are reached by Parani (2003, 113–14, figs. 123, 126, 128–9), although she interprets as mail the armour made from small scales on the following depictions: an 11th-C. steatite icon of St Demetrios in the Louvre, and late 12th-C. frescoes with St George in the churches of St Nicolas tou Kasnitze and of the Anargyroi in Kastoria, and with Theodore Teron in Nerezi. Parani (2007, 189, fig. 37) rightly points out the presence of mail together with a western chapel-de-fer in a representation of St Merkourios at the Peribleptos church in Ohrid (1295).

143 See *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 261 where J. Folda after H. Buchtal links an icon of St George with the style of the miniatures in the *Arsenal Bible* (*c.*1250–54) currently

The above examples are, however, all marginal, and their influence must have been limited since in Late Byzantine iconography, solutions that had evolved in earlier periods were repeated while the portrayal of saints dressed in mail was discontinued.[144]

Other elements of armour

Lower body protection (pteryges *and* kremasmata)
Cuirasses of all the types seen in images of the warrior saints are often accompanied by a type of short skirt made up of loosely hanging strips, which covers the groin and the tops of the legs above the knees (figs. 6, 7b, 18, 19a–22b, 25b–c, 26–27, 29, 33–34, 39, 44a–b, 46a,c, 59–60, 67). This type of protection, called πτέρυγες ('fringes', 'feathers'), evolved in ancient Greece, replacing a less comfortable variety of plate protection (**μίτϱα, μίτϱη**).[145] The Romans adopted *pteryges* and used them widely in all branches of the army, as is confirmed by sculptures of emperors, senior officers, and also Palmyrene gods and ordinary soldiers, both on horseback and on foot (fig. 17a–b).[146] The ancient term *pteryges*

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in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris, no. *5211* (= *Byzantium*, no. 191; Cormack/Mihalarias 1984, cf. in particular n. 1 on p. 132, where the authors incorrectly describe St George's breastplate as a *klibanion*, fig. 2); Walter 2003a, 130, fig. 58; Weitzmann 1963, 195, fig. 19 (= Cormack/Mihalarias 1984, fig. 4), who wrongly interprets Theodore's mail-shirt as a traditional element of Byzantine military attire. A miniature in the *Westminster Psalter*, fol. 229r is reproduced e.g. by France 1999, fig. 3 (= Gamber 1995, fig. 25, see also later examples on figs. 26, 29). Many depictions of mail-shirts in Western European medieval art are published by Blair 1958, figs. 5, 6, 10 (miniatures from the *Arsenal Bible*, 13–14, 23 (14th-C. English gravestones). The presence of a red Patriarchal cross on the obverse of the British Museum icon, a motif which appears also on Sinai icons, has recently led Cormack (2007, 69–81, esp. 76, figs. 41–42, 45–46) to link it with the workshop there and to attribute the Sinaian icon with Sts Theodore and George Diasorites to a specific master.

144 The lack of depictions of mail armour in Palaiologan art is noted by Parani (2003, 114).

145 See references to the *mitra* in Eust. Il., 1:199$^{14-15}$, 717$^{6-8}$, 717$^{13-15}$; Hesychios, vol. 1, [p. 10] (ἀβρομίτρας· λαμπροζώνους). H. Aigner, "Mitra" in *BKR*, 171 and fig. on p. 172; Gamber 1968, figs. 8–9, 15; Gamber 1978, 276–8, 414 and figs. 288, 292; Żygulski 1998, 31, figs. 43, 50, 58, 60–61; Vermeule 1960, 9, figs. 1–3, 6–8.

146 See Żygulski 1998, 94; Gamber 1968, 7. Vermeule 1960 mentions (pp. 12–13) two types of *pteryges* identified by Hagemann—an 'Ionian' type with long, flat, rectangular 'feathers', and a type seen on 4th-C. funeral stelae with straps that end in semi-circles (for a Middle Byzantine example see here fig. 38). Examples of *pteryges* in statuary sculpture are published by Vermeule, figs. 10–13, 16–20, 22–26, 28–38, 40–54, 57–58, 60–63, 66–67, 69; Robinson 1975, figs. 429–432; and also on reliefs, e.g. Robinson 1975, figs. 240, 423, 444, 456, 465, 468–470, 476–477, 501–503; Teixidor 1979, figs. 10, 21–23, 29.

continued in use in Byzantium to describe felt strips that were worn with armour, as attested in a reference in *De ceremoniis* in a chapter attributed to Michael III on the circus factions.[147]

Greek and Roman *pteryges* were usually depicted as a group of soft long, rectangular pieces of leather or textile that terminate with a fringe, suspended beneath a horizontal strip made of stiff, semi-circular plates that are often decorated (figs. 6, 18, 21a–b, 26, 27, 29, 34, 36b, 38, 44a,b, 47, 51, 59); Byzantine *pteryges* seem to have appeared in two additional types.[148] In the tenth and early eleventh centuries they normally consisted of one to three (but occasionally more) overlapping layers of pointed 'feathers', the ends of which were cut at a 45-degree angle (figs. 20a,b, 22a,b, 25b,c, 29, 33, 58, 62, 67);[149] these are related in shape to those worn by the Palmyrene gods Beelshamen, Malakbel and Aglibol on a late-first-century relief, currently in the Louvre (fig. 17a).[150] At a later date, the *pteryges* are increasingly shorter, and made from the same material as the breastplate (figs. 30a, 31, 48a,c).[151]

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[147] Michael mentions Green and Blue *vikarioi* wearing *pteryges* of felt (De Cer. [Vogt], 2:154[20–1] [I 71]): βηγάριοι ἱμάτια, ὁ μὲν εἷς βένετον, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος πράσινον, ἔχοντα ὥσπερ **πτερά**, ἀπὸ κεντούκλων ἐρραμμένα, ὄπισθεν. See also Eust. Il., 1:717[24–5]; Nicolle 1988, 2:616; and Parani (2003, 108) who believes that straps made of padded cloth might sometimes be reinforced with mail.

[148] The traditional Roman type of *pteryges* are worn by the following saints: George, Demetrios, Theodore Stratelates on steatite icons from the 11th and 12th C. (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, nos 6, 8, 10, 15, 21 = Bank 1966, no. 156; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 104), St George on a 12th/13th-C. icon from Cherson, Theodore Teron on an icon from Patmos, and Demetrios on a mosaic from St Michael's monastery in Kiev (*Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 283, nos. 76, 202 [= Milyaeva 2000, fig. 1]; Marković 1995, fig. 42); as well as by warriors on the wings of the *Borradaile Triptych* (Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, no. 38 [= *Byzantium*, no. 153]); see also Spatharakis 1981, fig. 113; Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, figs. 59, 61, 198, 202. On a 6th-C. mosaic in the archbishop's chapel in Ravenna, Christ also wears such protection (see above, n. 138 on p. 98). The *pteryges* shown in the *Khludov Psalter* miniatures are regarded by Schreiner (1981, 222, fig. 11) as an archaizing element.

[149] See e.g. the depiction on triptychs and ivory panels, Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, nos 20, 33 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 80); Cutler 1994, figs. 44, 106, 123 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 81); Bank 1966, nos 126, 131; and also in monumental painting (Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 47, 57), on the reliquary of St Demetrios (1059–67) in the Historical Museum in Moscow (*Glory of Byzantium*, no. 36) and on a steatite relief (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 25). A type of *pteryges* made from layers of long straps (often cut diagonally) linked with thongs that passed through drilled holes also caught on in the iconography of the warrior saints in Georgia (Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 36–38, 43, 152–153, 155, 162–163, 181–183; Novello/Beridze/Dosogne 1980, figs. 59–61).

[150] See e.g. Morehart 1958, fig. 11; Papamastorakes 1998, fig. 1.

[151] e.g. on frescoes showing Demetrios and Nestor on the north wall of the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria (Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 12–13 on

A type of protection for the lower part of the torso, related to *pteryges*, was called κρεμάσμα by Phokas (from κρεμάννυμι 'to hang'). It was specifically recommended for use by cataphracts; and consisted of a knee-length skirt, made in a similar way to arm-guards, from stitched layers of cotton and raw silk, reinforced with *zaba*.[152] In view of the durability of silk yarn, quilted silk protection for the limbs and lower-body must have been especially effective against arrows, and would have also facilitated the removal of arrowheads from wounds since the fabric would enter along with the metal head.[153] Although

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pp. 60–1); see also the further examples reproduced in Bank 1966, no. 190; and *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 111; and also the early ones, dating to the 11th C., from the Georgia area (Tschubinaschvili 1959, fig. 285, 287–288). Of particular interest are the lamellar *pteryges* of St George in Kurbinovo, and his corselet made apparently from tiny scales, see Grozdanov 2006, fig. 181.

[152] PRAECEPTA, p. 34^{29-30} [III 4] (= TNU [MG], p. 114^{39-40} [LX 4]): κρεμάσματα τῶν κλιβανίων ζάβας, καὶ ἀπὸ κουκουλίου καὶ βαμβακίου παχέα εἶναι. The expression μικρῶν ἀποκρεμασμάτων is already employed by Leo (LT, $1{:}104^{1308-09}$ [VI 8]) in reference to felt saddlecloths. See also McGeer (1995, 69–70) and Schreiner (1981, 221) who believe the term refers to a type of skirt or apron-like protector that was suspended from the waist and covered the knees. Cf. also Kolias (1988, 47, 54) who identifies the *kremasma* with the *kabadion* (a theory recently criticized by Dawson [1998, 38–9] who himself links *kremasmata* with *pteryges*, see his examples in n. 1 on p. 39); and Nicolle 1988, 2:610. Similarly, D'Amato (2005, 23–4) incorrectly equates textile *kremasma* with *pteryges*.

[153] See Parani (2003, 117 and nn. 70–72) citing the findings of A. Muthesius presented at a study-day in the British Museum in April 1995. By the 10th C. there are numerous source references to the widespread use of cotton (βάμβαξ, βαμβάκιον, βαμβακερός, and also πάμβαξ, πάμβακις which is mentioned in the SUDA, $4{:}13^{7-8}$ [Π 122]: from Arab. *pambuk* or perhaps from Lat. *bombyx*, 'silk'), see PORPH., p. 112^{294} [C]; EPARCH, p. 39^{11} [IX 1] (states that cotton, like linen, was brought to the capital from Pontus, Kerasunt, and beyond the Strymon); Kolias 1988, n. 150 on p. 56 (where he refers, *inter alia*, to a description of armament in the "Dream Book" of ACHMET, see above, n. 109); Koukoules, 2/2:22–3; and also Reiske's commentaries to DE CER., 2:564 and McGeer's to the PRAECEPTA, p. 61, who tackles the question of low-quality raw silk (κουκούλιον—see Koukoules, 2/2:24–5, n. 1, on clothing made from *koukoulion*)—incorrectly identified by Haldon as a hood (see below, n. 159, and after him Heath 1979, 32). Kolias (1988, 56–7) proposes that the material for making the *kabadion* (which he equates with *kremasma*) was obtained by mixing yarn of both fabrics, although he does not rule out that only silk threads were employed. It would seem more likely that layers of tough, smooth silk forming an outer surface were combined with a soft cotton padding. See also H. Hundsbichler, "Baumwolle", in *BKR*, 26.

Known in Rome since the 3rd C. AD, silk (μέταξα 'raw silk'; σηρικός Lat. *sericum*, 'finished dyed silk cloth') was described by a writer as late as Ammianus Marcellinus (AMMIAN., 4/1:117–18 [23.6.67]) as originating from the fruits of an unidentified tree that grew in China. PROCOPIUS notes ($2{:}576^{14}$–577^{20} [VIII 17/1–8]) that its production began in Byzantium in 552/3, when the first silkworms were brought from India. By the 10th C. flourishing manufactories were engaged in the processing and trading

one might suppose that the *kremasma* originated by evolution from the short tunic worn by Roman legionaries (*tunica militaris*),[154] its considerable length indicates that it should be treated as characteristically Byzantine. Cloth protection of various colours can be found on images of the military saints from provincial circles, on murals from Cappadocia (figs. 35–36b, 41b, 42), the Mani peninsula (fig. 37) and Macedonia (figs. 30b,c, 43, 45b, 48b,d), as well as from the capital's workshops (figs. 19a 23, 25a,d 46b, 67, 70).[155] An interesting

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of silk cloth as is evident from the detailed provisions regulating their activities, see EPARCH, pp. 29^9 [V 1], 31^5–38 [VI–VIII]; and also Koukoules, 2/2:25–26.

[154] On the Roman army tunic see Rankov 1994, 21–3; Alföldi 1935, 63; Sander 1963, 148–9; Górecki 1980, 207; and Żygulski 1998, 96. For examples of legionaries in short tunics worn under the armour, which replace *pteryges* on Roman reliefs from the Imperial period see, e.g. Robinson 1975, figs. 495–497, 501; and also the porphyry statue of Constantius II (337–61) or Constans (337–50) in the Museum in Turin (brought from Egypt in *c.*333), portraying the emperor with *pteryges* covering only the front of the body, while the back is covered by a knee-length tunic (Vermeule 1960, 74, fig. 77). The antique roots of the *kremasma* are indicated by its presence on a work of such strongly archaizing character as the panels of an ivory box in the Victoria & Albert Museum in London (Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, no. 4 = Heath 1979, fig. on pp. 34–5), and on a similar box in the Royal Scottish Museum in Edinburgh (Nicolle 1988, vol. 2, figs. 83a–b).

[155] The variety of colours of *kremasmata* (typically blue, red, yellow and green) confirm the process of replacement in the Roman army of the red legionary tunic (and from the 4th C. also white ones worn by the *kandidatoi*) by multi-coloured clothing, which was influenced by customs in barbarian *foederati* units (see MacMullen 1964, 446–7; especially the example from Eusebios's *Vita Constantini*). On garment colours in Byzantium see Koukoules, 2:33–41. Heath mentions (1979, 30–1) red and blue as the dominant garment colours in the Byzantine army. Similar colours appear in other elements of warrior saints' uniform (see below, nn. 193, 232 and pp. 259–263).

Warrior saints are shown in *kremasmata* in a number of Cappadocian murals: Sts George and Theodore on horseback in the chapels of the Snake (no. 28), St Barbara (no. 20), Chapel 21, and St Basil's (no. 18) in Korama, and St Niketas in St Barbara's Church in the Soandos valley (Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 246–247, vol. 3, fig. 436; and negatives at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington D.C., nos. 830A; T3–22, Acc. DO 00–2485). Examples from the Mani include warriors in the church in Episkopi, and the churches of the Hagioi Strategoi and St Panteleimon in Upper Boularioi (Drandakes 1995, fig. 21 on p. 168, fig. 8 on p. 374 and fig. 33 on p. 419, and also fig. 112, in colour). Also depicted in *kremasmata* are the saints in the churches of St Stephanos, St Nicholas tou Kasnitze (Sts George and Merkourios), and the Holy Anargyroi (Sts Nestor, Prokopios and Christopher) in Kastoria, and St Prokopios in St Panteleimon's church in Nerezi (Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 23, 27, 55/1; Pelekanidis/Chatzidzakis 1985, figs. 12–13 on pp. 60–1; Maguire 1996, fig. 10 = Cutler/Spieser 1996, fig. 240), and also St Demetrios on a miniature in an *Evangelistarion* in the Dionysiou monastery on Mt Athos no. *587*; fol. 123r (*Athos*, vol. B', fig. 241). Works connected with artistic circle of Constantinople include an 11th/12th C. icon of Sts George, Theodore and Demetrios in the Hermitage (*Glory of Byzantium*, no. 69). See also Bank no. 130; *Byzantium*, no. 160; Cutler 1994, figs. 44, 106, 123; Marković 1995, fig. 40; Longuet 1961, fig. 24; Spatharakis 1981, fig. 118. The colour of the *kremasma* does not always match

example is provided by the *kremasmata* of Sts George and Theodore on a twelfth-century steatite panel in the Historical Museum, Moscow (fig. 40), which are depicted with the aid of incised rectangles—doubtless related in form to the *neurika*.[156]

Kabadion (*and* skaramangion)

Also mentioned in the Byzantine *taktika* alongside *pteryges* and *kremasmata* is the καβάδιον, which covers the legs when used by horsemen, but reaches only to the knees when worn by infantrymen. The *kabadion* seems to have taken two forms: a tunic worn under armour, with short, split, detachable sleeves (shoulder-guards),[157] or a garment covering only the lower part of the body, suspended from the waist.[158] Both forms had splits at the bottom—one at the front and two at the back—making it easier to mount a horse and allowing freedom of movement on the march.[159] The *Sylloge* speaks of the *kabadion* as

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the colour of the textile arm-guards, which is evidence that these two elements should not be interpreted as an under-tunic, as Parani does (2003, 117–18).

[156] See Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 28 (= Lazarev 1970, fig. on p. 59); and also above, p. 151. A *kremasma* made from textile quilted in a diamond pattern is also worn by St George on a 10th-C. panel from Nakuraleshi in Georgia (Tschubinaschvili 1959, fig. 42).

[157] SYLLOGE, pp. 59–60 [XXXVIII 4, 7] (={LT, vol. B', pp. 357–8 [XXXVIII]}): τούτων δὲ μὴ [i.e. these who have neither *lorikia* nor *klibania*] ὄντων καβάδια ἐχέτωσαν μετὰ βαμβάκης καὶ κουκουλίου μέχρι γονάτων φθάνοντα, [...] ἢ τούτων μὴ ὄντων καβάδια παχύτατα ἐκ βαμβάκης καὶ κουκουλίου, ὡς ἄνωθεν ἔφημεν·; TNU [MG], p. 88$^{20-3}$ [LVI 3]: ἵνα δὲ ποιῶσι καβάδια—κοντὰ μέχρι τῶν γονάτων φθάνοντα, ἔχοντα βαμβάκιον καὶ κουκοῦλιον. τὰ δὲ μανίκα αὐτῶν ἵνα ὦσι [κοντὰ καὶ πλα] τέα, ἔχοντα εἰς τὰς μασχάλας σχίσματα πρὸς τὸ ἐκβάλλειν ἐκεῖθεν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ μάχεσθαι. Footsoldiers who have no armour are instructed to wear *kabadia* of cotton (with an admixture of silk) that reach to the knees and have split, elbow-length sleeves (undoubtedly a form of shoulder guard—see below, n. 175). Cf. also Bivar 1972, 291; Nicolle 1988, 2:621; and Kolias 1988, 43; and also the discussion on references to the *skaplion* in Maurice's *Strategikon*, see above, n. 134.

[158] Horse archers are advised to wear this type of *kabadion* in the PRAECEPTA, pp. 36^{65}–38^{69} [III 8] (≈ TNU [MG], p. 116$^{77-81}$ [LX 8]): εἰς δέ τὰς ζώνας αὐτῶν φορείτωσαν οἱ τοξόται καβάδια πρὸς τὸ σκέπεσθαι μέρος τι τῶν ἵππων αὐτῶν, φυλάττεσθαι δέ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ζώσεως καὶ κάτω. It is worth noting, however, that none of the warrior saints discussed below who wear a *kabadion* belong to a formation of archers (*toxotes*)—as is clear from their lances and shields.

[159] See the reconstructions by Dawson (1998, 41–2), who correctly notices that mounting would be impossible unless the garment was split in the middle, allowing it to part either side of the horse. It would then also help protect the horse from enemy blows—as is mentioned in the PRAECEPTA (see above n. 158). Darkevich (1975, 140) interprets the *kabadion* of cavalrymen on bowls from the Basilevsky collection as a split *skaramangion*. That the skirts of the *kabadion* had splits is suggested by the original meaning of the term's Persian equivalent, *kaftan*, 'divided'. This problem is taken

woollen garment, while the *Praecepta* says it was made from cotton and raw silk. The garment was derived from a court ceremonial tunic, the *skaramangion* (**σκαραμάγγιον**), and like it, originated from the attire of Persian cavalry.[160] This process took place relatively late, as the term

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up again by Dawson (2002, 87, fig. VII-3; reconstruction of a *kabadion*, which seems somewhat inaccurate in view of the long sleeves); Dawson refers to a *kaftan* uncovered in an 8th- or 9th-C. grave at Moshchevaya Balka in the Caucasus, which is split at front and back (Riboud 1976; Jeroussalimskaja 1978; Ierusalimskaja/Borkopp 1996, 158, fig. 23; and Kondakov 1924, 25, fig. 6). A long, white kaftan or *kabadion* for riding found at Antinoöpolis, Egypt is preserved in the Byzantine Museum in Berlin, inv. no. 9965 (D'Amato 2005, fig. on p. 14). See also Nicolle (1992, 46 and plate H1); Dawson (2007, 22 fig. on p. 8; and 2009, 34, plate D1) and compare their reconstructions with Haldon's theory (1975, 34, 36) equating the *kabadion* with the *epilorikion*, which would seem to be wrong, since the former was worn under armour, the latter—as the name itself indicates—over armour. More recently Haldon 2002, 69, 77 (and n. 18 where he associates the *lorikion* with the *zaba* in the 6th-C. meaning of the word).

[160] The first Greek chronicler to mention the *skaramangion*, that of the Persian commander Razates who had been captured by Heraclius, was THEOPHANES, 1:319^{17}: καὶ τὸ **σκαραμάγγιν** αὐτοῦ ἤνεγκαν (see also the commentary 2:772). Meanwhile, the term is used in reference to Byzantine court dress by George the Monk, Constantine Porphyrogennetos and Philotheos, in detailed descriptions of the official and military ranks and titles that gave entitlement to the various varieties of *skaramangion* as well as the feastdays on which they were worn, and is also mentioned by George Kedrenos—see THEOPH. CONT., pp. 827^{12} [22], 832$^{3-4}$ [30]; DE CER. [VOGT], 1:4^{25}, 25^{13}, 77^{8}, 92^{15}, 101$^{6, 19}$, 106^{5}, 116$^{6-7}$, 118^{30}, 132$^{13-16}$, 137^{21}, 147$^{23-4}$, 149^{10}, 155^{16}, 158^{6}, 164^{4}, 172$^{9-14}$, 175^{5}–179^{2}, and 2:1^{8}, 76$^{6-22}$, 78$^{12-17}$, 83^{4}, 84^{7} [I 1, 10, 17–19, 22, 26–32, 37–38, 55, 58]; DE CER. 1:438^{10}, 441^{3}, 442^{1} [I 96–97], 518^{13}, 519$^{10, 16}$, 521^{10}–522^{18}, 525^{3}, 526^{2}, 532^{13}, 539^{8}, 542$^{6-9}$, 545^{11}, 549^{20}, 551$^{5, 7}$, 557$^{7-18}$, 559^{21}, 560^{12}, 561^{20}, 562^{12}, 563^{14}, 564^{19}, 571$^{10, 14}$, 572^{2}, 575^{9}–578^{9}, 580^{15}, 585^{3}, 593^{10}, 599$^{3-5, 16}$, 608$^{1, 4}$, 635^{16}, 661^{16}–662^{21}, 669$^{2, 5}$, 741^{21}, 745^{13}, 746$^{15, 23}$, 750^{11}, 753$^{11-15}$, 754^{4}, 759^{2}, 760^{12}, 762$^{3-22}$, 762^{23}, 764^{15}, 765^{12}–767^{2}, 770$^{3, 7}$, 772^{6}, 780$^{4-17}$, 782$^{4-14}$ [II 1–3, 6, 8–16, 19, 38, 44–5 and 52] (= OIKONOMIDES, pp. 167^{8}, 171^{28}, 173$^{25, 32}$, 179^{16}, 183$^{19, 22}$, 185^{3}, 191^{8}, 193^{10}, 195$^{14-25}$, 197$^{4, 26}$, 199$^{12-31}$, 203^{1}, 207$^{2, 5}$, 209^{11}, 221$^{4-18}$, 223$^{13-25}$); PORPH., pp. 108$^{226-60}$, 142^{749} [C]; KEDRENOS, 1:731^{16}. See the detailed discussion of these and later sources and also the earlier critical literature on the subject given by: Phourikes (1923, 444–63; esp. p. 449, where he refers to a quotation from the 'Dream Book' of ACHMET, pp. 114^{26}–115^{1} [156] stating that the *kabadion* and silk *skaramangion* were identical); Kondakov 1924, 11–17, and esp. 18–24 and figs. 1–5 (where he tackles the issue of the garment's origins from the Persian kaftan), 33–8; and Cumont (1925, *passim*), who broadens his observations with examples of Sasanian graffiti from Dura-Europos (see esp. figs. 3–4 with depictions of horse archers in short tunics with tight sleeves). Dawson (2003, 98–107) criticizes Kondakov's work and reconstructs the *skaramangion* as an everyday garment with very long sleeves used for horse riding, although he provides insufficient evidence for the long sleeves (he identifies the garment with the *tunica talaris manicata*). For synthetic works on the *skaramangion* see N.P. Ševčenko, "Skaramangion" in *ODB*, 3:1908; K. Wessel, "Insignien" in *RbK*, 3:420–2; Piltz 1997, 43, 45 and fig. 11 (where she identifies as a *skaramangion* the garment of Nikephoros III Botaneiates on a donor miniature in an MS of the *Homilies of John Chrysostom* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, *Ms Coislin 79*, fol. 2v; see also *Byzance*, no. 271)—note that the emperor's *skaramangion* also has a split at the bottom). The literature on the subject is quoted most

kabadion appears in Greek sources in the context of Byzantine costume only in the tenth century,[161] and there appear to be no depictions of it in pre-Iconoclastic art. The *kabadion*'s introduction into the warrior-saint iconography was therefore the effect of artists updating items of the saints' attire from models known to them from everyday life.

Among the earliest warrior-saint depictions of the *kabadion* is a mural dating to the first quarter of the eleventh century in the rock-cut church of St Barbara in the Soandos valley (Soğanli Dere) showing St George on horseback spearing a dragon (fig. 41a).[162] The custom of representing saints in the long 'cavalry' *kabadion* was adopted

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extensively by Haldon in his commentary to PORPH., pp. 216–17; see also Fauro 1995, 491. Meanwhile, Parani (2003, 118) sees the origins of long undergarments with split skirts (which she does not identify with the *kabadion*) in ceremonial attire. At the same time she disagrees with the *kabadion*'s identification with the split-skirted kaftan (*qabā*) and the *skaramangion*, indicating that the name merely reflected the garment's eastern origins (p. 60–1 and n. 38, with exhaustive discussion of the sources and literature).

HESYCHIOS (vol. 2 [p. 405]) calls the *kabadion* the military *chiton* of the Persians (though he calls by its Hellenistic form, *kandys*, see Gamber 1978, 201–2, 408, fig. 204): κάνδυς· χιτὼν Περσικός, ὃν ἐμπορποῦνται οἱ στρατιῶται. Ασ δοεσ the SUDA, 3:25$^{14-15}$ [304]: Κάνδυς· χιτὼν Περσικός. ἀποδύσαντες δὲ τὸν κάνδυν καὶ τὰς ἀναξυρίδας ἐξελκύσαντες καὶ τὸν πῖλον ἀφελόντες. Meanwhile, DE CER., 1:749$^{11-16}$, 772$^{17-22}$ [II 52] (= OIKONOMIDES, pp. 178^{28}–179^{1}, 209$^{21-4}$) states that the *kabadion* is a garment worn by barbarians (Turks, Khazars, Arabs and Franks) in imperial service: ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἑκατέρων μερῶν ἀκουβίτοις δεῖ ὑμᾶς καλεῖν βασιλικοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐθνικοὺς πάντας, οἷον Φαργάνους, Χαζάρους, Ἀγαρηνοὺς, Φράγγους καὶ ὅσοι τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπολαύουσι τῶν ῥογῶν προμηθείας· εἰσάγειν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας καὶ ἐξάγειν μετὰ τὸ ἐθνικὸν ἴδιον σχῆμα, οἱνονεὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλεγόμενον καβάδιον. [...] οἷον Τοῦρκοι, Χαζάρεις καὶ λοιποὶ, τὸν ἀριθμὸν νδ'. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τιμίας τραπέζης συγκαλοῦνται οἱ δώδεκα γειτονιάρχαι, οἱ δ' ἐπόπται καὶ οἱ δύο πρωτοκαγκελλάριοι τοῦ ἐπάρχου. εἰσάγονται δὲ μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων καμισίων καὶ μόνον, οἱ δὲ ἐθνικοὶ μετὰ τῶν αὐτῶν καβαδίων. See also DE CER., 2:529. On the Persian origins of the *kabadion* see Kolias 1988, 55; and 1993a, 41; Dawson (1998, 40) points out the Arab etymology of the word from *qabā*—a garment that opens at the front.

For the Late Byzantine *skaranikion* (a type of headgear) mistakenly identified as the *skaramangion* and on the *kabadion* as a court garment see Piltz 1989, 75–8; and Phourikes 1923, 464–74.

[161] The term κάνδυς, which according to Dawson (1998, 40) is the Hellenized equivalent of *kabadion*, in Classical Greek refers usually to the attire of Persian troops; a mention by Xenophon is cited by Belyaev (1929, n.56); see also above, n. 160.

[162] Walter (1995, 322) considers this to be the oldest depiction of George fighting the dragon, and that the legend goes back no further than the 11th C. However, Privalova (1963, 182) on the basis of fragmentary inscriptions preserved on Georgian stelae from the province of Kvemo Kartli believes that the subject may have been known earlier. On the legend preserved in an 11th-C. codex in the Library of the Patriarchate in Jerusalem (*Cod. 2*), its Georgian origins and its later spread in Byzantium see Walter 2003a, 131, 140–2.

only at the turn of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (figs. 28, 39).[163] The garment is commonplace on murals by the second half of the twelfth century—for example in the northern Greek churches of St Panteleimon in Nerezi and of the Anargyroi in Kastoria (figs. 30a, 30f, 45a,b, 48a).[164] Especially noteworthy are the *kabadia* of Theodore Teron and Demetrios at Nerezi which have a distinct split down the centre, and also the blue one worn by George, over which he wears a green *kremasma* (fig. 45a). George's garment is pulled up and tucked under his belt suggesting that the saint (although shown on foot) is a cavalryman who has pulled up the garment to make it easier to mount his steed.[165] In the church of the Saviour in Megara, an equestrian St George slaying the dragon is depicted in a long *kabadion*, pulled up at the front, over which he wears a single layer of *pteryges*.[166]

The short *kabadion* of the infantry, which is similar in form to the *kremasma* (differing in practice only in the shallow split at the front), is worn by Sts Theodore Teron and Nestor on frescoes in the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria (fig. 48c), and also by Sts George and Demetrios on miniatures linked with the Cypriot milieu in a

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163 e.g. on an 11th/12th-C. gilded steatite icon with Sts George and Demetrios in the Cherson Museum, Sevastopol (each wears the *kremasma* over a *kabadion*), and on a late-11th/early-12th C. icon in the Hermitage with Sts Demetrios, Theodore and Philip the Apostle (Bank nos. 157, 227–8); in addition on a fresco with St Merkourios in one of Constantinople's churches (currently Odalar mosque), see above, n. 28. See also the reconstruction of a long *kabadion* in *BKR*, fig. on p. 139; also Nicolle (1988, 2:626), who speculates that the *kabadion* may have been the prototype for the French arming-garment the *gambais*, *gambeson* in the 11th C., known in England in the late 12th C. as *wambais*, *wambasia*, and in German as *Wams*; see also Gamber 1995, 20.

164 See Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 21; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 10, 12 on pp. 32–3. An especially interesting example of a 'double' *kabadion*—a short, patterned one worn over a long crimson one with decorative embroidered border at the bottom, characteristic for the *skaramangion* (see e.g. PORPH., p. 108^{234-5} [C]), can be observed on an image of St Demetrios; the same arrangement can be observed on a 13th-C. Sinaian icon of St George (Maguire 1996, fig. 163; see also St George mounting a horse on fig. 21 on p. 41); Maguire 1996, figs. 10–11. See also St Demetrios on a fresco in the monastery of Vrondamos on the Peloponnese (Drandakes 1988, fig. 85).

165 The splits in the skirt visible on the frescoes in Nerezi and Kastoria are thought by Parani (2003, 118) to be characteristic of cavalryman's attire though she does not recognize the garment as a *kabadion*, erroneously interpreting it as an *epilorikion* worn for unknown reasons under armour.

In certain circumstances Byzantine cavalry units served dismounted, as for example during the pursuit of the Arabs after their defeat at Adana in 964 by John Tzimiskes, then a *magistros* (army commander), see SKYLITZES, pp. 267^{74}–268^{89} [10]; ZONARAS, 3:501^{9-14} [XVI 24/26–27].

166 See Skawran 1982 fig. 335.

manuscript of the *Homilies of John Chrysostomos* (Oxford, *Magdalen College gr.* 3, fols. 166r, 209v).[167]

Like the *kremasma*, the *kabadion* was depicted in various colours, usually blue and red. The links of the *kabadion* with the *skaramangion* may also have certain significance in explaining these colours, since *De ceremoniis* mentions sea-green and 'green-red' among the various colours of the *skaramangion* reserved for *archontes* in command of a military unit (*arithmos*).[168]

A *kabadion* of tunic form could also be worn independently without a *lorikion* or *klibanion*, as will be discussed later.[169]

Shoulder-guards and sleeves (manikia)

Protection for the shoulders made in a similar way to *pteryges* had origins that reached back to ancient Greece and Rome, as is evident from the iconography.[170] In the depictions of military saints shoulder-guards appear in various forms, and are made up of between one and three overlapping rows of 'feathers' (figs. 8, 18–22b, 24–29, 33–34, 38, 42, 45b–47, 51, 58, 62, 67, 70, 73).[171] It is quite possible that the

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167 See Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 13 on p. 61 (= Walter 2003a, fig. 4); Velmans 1974, fig. 22; Hutter 1999, fig. 20.

168 De Cer. pp. 577^{17}–578^{5} [II 15]. On these and other colours of *skaramangia* in Porphyrogennetos's text see also Phourikes 1923, 450.

169 See below, p. 137.

170 See Żygulski 1998, 94; and also shoulder-guards on the statue of Augustus from the Prima Porta, currently in the Louvre (Robinson 1975, 149, 152, fig. 433), although Robinson's examples (figs. 450–451, 456, 461, 467, 495–496) suggest that in the Roman period for armour types other than the muscled cuirass shoulder-guards in the form of shoulder flaps that only occasionally terminated in 'feathers' were more popular. The *Tetrarchs* (Diocletian, Galerius, Maximian and Constantine the Great) are depicted in shoulder-guards with three rows of 'feathers' on a porphyry sculpture of *c*.293–305 currently walled into the south-western corner of the Basilica of San Marco in Venice (e.g. Rankov 1994, fig. on p. 60).

171 A single row of feathers appears on St Prokopios's shoulder-guards in the *Menologion of 1056, Par. gr. 580*, fol. 2v (Spatharakis 1981, fig. 118), and on the saints on the *Harbaville* and *Borradaile* triptychs as well the triptychs kept in the Vatican Museum and the Hermitage, (Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, nos. 32, 33, 38 [= *Byzantium*, no. 153; *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 79, 80]; Bank 1966, nos. 126, 130–131); see also the shoulder-guards with single long 'feathers' on the steatite icons published by Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, nos. 6, 15, 21, 23, 24a (= Bank 1966, nos. 155, 156). Shoulder-guards with two rows of feathers can be seen on a painting of the Forty Martyrs in the Great Pigeon House in Çavuşin, as well as on frescoes with Sts Theodore and Nestor in the church of the Kosmosoteira in Bera (Restle 1967, vol. 3, fig. 310 [= Nicolle 1988, 1:35–6, vol. 2, fig. 79a]; Sinos 1985, figs. 123–124), and also on an ivory panel showing Theodore and Demetrios in the the Museo Archeologico in Venice (Cutler 1994, fig. 44, 106, 123). Shoulder-guards with three layers of 'feathers'

Byzantines had no specific name for this piece of body armour. Kolias and after him Nicolle, despite certain etymological doubts, consider that shoulder protectors were known by the term μῆλα, which appears in the *Sylloge* and in Leo VI's *Taktika*. It is more likely, however, that *mela*, meaning 'apple', and also 'sphere' or 'ball', indicates that Leo was thinking only about the upper part or 'cop' of the shoulder-guard rather than the whole of it, and the term merely designated its spherical shape (figs. 48a,c, 67).[172]

Such spherical defences at the top of the upper arm are worn by warrior saints on Sicilian mosaics in the cathedral in Cefalù (Theodore and Demetrios) and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo (Merkourios), a mosaic with St Demetrios in Hosios Loukas and frescoes depicting Demetrios in Thracian Bera (modern Pherrai); a steatite icon with St Theodore Stratelates, showing a *mela* that appears to be made from *neurika*; and also a miniature depicting St Arethas in the *Menologion of 1056, Vind. Hist. gr. 6*, fol. 3v.[173]

Detailed written references that would allow the appearance of shoulder-guards to be reconstructed are lacking. When describing the sequence in which a soldier should put on his equipment, the *Peri strategias* instructs him to don his shoulder pieces last, as it would make the putting on of the other elements more difficult.[174] This reference, along with a section in the *Sylloge tacticorum* expanded by

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are worn e.g. by St Demetrios on a panel in the Metropolitan Museum, New York; St George on a steatite icon in the Athonite Vatopedi monastery; and a group of saints on the south wall of the church of the Hagioi Strategoi in Upper Boularioi on the Mani (Cutler 1994, fig. 126 [= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 81]; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, nos. 8, 25; Drandakes 1995, fig. 33 on p. 419).

[172] See Kolias (1988, 41–2, esp n. 44), who considers that μῆλα may refer to the cheek-pieces of a helmet, but concludes that the word designates leather straps on the basis of a reference in the SUDA (3:384[28] [916] μῆλα πάντα τὰ τετράποδα. ὅθεν καὶ πᾶσα βύρσα μηλωτὴ καλεῖται; see also HESYCHIOS, vol. 2 [3:103] [M. 1184] who's definition for μῆλα could also mean leather straps). Nicolle's opinion (1988, 2:610) is based on Kolias's earlier doctoral dissertation (see above, n. 59 on p. 15). See STRAT. [I 2]; LT [VI 25]; and miniatures in the *Madrid Skylitzes*.

[173] Borsook 1990, figs. 9, 36; Skawran 1982, fig. 178; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 6 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 104); Spatharakis 1981, fig. 116; see also Joshua's armour on the *Joshua* Roll, *Vat. palat. gr. 431*, sheets III, VII, X–XI (Lowden 1992, figs. 146, 160, 172); and also examples in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, especially those by Master I on fols. 13v, 16r, 34r–v, 35v–36v, 38r, 58v, 213v (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 11, 19, 68–69, 72–76, 80, 141, 505). According to Parani (2003, 109) this type of protection, without *pteryges*, is rarely seen in the iconography.

[174] PERI STRATEGIAS, p. 86[17–22] [28]: τοὺς δὲ ἀμφιέννυσθαι πρῶτον μὲν τοὺς πόδας, εἶτα τὰς κνήμας, εἶτα τοὺς μηρούς, εἶτα τὸν θώρακα, εἶτα τὴν περικεφαλαίαν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὴν διεζῶσθαι τήν τε ῥομφαίαν καὶ τὸ τόξον καὶ τὴν φαρέτραν καὶ τελευταῖον τοὺς

Nikephoros Phokas which states that the sleeves of footsoldiers' *kabadia* should be secured by small loops (or buckles) to buttons at the back of the upper arm,[175] is evidence that the shoulder guards were buttoned to the corselet.[176] These references and the accompanying instruction that the sleeves (μανίκια—Lat. *manica*, 'sleeve covering the arm from elbow upwards')[177] must be short and wide with splits to the shoulders so that the soldiers could easily put their arms through them and have freedom of action in combat—indicate that the term *manikia* referred both to sleeves and to shoulder-guards that were independent of the corselet.[178] In the Escorial redaction of the *Digenes Akritas* epic the eponymous hero states that at the sight of his fiancée he shook his *manikia*.[179] This suggests that the *manikia* hung loosely on the shoulder, just as they appear in depictions of the military saints.[180]

βραχίονας. ἡ δ' αἰτία τῆς τοιαύτης τάξεως ὥστε μηδὲν ἐμπόδιον ἐκ τῶν προλαβόντων συμβαίνειν τῇ τῶν δευτέρων ὅπλων περιβολῇ.

[175] Sylloge, p. 59 [XXXVIII 4] (= {LT, vol. B', p. 356 [XXXVIII]}): τὰ **μανίκια** μέχρι τῶν ἀγκώνων ἔχοντα σχίματά τε περὶ τὰς ὠλένας πρὸς τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ἐκβάλλειν τὰς χεῖρας· κρατείσθω δὲ τὰ μανίκια διὰ κομποθηλύκων τῶν ὤμων ὄπισθεν.; Praecepta, p. 12^{16-20} [I 3] (≈ TNU [MG], p. 88^{21-25} [LVI 3]: τὰ δὲ **μανίκια** αὐτῶν εἶναι κοντὰ καὶ πλατέα, ἔχοντα εἰς τὰς μασχάλας σχίσματα πρὸς τὸ ῥᾳδίος ὁμοῦ καὶ εὐκόλως τὰς αὐτῶν χεῖρας ἐκβάλλειν καὶ μάχεσθαι. τὰ δὲ μανίκια αὐτῶν ὄπισθεν εἰς τοὺς ὤμους ὑπὸ κομποθηλυκίων κρατεῖσθαι.

[176] McGeer (1995, 216) thinks that only certain parts of armour were taken off during the march (which contradicts references to wagons and leather travelling bags employed for transporting armour, see below, n. 25 on p. 385), or—as seems more likely—that by removing part of the armour depending on the situation, the formation's character could be changed from heavy to light. The fastening of shoulder guards and lower body protection to the *jaws͟han* also became popular in the Arab world, as is evident from the Mameluke manual *Nihāyat al-Su'l wa'l-Umniyyah fī Taʿalīm Aʿmāl al-Furūsiyyah* ('The Complete Instruction in the Practices of the Military Art'). The work is attributed to Muhammad Ibn ʿIsā al-Hanafī al-Aqsarā'ī, who died in Damascus in 1348, but its author states that his sources included Najm al-Dīn al-Ramma al-Ahdab, who died in 1294 (Nicolle 1994, 82–3; and 2002, 195–6).

[177] See Lydos, p. 30^{17-18} [I 7/17]: περιχερίδας ἔχοντες (μανίκας αὐτὰς ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσιν); among garments handed over to the Church of the Saviour, De Cer. (p. 641^{8} [II 41]) mentions twelve pairs of short sleeves (κοντομανίκια) of gold brocade, probably constituting a set with 12 *loroi*, which suggests they were also buttoned on. On the origins of the *loros* (derived from the Roman consular toga, the *trabei triumphalis*) and its form, see Rudt de Collenberg 1970, 263–77; and N.P. Ševčenko, "Loros", *ODB*, 2:1251–2.

[178] See Kolias 1988, 55–6; T. Kolias, "Manikion", *BKR*, 163–4, with reconstructions; McGeer 1995, 185; cf. also Schreiner 1981, 221–2, who equates *manikia* with the upper part of the *manikellia*. A good example of a sleeved breastplate is visible on a steatite icon of St Demetrios reproduced by Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 10.

[179] Dig. Akr., p. 328^{1185}: καὶ ἔχυσα τὰ μανίκια μου καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ὑπάγω.

[180] See above, n. 171.

The junction of the shoulder guards and breastplate is often depicted as a narrow band, occasionally adorned with pearling, as on a mosaic with St Theodore Teron in the katholikon of Hosias Loukas monastery in Phokis (fig. 25a); alternatively the edge of the breastplate is decorated with a running palmette motif where it joins the shoulder-guards and groin defences—as on Theodore Stratelates on a fresco in the northwest chapel of the same church (fig. 25c).[181] In some cases both motifs are combined.[182] Occasionally, as with Sts Demetrios and Theodore Stratelates on a late eleventh/early twelfth-century icon in the Hermitage (fig. 39) the edges of both armour components are depicted as slightly parted, forming a lens-shaped gap between them.[183] As a rule details of the attachments linking the *manikia* and *kremasmata* with the breastplate are not shown. An exceptional, though late (beginning of the fourteenth century) depiction—confirming the testimony of the military manuals, is an image of St Demetrios on the north wall of the church of John Chrysostom in Geraki.[184] Here one can discern pairs of straps with buckles, linking the *pteryges* and *manikia* to the body armour. A possible alternative method of fastening

[181] See Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 48, 57. Pearl-adorned belts also appear, e.g. on murals in the Great Pigeon House in Çavuşin and on a fresco with St Theodore Stratelates in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria (Restle 1967, vol. 3, fig. 310 [= Nicolle 1988, 1:35–6, and vol. 2, fig. 79a]; Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 21); meanwhile the palmette edging to the breastplate is seen, for example on St Orestes, on a fresco from Episkopi in Eurytania; on St George on a 12th–13th-C. enamel reliquary/enkolpion of St Demetrios; and St Theodore on a panel from Bathys Ryax (*Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 17, 116 = *Byzantium*, no. 200; Bank 1966, no. 190). Cf. Górecki's false interpretation (1980, 212–13) of the banded straps in Roman armour linking the shoulder guards with the breastplate that appear on the earlier Nubian murals in Faras, and which he interprets as a cruciform shape.

[182] See e.g. depictions of military saints in the Church of the Kosmosoteira in Bera (Pherrai); and of St Demetrios in the churches of the Holy Anargyroi and St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria (Sinos 1985, figs. 123–124; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 19 on p. 37, 12–13 on pp. 60–61).

[183] See Bank 1966, nos. 227–228, 229; and also St Merkourios on a mosaic in the Cappella Palatina, Palermo (Borsook 1990, fig. 36). Cf. Dawson (2002, 89) and Parani (2003, 105–6, 108), who interpret these forms as artistic invention and regard them as fantastical creations that do not reflect reality or merely repeat antique models. To the contrary I would assert that the artists were marking in this way the actual junctions of the hemispherical shoulder-guards and groin defences with the equally concave breastplate.

[184] See Moutsopoulos/Demetrokalles 1981, fig. 48 (colour fig. 11). Note that the frescoes in the church of John Chrysostom, which belong to the local provincial school typical of the other murals in Geraki, are characterized by archaism both stylistically and iconographically, and although painted in the 14th C. continue the line of development of Peloponnesian art of the Crusading era.

the shoulder guards is depicted on a fresco with St Orestes in the mid-eleventh-century Cappadocian Karanlık church in Korama. The guards are made from scales, which distinguishes them clearly from the lamellar corselet, and are held in place by an armband with a buckle fastened to its upper edge.[185]

In Byzantium the protective role fulfilled by shoulder guards and *pteryges* or *kremasmata* was occasionally replaced by full armour (θώρακες τέλειοι).[186] In the iconography of warrior saints this appears in the form of a long corselet that covers the groin and has elbow-length sleeves (figs. 30a–c,e, 45a, 48b,d, 63).[187] There appear to be no depictions of military saints in the type of infantry armour that reached down to the feet, as was apparently known since the sixth century and is mentioned by Agathias.[188]

Lower tunic (himation, peristethidia)

Tunics worn under the armour, white for soldiers and red for officers, were common in the Roman army, as is confirmed in the sources, archaeological, iconographical and also literary, where the term used

[185] Parani (2003, 109) interprets this item as an officer's badge of rank or prowess, pointing to a description of the emperor Theophilos's triumph in 831, when he received golden armbands or bracelets (βραχιόλοι) from the people of Constantinople (PORPH., p. 150[866–7] [C]).

[186] See SYLLOGE, p. 61 [XXXIX 1], where in a description of the mail armour of *kataphraktoi* it is stated that it reached the nape of the neck and was pulled up with the aid of thongs and rings. See also Kolias (1988, 42–3) who believes that cavalry armour may have been longer than that of the infantry, since it did not interfere with their movement, and could also be rolled up with the aid of rings sewn onto it.

[187] Parani (2003, 108) points out the dominant custom in Byzantine iconography of depicting soldiers in short, hip-length breastplates with detachable defences for the shoulders and groin. Body armour in the form of a long tunic with sleeves is shown for example on: the steatite icon of St Demetrios in the Louvre (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 11); frescoes depicting Sts George, Demetrios and Nestor in Nerezi; Merkourios and George in the Church of St Nicholas, as well as George, Prokopios and Christopher in the Church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria (Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 23; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 12 on p. 33, 12–13 on pp. 60–1). A 'full' armour is also worn by George on 11th-C. silver icons from Djumati and Djahunar in Georgia (Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 151, 188).

[188] AGATHIAS, p. 80[12] [II 8]: θώρακες ποδήρεις. See also Müller 1912, 122. Long cavalry armour is mentioned in Al-Mutanabbi's poem eulogising the campaign of 965 (see the translation by VASILIEV, 2/2:347[44]); and is worn by a horseman on a miniature depicting the siege of Mopsuestia by Nikephoros Phokas on fol. 151v of the *Madrid Skylitzes* (Tsamakda 2002, fig. 382). A knee-length Roman *lorica hamata* is depicted, for example, on a relief thought to be from the Arch of Diocletian, currently in the Museo Vaticano Chiaramonti (Southern/Dixon 1996, fig. 18).

to describe such garments is *thoracomachus*.[189] In Byzantium a clear recommendation to wearing clothing under armour appears uniquely in the sixth-century treatise *Peri strategias*. This text also states that the garment should be at least one finger thick,[190] both to protect from chafing by the body armour (either metal or of thicker textile), and to provide additional protection from enemy blows.[191] The loose-fitting knee-length *himation*, which was sewn from linen, goat hair or coarse wool on the Avar model is also mentioned by Maurice in his *Strategikon*, and his recommendation is cited by Leo VI.[192] The lack of later source references to protective garments worn under armour need not be evidence of their disappearance, and might rather be treated as an *argumentum ex silentio* attesting their universal employment. Also among the depictions of warrior saints we find the garment

189 On the woollen *thoracomachus*, which was sometimes worn under an additional layer see Southern/Dixon 1996, 123; also see above, n. 154; Robinson 1975, 16; and Coulston 2002, 8 and n. 26. Bugarski (2005, 172) confuses it with the lining under scale armour.

190 About 1.95 cm, according to the Byzantine system of measurement (Schilbach 1970, 16–19; 1982, 43^{21}, 44^{15}–45^{9} [I 1–2]).

191 Peri Strategias, pp. 54^{20-27}, 54^{59}–56^{63} [16]: δεῖ γὰρ αὐτὰ ἐπὶ κεῖσθαι οὐκ ἐπὶ χιτωνίσκων, ὅ τινες ποιοῦσιν τὸ βάρος τῶν ὅπλων φεύγοντες, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ **ἱματίων** οὐκ ἔλαττον δακτύλον τὸ πάχος ἐχόντων, τὸ μὲν ἵνα μὴ λυπῇ προσψαύοντα τῇ σκαληρότητι ἀλλ' ἐφαρμόττοι τῷ σώματι καλῶς ἐπικείμενα, τὸ δὲ ἵνα μὴ ῥᾳδίως ἅπτηται τῶν σαρκῶν τὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βέλη ἀλλ' ἐμποδίζοιτο, τοῦτο μέν, ὣς εἱρηται, διὰ τὸν σίδηρον καὶ τὸ σχῆμα καὶ τὴν λειότητα, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν σάρκα τοῦ σιδήρου ἀπόστασιν. [...] ὡς ἂν δὲ μὴ λυπῇ ταῦτα τὸ σῶμα τῇ σκληρότητι, ὑποκείσθωσαν καὶ αὐτοῖς **περιστηθίδια**, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν σιδηρῶν θωρακίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλέγομεν. ὠφελήσει γὰρ κἀνταῦθα τῇ παχύτητι ταῦτα, οὐ ῥᾳδίως τῶν βελῶν διερχομένων ἢ οὐ σφόδρα φθανόντων τὸ βάθος τοῦ σώματος. See also Haldon 1975, 19; D'Amato 2005, 23; in turn Kolias (1988, 50–1) considers that this is the only source that refers to garments worn under armour· On the *himation* in general see Koukoules, 2/2:20.

192 Strat., p. 80^{46-9} [I 7]: Χρὴ τὰ **ἱμάτια** αὐτῶν πλατέα εἶναι καὶ τέλεια, κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν 'Αβάρων κεκομμένα, τουτέστι ζωστάρια, εἴτε λινᾶ εἰσιν εἴτε αἴγεια εἴτε ῥάσσα, ἐφ' ᾧ καβαλλικευόντων αὐτῶν σκέπεσθαι δι' αὐτῶν τὰ γόνατα καὶ εὐσχήμους αὐτοὺς φαίνεσθαι. See also Strat., p. 418^{1-2} [XIIB 1]: εἴτε **ἀρμελαύσια** ἔχουσι κονδά, μέχρι τῶν γονάτων αὐτῶν δεῖ φορεῖν αὐτούς. Although in the last case the use of the word ἀρμελαύσια—from Lat. *armelausia* meaning military cloak, may suggest that the author was thinking about an overgarment—see Mihăescu 1968, 484–5 (including a passage by Isidore of Seville correcting the form *armilausa* to a hypothetical original: *armiclausa*); E. Vavra, "Armelausa" in *BKR*, 15 (who equates the term with 'surcoat'); and below, n. 544. With small changes these passages are cited by Leo VI (LT, 1:$106^{1327-30}$ [VI 12], $119^{1141-42}$ [VI 26]), mentioning both loose-fitting, short, knee-length cavalry *himatia* sewn from linen or wool, as well as infantry *himatia*, which may suggest that Maurice in the second passage is also referring to an undergarment. On the short tunics of light troops, which did not cover the feet but reached only to the knees, see also {LT, vol. B', p. 358 [XXXVIII]}: 'Ιμάτια δέ αὐτοῖς μή ποδήρη, ἀλλὰ μέχρι γονάτων ἔστω φθάνοντα.

known as the περιστηθίδια, the hem of which emerges from under the *kremasmata* or the *pteryges*, and reaches to the knees. Such tunics are usually shown in shades of white, doubtless reflecting the colour of the (linen?) cloth from which they were made (figs. 25a–b, 35a, 36a–b, 38), and sometimes also in various shades of blue (figs. 25c, 27, 31, 44a–b, 46a,c, 56, 68) and red (figs. 6a, 26, 29, 30a, 70, 96).[193]

Shoulder pennants (phlamuliskia)

Leo VI in his *Taktika* twice refers to small pennants attached at the shoulders on the back of the *zaba*, and serving to decorate it. According to Kolias these items also acted as a distinguishing mark of the various units, and even as symbols of rank.[194] This element does not, however, turn up in the iconography of warrior saints, perhaps because of the frontal pose in which the saints are usually depicted. The single, rather unusual, depiction of what appear to be *phlamuliskia* in art is on the image of a warrior, occasionally said to be *Digenes Akritas*, hunting a serpent with a hawk, on a twelfth/thirteenth-century ceramic dish in the Agora Museum, Athens (fig. 57). The artist, who was working

[193] A white lower tunic is worn for example by Sts George, Demetrios and Nestor on mosaics in the Sicilian cathedral of Cefalù (Borsook 1990, fig. 9), as well as by Sts Merkourios and Theodore Teron on a mosaic from Hosios Loukas (Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 47–48), and St Orestes on a fresco of *c.*1200 in Episkopi, Eurytania (*Glory of Byzantium*, no. 17); see also the donor miniature on fol. 8r of the *Adrianople Gospels* of AD 1007 in the San Lazzaro monastery library, Venice, no. *887/116* (*Glory of Byzantium*, no. 239 = Nersessian 2001, no. 110) where the donor, John, appears in a dark-red *kabadion* with a split in the skirt and a lighter lower tunic. Blue tunics are worn for example by: St Theodore Stratelates in Hosios Loukas (Chatzidakis 1997, fig. 57); Sts Theodore and Orestes on a mosaic adorning the vault of the narthex of the katholikon of Nea Mone on Chios (Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, figs. 59, 61); St George in a wooden relief icon (probably mid-13th C.) in the Byzantine Museum in Athens; and again on a similar icon from Cherson; and also St George on an icon from a Crusader workshop (Potamianou 1998, fig. 5; *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 202, 261). St Theodore is often depicted in a red tunic, e.g.: on a panel from Bathys Ryax (Bank 1966, no. 190); on an icon in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg; on an icon from the treasury of St John's monastery on Patmos; and on a Constantinopolitan enkolpion in the Cleveland Museum of Art (while George, who accompanies him, wears a dark-blue tunic); see also St Demetrios on a mosaic from the monastery of St Michael in Kiev (although the gold border on its lower edge may suggest this is a *kremasma* or *kabadion* worn under *pteryges*) (*Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 69, 76, 111 and fig. on p. 283). An exceptional example of a lower tunic in white with dark blue and red vertical stripes is worn by St Demetrios in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria (Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 11–12 on pp. 32–3). Lower tunics on Late Byzantine representations of military saints in Bulgaria are also identified by Manova 1969, 222.

[194] LT, 1:102[1280–81], 117[1425] [VI 3, 25]. Cf. T. Kolias, "Phlamuliskion" in *BKR*, 196; and Kolias (1988, 68–9), who links the item's origins with Persia.

within the conventions of vernacular art, perhaps wishing to depict a number of elements of armour that he recognized, has shown elaborate tufts emerging from the warrior's shoulders; each of these is apparently made from several layers of feathers or fringes.[195]

Epilorikion (epanoklibanion, epithorakion)

As with the *phlamuliskia* it is difficult to find representations of the *epilorikion* in images of warrior saints. According to the recommendations of the military manuals it was a cotton or silk garment with openings at the armpits, and was worn over the *klibanion*.[196] Its purpose was to reinforce the corselet and to mask it during ambushes. The treatise *De Velitatione*, which is attributed to Nikephoros II Phokas, advises against wearing a white *epanoklibanion* (undoubtedly the equivalent of the *epilorikion*), since it made it easier for enemies to spot a soldier dressed in the garment.[197]

Epilorikia of varied colours, richly adorned with embroidery and pearls, also served as imperial ceremonial attire. In accounts of the triumphal entries of the emperors Basil I and Theophilos, Constantine Porphyrogennetos describes Basil's *epilorikion* as sewn with pearls both centrally in the shape of the cross, as well as on the borders, while that of Theophilos he calls 'rose-cluster'.[198] The worn-out, yellowed *epitho-*

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195 *Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 256 (= Heath 1979, fig. on p. 16; Kolias 1988, fig. 5/2; Gamber 1995, fig. 6). Heath (plates C1 and D) reconstructs them as hair tufts—*touphia.*

196 LT, 1:91^{1173} [V 3], 102^{1287}, 119^{1443} [VI 4, 26]; SYLLOGE, pp. 59 [XXXVII], 61 [XXXIX 1] (= {LT, vol. B', p. 360 [XXXIX]}); PRAECEPTA, pp. 34^{31}–36^{34} [III 4] (= TNU [MG], p. 115^{41-44} [LX 4]; see also Haldon 1975, 34, 37; McGeer 1995, 216; Schreiner 1981, 221; Kolias (1988, 59–61) although his theory (p. 58) that the *epilorikophoroi* supposedly mentioned in *Novella 2* of Nikephoros Phokas (BASILIKA, 1:255–7 [VI 19] = LEO THE DEACON, pp. 317^{8}–$318^{16\ (\text{esp. } 8-9)}$) were an elite cavalry formation on par with the *klibanophoroi* was recently overturned by Magdalino 1997, 21–2.

197 DE VELITATIONE, p. 164^{25-6} [8]: καὶ τὰ λεγόμενα **ἐπανωκλίβανα μὴ λευκά**; Kolias (1988, 60) expresses certain doubts as to whether the *epilorikion* and *epanoklibanion* were identical—yet the distinction seems to lie only in the different etymologies of the terms. See also T. Kolias, "Epanoklibanion"; "Epilorikion" and "Epithorakion" in *BKR*, 70–2.

198 See PORPH., pp. 142^{748-51}, 148^{837-8} [C]: Μετὰ δὲ τὸ τά λάφυρα διελθεῖν ἀναστάντες οἱ δεσπόται καὶ ἐκβαλόντες τὰ σκαραμάγγια, ἐφόρεσαν ὁ μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ μέγας βασιλεὺς **ἱμάτιον ἐπιλώρικον** χρυσόφαντον διόλου καγκελλωτόν διὰ μαργαριτῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὄρναις ἠμφιεσμένον διὰ μαργαριτῶν τελείων, [...] Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἀναστὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐφόρεσεν χιτῶνα χρυσοΰφαντον **ἐπιλώρικον τὸν ῥοδόβοτρυν**,...; there is also an exhaustive bibliog. of the subject, with special consideration of the problem of the *epilorikion* as an element of ceremonial attire, in the commentary on pp. 277 and 288. On the *epilorikia* recommended for various imperial officials in the Late Byzantine

rakion of Manuel I, which on the advice of Gabras, he exchanged for one embroidered with purple and gold in order to receive a Turkish embassy is mentioned by Niketas Choniates.[199] A thick green *epilorikion* of Baghdad cloth, richly decorated with embroidered lions (a motif that adorned the *epilorikia* of the palace guard in the Late Byzantine period), enamelled buttons and pearls was also worn by Digenes Akritas in the Byzantine epic.[200] Two *epilorikia*—a red one with lapels, and another from Antioch (probably inherited from her husband)—are listed in the will dating from 1098 of Kale Pakouriane, who left them to her nephew and to one of her freedmen.[201]

The above data indicate that from the twelfth century the *epilorikion* served the same function as the surcoat (OFr. *cotte*, English *kirtle*, German *Waffenrock*) in the Latin states of Europe.[202] It cannot be ruled out that surcoat which was brought to the West by the Crusaders—who used it initially as protection from the sun in the Holy Land, and eventually as a place to display their coats of arms—was in fact borrowed from Byzantium.[203] The super-tunics worn by equestrian figures of Sts Theodore and George on a drawing, now in

period see Ps. Kodinos (pp. $159^{1,15}$, $160^{5,12}$, 161^{26}, $162^{10,23}$, 163^{2}, 195^{22} and n. 1 on p. 158); the treatise also mentions the white and gold imperial *epilorikion* (227^{26}, 273^{10}) and the *epilorikia* of the *megas domestikos, protovestiarios, megas doux, prostrator* and also the *great logothetes* (200, 227, 273).

[199] Choniates, p. 189^{57-62}: θεασάμενος δὲ Γαβρᾶς ἣν εἶχε στολάδα ἐπὶ τοῦ θώρακος βασιλεύς, τὴν χροιὰν χολοβάφινον, <<οὐκ εὐσύμβολον τὸ χρῶμα τοῦτο>> φισιν, <<ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ λίαν κατὰ τὴν ὥραν τοῦ πολέμου ταῖς ἀγαθαῖς τύχαις ἀντιπρᾶττον.>> αὐτὸς δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις βραχὺ καὶ βεβιασμένον μειδιάσας τὴν ἐπιθωράκιον στολὴν ἀποδὺς ἐκείνῳ δίδωσι πορφύρᾳ καὶ χρυσῷ διηνθισμένην. This passage also provides interesting evidence of the symbolic role played by elegant formal uniform, as a portent of military success.

[200] Dig. Akr. p. $346^{1461-65}$:

Καὶ ἐγὼ γοργὸν ἐγύρισα καὶ ἐφόρεσα λουρίκιν,
βιατάριν ἔβαλα τερπόν, καθάριον βαγδαΐτην,
πράσινον ἀραβίτικον ἀπάνω εἰς τὸ λουρίκιν·
οἱ ρίζες ἦσαν πιθαμή, ὁλόχρυσα λεοντάρια,
καὶ τὰ κομπία ὁλοχύμευτα, μὲ τὸ μαργαριτάριν.

On the blue *epanoklibania* with white lions sewn on the chest and back worn by the imperial guard of Tzakones in the Late Byzantine period, see Ps. Kodinos, p. 180, and Kolias 1988, 60–1; T. Kolias, "Epanoklibanion", in *BKR*, 70; Parani 2003, 120. On the lion as a heraldic device see below, pp. 246–248.

[201] See Parani 2003, 119 and n. 80 (with sources).

[202] See E. Vavra, "Cotte" in *BKR*, 59–60; P. Krenn, "Waffenrock" in *BKR*, 278; France 1999, 19, fig. 3; Nicolle 1988, 2:594; Gamber 1995, figs. 23–26.

[203] The presence on *epilorikia* of some form of identification signs, possibly heraldic, is also attested by a reference in Kinnamos (p. 59^{5}) who mentions an *epithorakion* presented by Manuel I to an envoy riding to the sultan, so that the latter would know

the Augustiner-Museum, Freiburg im Breisgau might be considered as elements taken over from Byzantine art (fig. 58). Although strongly influenced by Byzantine painting the sketch was made by an Upper Rhenish artist working in Crusading circles in the first half of the thirteenth century, and should be interpreted rather as the influence of western iconography or local trends.[204] This is corroborated by the occasional appearance of warrior saints in surcoats in Byzantine art of the second half of the thirteenth century.[205]

The Symbolism of Armour[206]

The absence of the *epilorikion* from the iconography of the warrior saints may result from a desire to show their armour and its related symbolic content. We should therefore inquire into the associations which armour—clearly the most visible element of the saint's military attire—had in Byzantine society and the symbolic meaning that was attributed to it.

Armour, besides its utilitarian function, played the role of a sign and a symbol in Byzantine culture, much as it had done in ancient Greece and Rome.[207] Its meaning can be considered in two aspects, secular and sacred. On the former, more popular level, the various items of arms and armour were undoubtedly associated with warfare and the Empire's military might. This was encouraged by the customs nurtured by successive emperors relating to leaving the capital and

that the emissary had been sent by the emperor. A theory on the interdependence of the *epilorikion* and the surcoat has been proposed by Gamber 1995, 18–19.

[204] See J. Folda, "The Freiburg Leaf" in *Glory of Byzantium*, p. 482, who proposes that the drawing's author modelled himself on an icon or fresco of Byzantine origin, but that the details of military equipment are of Western origin; Belting (1994, 23, 330) believes the drawing was copied from a late-12th-C. Byzantine pattern book: listed on the leaf's reverse are 75 works of art, including many icons. See also Hunt 1991, 111–12, fig. 17.

[205] Gerstel (2001, 276–7, figs. 13–14) reproduces several 13th- and 14th-C. images of warriors in surcoats from the Morea region, which were created under the influence of Crusader art. Parani (2003, 120) claims that the earliest representation of a saint in a surcoat is a fresco of St Demetrios on the façade of the monastery church of the Panagia Mavrotissa, Kastoria (1259–64).

[206] An abbreviated version of this chapter was published as: 'Military Equipment as a Symbolic Form in Byzantium', *Bsl* 65 (2007), 91–116.

[207] On the symbolism of arms among the ancient Greeks and Romans (e.g. muscled cuirasses of the *gymnetes*, scale armour as an ideological copy of the aegis of Athena, the function of the *gorgoneion* and *phalerae* in Roman armour) see Domaszewski 1895, *passim*; and Żygulski 1984, 77–85.

setting off on a military campaign, as well as the still vibrant tradition of the military triumph after achieving a significant victory.[208]

Achmet in his *Dream Book* explains that finding an iron *thorax* in a dream indicates joy at the defeat of enemies and riches in proportion to its weight.[209] Meanwhile, the wearing of arm-guards and greaves indicates finding happiness and steadfastness in one's own slaves.[210] Constantine Porphyrogennetos in his military treatise advises an emperor intending to set off on campaign to hang a *lorikion* on the Chalke gate together with a sword (*spathion*) and shield (*skoutarion*) and in this way to announce his plan to the people. This was primarily intended as a signal for officers and soldiers to prepare their weapons and other equipment for a military expedition.[211]

Besides such secular associations, the corselet also appears in Christian symbolism, and undoubtedly has even greater significance in the correct reading of the military saints depicted in church interiors, on icons and on other sacral objects.

As with many other symbols in the Middle Ages, one can notice a certain semantic syncretism among the meanings relating to armour. On the one hand, armour—like other material objects—is a symbol of the insignificance of earthly defences against the might and the acts of God.[212] Gregory of Nyssa in his *Dialogue on the Soul and*

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[208] Issues relating to imperial triumphs in Byzantium are covered in detail by McCormick 1986, 130–231; see also e.g. the accounts mentioning gold parade armour in PORPH., pp. 140^{724}–150^{884} (see above, n. 99); and additionally on the triumphs of John and Manuel I Komnenoi see KINNAMOS, pp. 13, 187–8, 205–6, 209^{9-18}; and CHONIATES, pp. 18, 93, 118–9, 157–8, 194.

[209] See ACHMET, pp. $113^{17-18, 27}$–114^{1} [155], 204^{20-1} [247], 218^{19-24} [266]. Dreams in which the ruler sees himself or his army in full equipment are a good omen predicting victory and lack of fear of the enemy, whereas the sight of armoured enemies indicates defeat, see p. $113^{1-16, 18-23}$; Schreiner 1997, 90.

[210] ACHMET, p. 114^{6-8} [155].

[211] PORPH., p. 96^{54-59} [C]: Ὁ μέγας καὶ ὑψηλὸς αὐτοκράτωρ μέλλων φοσσατεύειν καὶ κατ' ἐχθρῶν ὅπλα κινεῖν καὶ στρατεύματα, εὐθὺς προστάσσει τοῦ κρεμασθῆναι ἐν τῇ Χαλκῇ ἔξωθεν τῶν πυλῶν **λωρίκον** καὶ **σπαθίον** καὶ **σκουτάριον.** ἐκ τούτων οὖν τοῖς πᾶσι γίνεται δήλε ἡ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ φοσσάτου εὐτρέπισις, καὶ ἐκ τότε ἕκαστος ἄρχων καὶ ἀρχομενός τὰ ἑαυτῶν ὅπλα καὶ ὅσα ἐπιτήδεια καὶ ἁρμόζοντα στρατιώτῃ παρασκευάζειν ἀπάρχεται·...On the symbolic custom of hanging up weapons and clothes during national holidays see the commentary on pp. 183–4, with links to references in DE CER.; cf. also the incorrect interpretation of Kolias 1988, 154.

[212] See e.g. John Chrysostom, *De Chananaea* (MPG, 52:451 and 837): Οὐ θυρεὸν ἔδωκεν, οὐ κράνος, οὐ τόξον, οὐ θώρακα, οὐ κνημῖδα, οὐκ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων οὐδὲν, ἀλλ' ὃ πάντων τούτων ἐστὶν ἰσχυρότερον, τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ, τὸ σύμβολον τῆς κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων νίκης. Τοῦτο μάχαιρα, τοῦτο ἀσπὶς, τοῦτο θώραξ, τοῦτο κράνος, τοῦτο κνημὶς, τοῦτο φρούριον ἀσφαλὲς, τοῦτο λιμὴν, τοῦτο καταφυγὴ,

Resurrection states that armour, shields, greaves and helmet are unable to protect a man from the fear of death.[213] On the other hand, the cuirass is also often mentioned along with other items of arms and armour that symbolize the Christian virtues. In his *Enkomion* dedicated to the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, Gregory calls the Apostles 'the shield, sword, helmet and armour of the Church';[214] while John Chrysostom in his *Homily on the Holy Martyr Barlaam*, mentions the 'shield of faith', the 'greaves of the Gospel', the 'spiritual sword' and also the '*thorax* of justice' (θώραξ τῆς δικαιοσύνης).[215] He borrowed these concepts from the Old Testament books of Isaiah and Wisdom, and to an even greater extent from the letters of St Paul.[216] In the writings of the Church Fathers similar references are so frequent that one can regard them as commonplace.[217] This strong underlining in the patristic literature of the 'panoply of Christian

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τοῦτο στέφανος, τοῦτο ἔπαθλον, τοῦτο τῶν γαθῶν ἁπάντων θησαυρὸς, καὶ τῶν νῦν καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων ποτέ. Καθάπερ γάρ τις ὅπλον ἰσχυρὸν λαβὼν, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ δίδωσι στρατιώταις, οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστός. See also John of Damascus, *Sacra parallela* (MPG, 96:117[23–26], 140[9]).

213 *Dialogus de anima et resurectione* (MPG, 46:13[26–30]): Θώρακες δὲ, καὶ θυρεοὶ, καὶ κνημῖδες, καὶ κράνη, καὶ τὰ ἀμυντήρια τῶν ὅπλων, καὶ αἱ τῶν τειχῶν περιβολαὶ καὶ σιδηρόδετοι πύλαι, καὶ ἡ τῶν τάφρων ἀσφάλεια καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, τί ἄλλο πλὴν διὰ τὸν τοῦ θανάτου γίνεται φόβον; Οὕτως οὖν ὄντος φοβεροῦ φυσικῶς τοῦ θανάτου,

214 *Encomium in XL martyres I*, see MPG, 46:761[46–47]: ὁ θεῖος 'Απόστολος, θυρεὸν, καὶ θώρακα, καὶ περικεφαλαίαν, καὶ μάχαιραν· [τῆς 'Εκκλησίας].

215 *In sanctum Barlaam martyrem*, (MPG, 50:681): Σκηνὴ γάρ ἐστι στρατιωτικὴ τῶν μαρτύρων ὁ τάφος· κἂν ἀνοίξῃς τοὺς τῆς πίστεως ὀφθαλμοὺς, ὄψει τὸν θώρακα τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἐνταῦθα κείμενον, τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως, τὴν περικεφαλαίαν τοῦ σωτηρίου, τὴν κνημῖδα τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου, τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ Πνεύματος.

216 Isa. 59:17; Wis. 5:18; Eph. 6:11, 13–14; 1 Thess. 5:8; Rom. 13:12; see also the commentaries of John Chrysostom: *In epistulam ad Ephesios*, and *In epistulam I ad Thessalonicenses* (MPG, 62:167–71, 450); and John of Damascus, *Commentarii in epistulas Pauli*, (MPG, 95:853, 916); and also the exegesis of the Book of Isaiah authored by Eusebios of Caesarea. The significance of St Paul's letter (Eph. 6:10–17) to the development of the warrior-saint ethos, and its dependance on Isaiah's prophecy are pointed out by Walter 2003a, 14–15.

217 The 'armour of justice' is referred to, among others, by Origen, *Selecta in Ezechielem* (MPG, 13:793[52–53]); John Chrysostom, *Ad populum Antiochenum* (MPG, 49:50); *De beato Abraham* (MPG, 50:774); *In pentecosten* (MPG, 54:804); *Expositiones in Psalmos* (MPG, 55:189, 356); *Contra haereticos et in sanctam deiparam* (MPG, 59:771); *De studio praesentium* (MPG, 63:488); *Adversus catharos* (MPG, 63:491); *In poenitentiam Ninivitarum* (MPG, 64:428); *In illud: Ignem veni mittere in terram* (MPG, 62:740); and by John of Damascus, *Sacra parallela* (MPG, 95:1289[28], 1389[49], 96:177[3]). The motif of the 'armour of justice' also appears together with the 'spiritual sword', e.g., in Gregory of Nyssa's *De institutio Christiano, In Canticum canticorum, De perfectione Christiana ad Olympium monachum*, and *De mortuis non esse dolendum* (Cavarnos, 6:298[11–13], 8/1:62[15–16], 9:61[27]), and also in Clement of Alexandria's *Proprepticus* and *Stromata.*

virtues' undoubtedly had an influence on the symbolic reading of the various elements of arms and armour.

A symbolic reading of the various elements of equipment appears on a Flemish miniature in a thirteenth-century MS. of the *History of Alexander the Great* (British Library, *EK. 87240*) where the illuminator depicts a mounted knight in armour, the elements of which are accompanied by captions referring to the various virtues.[218] There are no obvious comparable examples from the Byzantine cultural sphere, but thanks to the writings of the Church Fathers who use such symbolism in relation to the armament of the warrior saints,[219] we can assume that it was widely understood on the Bosphorus.

A particularly important role in the spread of the topos of the 'spiritual weapon' sent down to humankind by Christ to help in the fight against evil was played by a quotation from St Paul's Letter to the Ephesians. The passage, which contains a comparison of Justice to armour, found a permanent place in the Orthodox liturgy as read during the tonsuring of monks ritual.[220] The choice of this very quotation to accompany the monks' taking of vows would appear not to be accidental, since it underlined their role as spiritual soldiers of Christ—the habit they received being a spiritual armour.[221]

It is therefore tempting to conclude that the military saints in armour and other symbolic *panoplia* (e.g. sword and greaves) when they appear in Byzantine art alongside images of monks create for the viewer a comprehensive picture—a cohort of soldiers of Christ, both

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[218] I would like to thank Dr Rosemary Wright of the University of St Andrews for information about this miniature.

[219] Gregory of Nyssa in his *Enkomion in Honour of St Theodore* writes that the saint "was armed by St Paul, anointed by the angels, and crowned with victory by Christ", see CAVARNOS, 10/1:64[17–19] (= MPG, 46:740): ὡς ὁ στρατιώτης οὗτος, ὁ πένης, ὁ νεόλεκτος, **ὃ Παῦλος ὥπλισεν**, ὃν ἄγγελοι πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα ἤλειψαν, καὶ νικήσαντα Χριστὸς ἐστεφάνωσεν. Meanwhile, Symeon Metaphrastes in his *Menologion* describing St George's preparations for an expedition against the Persians in 301, notes: "And next, he was armed, just as Paul arms those who have faith in their souls", see *Martyrium sancti et martyris Georgii* (MPG, 115:144 = AS 23 Apr.).

[220] Eph. 6:12–17; on its use in the consecration ritual of monks see F.C. Conybeare, 1905, 141; Davies 1991, 101, 103.

[221] The garments of monks and clergymen are compared to military uniform, e.g. in *The Life of St Avram* which forms part of the *Menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (MPG, 115:69); see also Koukoules, 2/2:13 and n. 9. On the spiritual war (*pneumatikos polemos*) conducted by monks against Satan in the writings of the Church Fathers and later Christian doctrine see Dennis 2001, 36–7.

spiritual and actual. In this context the 'armour of justice' becomes one of their most important attributes.

There is cause to believe that knowledge of the symbolism of the monastic rite was common, at least among Byzantine intellectuals. This is evident from a reference in the chronicles of Niketas Choniates and Michael Psellos (who experienced the ritual at first hand while residing in a monastery on Mt Olympos in Bithynia). Both authors, in their descriptions of the deathbed tonsuring as monks of the emperors Michael IV Paphlagon (10 October 1041) and Manuel I Komnenos (24 September 1180), clearly paraphrased the text of Paul's letter.[222]

The motif of armour in the warrior saint iconography may therefore also be read in the context of religious and secular symbolism. The links of the military saints' cuirasses with the 'armour of justice', as well as armour as the sign of worldly victory achieved by the emperor over the enemy, remained in accord with the antique tradition of depicting emperors, commanders and pagan gods in military uniform; it also allowed Christian artists to make use of antique pictorial formulas, enriching them with additional Christian content.

Protection for Arms and Legs

Manikellia (cheiromanika, cheiropsella)

In the iconography of the warrior saints their forearms, as a rule, are shown covered with narrow, lightly creased sleeves, which are the same colour as the *kremasma* or *kabadion*. These sleeves usually end in decorative cuffs, typically in gold or decorated with pearling (fig. 62).[223]

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222 See Psellos, 1:84/$^{15-22}$ [IV 52]; and esp. Choniates (pp. 221^{56}–222^{60} [VI]), who writes that after the soft imperial clothing of Manuel was removed, he was arrayed in the coarse habit of spiritual life, which converted him into a spiritual soldier with a more divine helmet and corselet.

223 The many depictions of this type of forearm protection worn by warrior saints include the following: on ivory panels—see e.g. Cutler 1994, figs. 44, 126; Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, no. 32; on steatite panels—see e.g. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, nos. 6, 8, 10–11, 21, 24a–26; on miniatures—see *Evangelistarion Dionysiou 587*, fols. 41v, 123r, 151v; the *Menologion of Basil II* (*Vat. gr. 1613*), fol. 383; the *Menologion Mosquensis gr. 376 (183)*, fol. 25v; the *Menologion of 1056* (*Vind. Hist. gr. 6*), fol. 3v; *Bodl. Barocci 230*, fol. 3v; *Par. gr. 580*, fol. 2v (Ševčenko 1962, figs. 11–12 [= Marković 1995, fig. 41]; *Athos*, vol. A', figs. 216, 241, 265; Spatharakis 1981, figs. 113, 116, 118); and the Psalter *Par. gr. 20*, fol. 5v (Der Nersessian 1966, fig. 35). For depictions on icons see e.g. *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 69, 76, 202, 261; Bank 1966, nos. 190, 227–228; and in monumental painting see, e.g. in the katholikons of the monasteries of Hosias Loukas in Phokis and Nea Mone on Chios; the cathedrals in Cefalù and Monreale,

Among the few exceptions are the stylistically archaized images of Sts George and Eustathios on the left wing of the *Harbaville Triptych*; the same saints again with Theodore Stratelates on the *Borradaile Triptych* (figs. 20b, 21a, b);[224] and Theodore and George on the wings of a ninth-century triptych from Mt Sinai (fig. 60);[225] other exceptions include Cappadocian murals depicting St Hieron in the Church of the Buckle (Tokalı Kilise); St Orestes(?) in the chapel of St John in Korama (2A, Sakli Kilise); and some of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in the Great Pigeon House (Kuşluk kilise) in Çavuşin (fig. 59).[226] Following the antique tradition, which was still alive in Byzantine iconography, they are depicted with forearms bared.[227]

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and the Cappella Palatina in Palermo; and in the following churches: St Nicholas tou Kasnitze; church of the Snake in Korama; the Holy Anargyroi in Kastoria; Saviour of the World (*Kosmosoteira*) in Bera; the Dormition in Episkopi, Eurytania; St John the Baptist at Potamos on Kythera (12th/13th C.); St Panteleimon in Nerezi; and St George in Kurbinovo (Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 47–48, 57, 66; Marković 1995, fig. 40; Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, fig. 59; Borsook 1990, figs. 9, 35–36, 93; Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 246–247, 250; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 12 on p. 33, 21 on p. 41, 12–13 on pp. 60–61; Sinos 1985, figs. 121–123; *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 17, 19; Cutler/Spieser 1996, fig. 240). Close-fitting, occasionally spirally-twisted, sleeves with decorative cuffs also predominate in the iconography of the warrior saints in Georgian art (Tschubinaschvili, figs. 36–37, 42–46, 131, 151–152, 156, 162, 180–184, 187–191, 193–195, 250, 252–256, 284, 287–288, 303–304, 342–344, 358, 402, 406–407, 409–411; Novello/Beridze/Dosogne 1980, figs. 58–61, 115; Alibegashvili 1979, figs. 68–70; Privalova 1977, figs. 15, 16/1, 18/1; and Aladashvili/Alibegashvili/Volskaya 1966, figs. 18–19, 33–34, 50–51); although Georgian depictions of warriors in full armour with wrist-length sleeves can also be found (Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 38–41, 47, 249, 251). De Cer. [Vogt] (2:103[8–10] [I 74]) mentions stitched sleeves, in various colours including blue or white, worn together with *podopsella* by tribunes and *vikarioi* (Χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι οἱ τριβοῦνοι καὶ οἱ βικάριοι περιβέβληνται τὰ χρυσοσήμεντα διακοπτὰ κοντομάνικα βένετά τε καὶ λευκὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ τὰ ποδόψελλα).

[224] See e.g. Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, nos. 33, 38 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 80; *Byzantium*, no. 153; Pentcheva 2006, fig. 53). It is indeed possible to see bracelets on Sts Theodore and Eustathios on the *Borradaile Triptych*, but it is difficult to interpret them as forearm protectors.

[225] See Weitzmann 1976, nos. 42B–44B.

[226] Restle 1967, vol. 2, fig. 44, vol. 3, fig. 310; Epstein 1986, fig. 42.

[227] In Greek and Roman art, soldiers are usually depicted with their forearms bared, see e.g. Żygulski 1998, figs. 14–15, 17–18, 38, 40, 47–48, 50, 54, 62; Bivar 1972, figs. 8–9; and above, n. 128. Forearm protectors, although rare, are occasionally depicted e.g. on the metopes of the Tropaeum Traiani (Robinson 1975, 170, figs. 476–479 = Gamber 1978, fig. 381), see also below, n. 233. The use of *manikellia* in ancient armies is mentioned in LT, 1:129[1533–34] [VI 34] and Sylloge, p. 52 [XXX 2, XXXI 1]. Coulston (2002, 8) indicates that short tunic sleeves were replaced in the 3rd C. AD by sleeves that reached the wrists. The eastern origins of metal armguards are noted by Grodecki 1937, 226–30. The use of the antique pictorial formula of the military saints without forearm protection in Byzantine art (esp. in classicizing works) is also attested in miniatures from the *Joshua Roll* (sheets I, III, V–XIV), and on an ivory casket in

Byzantine military treatises describe protection for the arms in a variety of ways using the equivalent terms: μανικέλλια, χειρόψελλα and χειρομάνικα.[228] Maurice mentions the iron armguards of the cavalrymen who formed part of the *tagma* of *Boukellarioi*. Besides iron, Leo allows for the use of armguards made from wood and other materials, while the *Sylloge* also speaks of oxhide. In turn, Constantine Porphyrogennetos mentions the gold armguards and greaves that supplemented the gold parade *klibanion* of the caesar Alexios Mousele, son-in-law of the emperor Theophilos.[229] Meanwhile, in his *Praecepta* Nikephoros Phokas specifies that below their shoulder-guards *kataphraktoi* should have their arms protected by *manikellia*, which should

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the Victoria & Albert Museum, London that is strongly dependent on it; as well as in the following illuminated Octateuchs: *Vat. gr. 747*, fols. 165v, 224r, 226r, 246v; *Smyrna A 1* (2nd quarter of 11th C., repainted in *c.*1300, now lost), fol. 223v; *Topkapi S. gr. 8* (2nd quarter of 12th C.?), fol. 478v; *Vat. gr. 746* (2nd quarter of 12th C.?), fols. 442v, 448r; 449v, 451r, 453v, 455v; *Vatopedi 602*, fols. 35r, 347r, 353r–354v, 363r–366r, 370r, 398v (Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, no. 4 = Nicolle 1992, fig. on p. 22; Lowden 1992, figs. 55, 58–60, 146, 152–153, 157, 160, 162, 164, 167–169, 171–172, 174, 178; Lassus 1973, figs. 123, 126; *Athos*, vol. Δ', figs. 104, 106–108, 115–119, 124, 145); and also a scene of Greeks attacking the Rus' defenders of Preslav in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, fol. 166r (Tsamakda 2002, fig. 419). In all these examples the soldiers are depicted with forearms bared.

[228] See LT, 1:101[1277][VI 3]: εἰ δὲ καὶ χεριομάνικα σιδηρᾶ, ἃ λέγεται χειρόψελλα; SYLLOGE, p. 59 [XXXVIII 5]: χειρόψελλά τε αὐτοῖς ἔστωσαν, ἃ δὴ καὶ μανικέλλια λέγονται; TNU [MG], p. 114[38] [LX 4]; and also above, n. 227 and below, n. 229. The variant term *manikellia* is interpreted as gloves by Aussaresses (1909, 49), Nicolle (1988, 2:593, 610) and Schreiner (1981, 222); cf. also the commentary to DE CER., 2:795 (as cuffs or gloves; these interpretations are rejected by Mihăescu (1968, 489) and Kolias (1988, 65–8) who regard the term *manikellia* to refer, as with both the other terms, to armguards). The *manikellia* used by oarsmen (at the rowlock of the oars) are also mentioned in the NAUMACHICA (p. 65 [V 2/12]); while *cheiropsella* are mentioned, as a defensive arm of troops taken on deck, in Leo's treatise (p. 21 [I 14]); Leo also states {LT, vol. B', p. 148 [XVIII 115]} that *cheiropsella* were also used together with other elements of body protection in the Roman manner by the Ethiopians; DE CER. (pp. 669[18], 672[5], 674[5] [II 45]) list them (using the two terms **μανικέλλια** and χειροψέλλον ζυγῶν) among the equipment of imperial *dromons* setting off against Crete in 949.

[229] STRAT., p. 78[22–3] [I 2]: Οὐκ ἄτοπον δὲ καὶ **χειρομάνικα σιδηρᾶ** τοὺς βουκελλαρίους ἐπινοῆσαι... LT, 1:92[1175] [V 3 (4)], 117[1425–27] [VI 25]: **χειρόψελλα σιδηρᾶ** ἢ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὕλης [...] [infantrymen] ἔχειν δὲ καὶ **χειρομάνικα**, τὰ λεγόμενα **μανικέλλια** ἢ **χειρόψελλα**, **σιδηρᾶ** ἢ **ξύλινα**; SYLLOGE, p. 61 [XXXIX 2]: Καὶ τὰς μὲν χεῖρας ὁπλιζέτωσαν [cavalrymen] τοῖς **χειροψέλλοις**, τοὺς δ' αὖ πόδας τοῖς ποδοψέλλοις ὀνομαζομένοις, καὶ τούτοις ἢ **σιδηροῖς** ἢ **ξυλοίς** ἢ καὶ ἐκ **βύρσης** εἰργασμένοις βοείας. (≈ {LT, vol. B', p. 360 [XXXIX]}); PORPH., p. 148[40–1] [C] ὁ δὲ καῖσαρ ἐφόρεσεν χρυσοῦν κλιβάνιον σὺν **μανικελλύων** καὶ ποδοψέλλων καὶ **αὐτῶν χρυσῶν**. (see also Haldon's commentary on p. 289).

be made, like *kremasmata*, from stitched layers of cotton and silk.[230] It is hard to say to what extent such textile defences would have protected the warrior from sword blows, but they were undoubtedly sufficient to ward off arrows. It also entirely possible that *manikellia* were reinforced with pieces of metal and other hard 'padding' materials sewn between the textile layers.[231]

It is this last type of protection, recommended by Phokas, that was the only one to enter the iconographical formula of the warrior saints. No depictions of the saints in metal scale armguards have been found, although they appear occasionally in the *Madrid Skylitzes*.[232] This suggests that metal and wooden armguards were supplanted by soft textile *manikellia*, possibly towards the end of the tenth century, although the latter are already visible on a number of early sources: e.g. Palmyrene reliefs,[233] manuscript illustrations with scenes from the *Aeneid* in the late-fifth-century *Vergilius Romanus* (Vatican Library, *Ms. Lat. 3867*), and the 'Colossus of Barletta' statue which represents an emperor, either Theodosius II, Marcian or (according to one tradition) Heraclius.[234]

In the iconography of the warrior saints forearm protectors are depicted without mitts, the saints' palms always being shown uncovered, without gloves. Certain researchers have regarded *manikellia* as a term for gloves, but Kolias has shown that these were known to the Byzantines as χειρόρτιον, χειρότιον and χειρίς, although they were not widely used in the imperial army.[235] One can therefore assume that the principle of representing the warrior saints without gloves conformed with imperial army custom.

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[230] PRAECEPTA, p. 34^{28-31} [III 4]: ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀγκώνων φορεῖν τὰ **μανικέλα**, ἔχοντα [...] τῶν κλιβανίων ζάβας, καὶ ἀπὸ κουκουλίου καὶ βαμβακίου παχέα εἶναι <τοσοῦτον>, ὅσον ἐνδέχεται καταρραφῆναι αὐτά. See also above, n. 152.

[231] See Haldon 1975, 37; McGeer 1995, 214; T. Kolias, "Manikel(l)ion" in *BKR*, 163.

[232] The *manikellia* on fols. 34v, 195v, 230v can be interpreted as made from scales (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 68, 467, 545; Hoffmeyer 1966, fig. 8^2); the overwhelming majority, however, are made from textiles of various colours (blue, red, white and brown).

[233] E.g. on reliefs depicting the trinity of Palmyrene gods, including one from Dura-Europos in the Art Gallery at Yale (54 BC), and also on the stele of the warrior-god Sadrafa (of May AD 55) from the temple of Bel in Palmyra, now in the British Museum (Morehart 1958, figs. 11–14; Teixidor 1979, figs. 22, 23).

[234] See Eggenberger 1977, fig. 14 (on the MS see also *Age of Spirituality*, no. 204); Nicolle 1992, figs. on pp. 9, 15 = Hoffmeyer 1966, fig. 2.

[235] See above, n. 228, and Kolias 1988, 69; T. Kolias, "Cheirortion" in *BKR*, 47. Cf. also Hoffmeyer 1966, 50.

Occasionally broad sleeves hang loosely from the forearm, exposing below them close-fitting decorative cuffs. This is the case on the following works: an enamel panel with St George triumphant (*tropaiophoros*) from the Venetian *Pala d'Oro*; a mosaic depicting St Orestes in the narthex of the katholikon of Nea Mone on Chios (fig. 44b); a mural depicting the same saint in the Cappadocian church of Kiliçlar Kuşluk (chapel 33) in Korama, and the church of the Panagia (Virgin) tou Arakos ('of the peas') in Lagoudera on Cyprus (before 1192); and also miniatures with Sts Demetrios and Artemios in the *Homilies of John Chrysostomos* (Oxford, *Magdalen College gr. 3*, fol. 166r).[236] This type of sleeves can be interpreted as belonging to the lower *himation*. They are shown as let out from under the shoulder-guards in order to cover the upper part of the *manikellia* in depictions of St George on Cappadocian murals in the churches of St Barbara in the Soandos valley and Direkli Kilise in the Ihlara (Peristrema) valley (figs. 36, 41a); St Eustathios on fol. 138r of a Psalter (*cod. 61*) from the Pantokrator Monastery, Athos; and also the Sts Theodore on the left wing of the *Harbaville triptych* (fig. 20a).[237]

Armour for the lower leg (chalkotouba, podopsella)

Protection for the lower leg, from knee to ankle, was well known in antiquity. Many depictions in Greek art have survived down to our time,[238] as have original metal greaves, both Greek—usually imitating anatomical details—and Roman (*ocreae*); those belonging to

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[236] See Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, fig. 142; Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, figs. 61, 202–203; Restle (1967), vol. 2, fig. 288; Velmans 1974, fig. 22; Stylianou 1997, fig. 92, and also close-ups on neg. no. D. 73. 27 (RA) in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington; Hutter 1999, fig. 21.

[237] See Restle 1967, vol. 3, fig. 436; *Athos*, vol. Γ', fig. 226 (= Der Nersessian 1966, fig. 21); Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, no. 33a. On the lower tunic see above, p. 174ff.

[238] Two Greek examples, both dating to *c.*530 BC, can be seen on the bronze Greek vase from Vix at the Museum in Châtillon-sur-Seine, and on a black-figure amphora by Exekias depicting Achilles with Ajax (Gamber 1978, figs. 283, 291); for more Greek examples see Żygulski 1998, figs. 14, 22, 38; Etruscan examples in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Florence, and Roman ones datable to the 4th C. BC from the Villa Giulia), figs. 335, 340; see also H. Aigner, "Knemides", *BKR*, 140–1. Greaves in the form of anataomically shaped tubes appear among the insignia of the *magister officiorum* of the West in Not. Dign., fig. on p. 144; see also Gamber 1988, fig. 52 (= Mielczarek 1993, fig. 5); Kolias 1988, 72 (and also n. 20 where he cites an reference from Xenophon's *On horsemanship* [XX 10]).

centurions are richly decorated with fantastical motifs.[239] The custom of wearing lower leg armour was also known in the Byzantine army, as is attested by an eighth-century find from Tuapse near Gelendzhik on the northeast Black Sea shore (currently in the Archaeological Museum, Moscow).[240] In literary sources Classical terms are used to describe leg armour, often the Greek terms κνημίς (plural: κνημῖδες, from κνήμη 'calf', 'thigh'),[241] περικνημίς,[242] and occasionally ὀκρίδιον, which is derived from Latin *ocrea*.[243] The tenth-century military manuals meanwhile use the synonyms χαλκότουβα and ποδόψελλα.[244] According to the *Strategikon* shin guards were made from metal or wood (and were

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239 For examples of Greek greaves from the 5th C. BC see Żygulski 1998, fig. 49 (see also pp. 140–1); for Late Roman greaves (2nd–3rd C. AD) sometimes with knee-guards see Robinson 1975, 187–9, figs. 505–513; Gamber 1978, fig. 391. See also the late antique splint greaves made from linked elongated strips in Gamber 1968, 43, fig. 71. The use of greaves by both ancient cavalry and infantry is mentioned by Lydos, p. 22^{24} [I 5/12]; LT, 1:92^{1175} [V 3 (4)]; and Sylloge, p. 52 [XXX 2, XXXI 1]. Vegetius gives (p. 40 [I 18]) the interesting information that footsoldiers used only a single greave on the right leg (*pedites autem scutati praeter catafractas et galeas etiam ferreas ocreas in dextris cruribus cogerentur accipere*...), 64 [II 1] (on cavalry greaves), 90 [II 15] (on their use by *Ordinarii* and *Principes* who fought in the first line), 92 [II 16] (as well as by *Triarii*, who remained in reserve). On greaves in ancient armies see also H. Aigner, "Ocreae", *BKR*, 178; H. Aigner, "Knemides" *BKR*, 140–1; Sander 1963, 144–6.

240 See Hoffmeyer 1966, 51.

241 The ancient statements of Heliodoros and Plutarch on *knemides* are cited by Diethart/Dintsis 1984, 75–6 and n. 38; and Mielczarek 1993, 60. For Byzantine sources see e.g. the reference in George the Monk's *Chronicon breve*, MPG, 110:120^{16}: ἡ κνημὶς, ἡ κνισμὸς ἐν τῷ ποδὶ γέγονεν; and also Psellos, 1:33^{2} [III 4]; Komnene, 2:213^{26} [X 7/3]; Eust. Il., 1:43^{12}–44^{2}, 4:557$^{7-8}$; Eust. Il., 1:660^{23}; and Eust. Od, 1:87$^{26-30}$ (on Achaean *knemis*). Meanwhile, Peri Strategias states (p. 86$^{17-18}$) that *knemis* that reach the feet should be put on by soldiers as their first item of equipment, while the Suda (3:140^{4} [1866]) equates the term with boots (Κνημίς· τὸ ὑπόδημα).

242 See e.g. Strat., p. 444^{55} [XII B 16]; from the definition given by Hesychios (3:315): περικνημίς· σκεπαστήριον τῆς κνήμης, it is evident that this was an external defence worn over greaves.

243 This word is used only in Strat., p. 418^{6} [XII B 1]. The terminology used in relation to lower leg armour—both ancient and Byzantine—is analysed in detail by Kolias (1988, 70–2, with extensive bibliog.), who also mentions the example in Maurice's treatise.

244 In the Sylloge (p. 52 [XXX 2], 59 [XXXVIII 5]) *knemides* are equated with *chalkotouba* and *podopsella*; whereas LT (1:102$^{1286-88}$, 117$^{1427-28}$, 129^{1534}–130$^{1535, 1539-40}$ [VI 4, 25, 34 (35), 35 (36)]; {LT, vol. B', p. 356 [XXXVIII]}) identifies *periknemides* with *podopsella* and *chalkotouba*, while the Praecepta (p. 36^{37} [III 4] = TNU [MG] p. 114^{47} [III 4]) mentions only χαλκότουβα. Even the etymology of the two terms: 'copper tubes' and 'hoops for the legs', with *psella* (Lat. *armilla*) from the band used in the Late Roman army as an officers' insignia, would seem to sufficiently elucidate the meanings of these terms (on the *psella* see Koukoules, 4:388–9; and S.D. Campbell, "Armband" in *ODB*, 1:175). See also De Cer., 2:304; T. Kolias, "Podopsellon" in *BKR*, 200 (who classes *kampotouba* as a type of *podopsella*, see below, n. 295); Nicolle 1988, 2:593.

to be worn by at least the first and last ranks of a formation). Leo VI, meanwhile, advises making them from oxhide.[245]

In the iconography of the military saints such lower leg protectors are best seen in low relief carvings, where they are clearly distinguishable from boots. This makes it possible to avoid the false identification of tall boots as greaves. Above his ankle-shoes St Theodore Stratelates is shown wearing leg protectors with archaizing knee-guards (γονυκλάρια)[246] on an eleventh-century steatite icon in the Museo Sacro della Biblioteca Apostolica at the Vatican (fig. 34)[247] The knee-high 'fronts' in this case, however, appear to be integral with the lower part of the guards. The greaves of St George on a twelfth-century alabaster panel from Plovdiv in the National Gallery of Art in Sofia are depicted in a similar manner.[248] The *podopsella* are depicted more schematically as tubes that widen towards the knee and cover the heel at the lower end in a number of representations: e.g. Sts George and Theodore on an ivory panel in the Museo Archeologico in Venice;[249] George on a steatite icon in the Vatopedi Monastery on Mt Athos;

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[245] Kolias sees evidence (1988, 71) in the term's etymology that *chalkotouba* were made from metal, since in its wider sense χαλκός referred to metal in general. He also cites LYDOS (p. 72^9 [I 12/46]) who mentions the iron *knemis* of a particular unit of infantry, the *Ocreati*; STRAT., p. 420^{6-8} [XII B 4] (= LP, p. 77 [XII 6]): περικνημίδας σιδηρᾶς ἢ ξυλίνας, μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν ταῖς κεφαλαῖς καὶ οὐραῖς τῶν ἀκιῶν τασσομένους; and also falsely LT [VI 25 (26)]. See also SYLLOGE, p. 61 [XXXIX 2] (= {LT, vol. B', p. 360 [XXXIX]}): τοὺς δ' αὖ πόδας τοῖς ποδοψέλλοις ὀνομαζομένοις, καὶ τούτοις ἢ σιδηροῖς ἢ ξυλίνοις ἢ καὶ ἐκ βύρσης εἰργασμένοις βοείας; and McGeer 1995, 70, 216; and also cf. Haldon 1975, 37 and n. 37.

[246] For examples of knee-guards worn by ancient *kataphraktoi* see Gamber 1968, 15, fig. 18; and Robinson 1975, fig. 505. Maurice advises (STRAT., p. 442^{30-32} [XII B 16]) that when archers are standing at the front of a formation exposed to enemy attack and are not wearing *zaba* and knee-protectors (οὐ φοροῦσιν οἱ ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ τεταγμένοι **ζάβας ἢ γονυκλάρια**) they are to close ranks and protect themselves with shields. Kolias (1988, 73) notes that this passage is repeated by Leo (LT, $1{:}180^{2122}$ [VII 66 (73)]) but no longer refers to knee-guards, which may indicate their disappearance in the Middle Byzantine period. Meanwhile, Nicolle (1988, 2:621) mentions the Greek term *sidera gonatia* (plate leg defences of western type) in use in the 14th C., which may be evidence that such knee-pieces were known in late Byzantium. PROCOPIUS in his description ($1{:}6^{20-21}$ [I 1/12]) of an archer of Justinian's time, states that he was also armed with greaves that reached to his knees (κνημῖδας ἐναρμοσάμενοι μέχρι ἐς γόνυ). See also T. Kolias, "Gonation" in *BKR*, 90.

[247] See Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 6 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 104). Cf. also the erroneous identification of the leg protectors of St Theodore proposed recently by Dawson (2002, 83, n. 12), who sees them as tall boots. Similar leg armour can be seen on a horseman depicted in the *Madrid Skylitzes* (Hoffmeyer 1966, fig. 14^{19}).

[248] Ovcharov 2003, 48, fig. II_2.

[249] See e.g. Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, no. 20 (= Cutler 1994, fig. 44).

Demetrios on two eleventh-century steatite panels (one in the Louvre; the other, formerly in the Constantinopolitan Karagiorgios collection, now lost); and an unidentified warrior saint on a fragment of an eleventh-century steatite panel in the Louvre.[250] This type of lower leg protection is also clearly visible on a fresco depicting St Merkourios from the Odalar mosque in Istanbul (originally church of the Virgin; fig. 28).[251]

Also related in form to *podopsella* are painted representations of white shoes with tall white legs attached. Such leg protectors, sometimes with Kufic ornament on the front,[252] are worn by Sts Longinus, Arethas and Merkourios on illustrations of the feastdays in October and November in the *Menologion of 1056* (*Vind. Hist. gr. 6*, fol. 3v; *Par. gr. 580*, 2v) (fig. 62); St Prokopios in the *Menologion Mosqu. gr. 382*, leaf 72v; St Theodore on a mosaic on the south wall of the presbytery of the cathedral in Cefalù and in the Cappella Palatina, Palermo; and also on miniatures in the *Menologion of Basil II* (*Vat. gr. 1613*, fol. 383) and *Mosquensis gr. 376*, fol. 25v.[253] Depicted in slightly shorter leg protectors that reach only to the mid-calf are: Prokopios, Merkourios and Theodore Teron on mosaics in the katholikon of the Hosios Loukas monastery, Phokis; Theodore Stratelates and Orestes on a mosaic in the katholikon of Nea Mone, Chios (figs. 25a,b, 44a,b); St Christopher in the church of the Anargyroi, Kastoria; and St Orestes in the church of the Dormition in Eurytania (fig. 38).[254] It cannot be ruled out that

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[250] See Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, nos. 8, 9–11.

[251] See above, n. 28.

[252] On Kufic ornament on shields see below, pp. 241–243 (esp. Miles's theory on the imitation of ornaments adorning weapons imported from Damascus).

[253] See Borsook 1990, figs. 9, 35; Ševčenko 1962, figs. 11–12 (= Marković 1995, fig. 41; Walter 2003a, 65, fig. 48, who notes that the *Menologion of Basil II* contains the earliest solidly dated depiction of Theodore Stratelates); Spatharakis 1981, figs. 116, 118, 142. One can assume that a saint on a miniature with saints for September in *Bodl. Barocci 230* (fol. 3v) is depicted in similar leg protectors, but damage to the composition prevents definitive identification of their type. From the iconographic evidence and Maurice's and Leo's tactical manuals, Heath (1979, 32, plates A1–A4, F3 and G1) reconstructs leg protectors as tall white leggings worn by heavy infantry (*skoutatoi*), light troops ('peltasts'), Byzantine light horsemen (*trapezitai*) and Varangian guardsmen. On Arethas (Harith in Arabic) the 6th-C. Himyarite martyr (died 523, feastday 24 October) see Walter 2003a, 195–9.

[254] See Chatzidakis 1995, figs. 47–48; Marković 1995, fig. 40; Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, figs. 59, 61; Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 23/2; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 17. Numerous examples of white footwear in combination with tall boot-shafts that are often additionally decorated with small ornamental motifs can be found in the depictions of the centurion Longinus and other soldiers accompanying Christ in scenes of the Crucifixion (e.g. on murals in Karanlık Kilise and Çarikili Kilise in Korama; a fresco on the west wall of the katholikon of the monastery of the Panagia Mavrotissa in Kastoria (11th/12th C.);

these are depictions of lower leg protectors, although the interpretation that white leg protectors are related to boots (*krepides*) made of alum-whitened leather which John Lydos states were worn by consuls seems more likely.[255] It is necessary therefore to survey the varieties of footwear worn by the Byzantine army and to compare them with those in the warrior saint iconography, both the ankle-length shoes worn with *podopsella* and taller leather boots.

Footwear (pedila)[256]

Shoes (tzangia)

Military saints who are depicted in leg protectors usually have shoes below them that enclose the whole foot.[257] Normally these are shown in too schematic a manner to be able to distinguish their type. Exceptions include the meticulously sculpted footwear of St Theodore on a steatite icon in the Vatican collections, which reach above his ankles and are split at the front (fig. 34).[258]

Short boots worn without leg protectors that are richly decorated with pearling on the toes and heels are characteristic of the provincial iconography of the warrior saints and appear in tenth-century Nubian murals from the cathedral in Faras (Sts Merkourios and Theodore Teron, currently in the National Museum, Warsaw) and in the so-called 'House A' in Old Dongola (St Merkourios, currently in the

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and on a Cypriot icon of the 12th C. currently in the Bishop's residence in Limassol (Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 208, 237; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 12 on p. 75; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 73; Parani 2003, 121–2, figs. 92, 113, 127).

255 Lydos, p. 48^{16-18} [I 8/32]: ὑποδήματα λευκὰ (ἀλοῦταν δὲ τὸ ἀπὸ στυπτηρίας δέρμα καλοῦσιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι, ὅτι ἀλοῦμεν κατ' αὐτοὺς ἡ στυπτηρία λέγεται). Footwear of a similar type is worn by the guardsmen (who Whitby [1987, 463] thanks to their *manakia* erroneously identifies as *kandidatoi*, though the name itself indicates they were dressed in white, cf. also De Cer., 2:79) accompanying Justinian on a mosaic of *c*.540 in the sanctuary of the church of San Vitale in Ravenna (*Age of Spirituality*, no. 65). Choniates (p. 332^{26-27}) mentions a huge portrait of Andronikos I Komnenos (1183–85) set up on the exterior of the church of the Forty Martyrs, depicting him as a reaper in tall, white, knee-length boots (καὶ **λευκαῖς κρηπῖσι** περιστελλόμενον τοὺς πόδας ἀναβαινούσαις εἰς γόνατα…).

256 For an overview of the three most common types of footwear (*tzangia*—shoes, *hypodemata*—tall boots, and sandals—*sandalia*) see Koukoules, 4:395–418; and A. Kazhdan & N.P. Ševčenko, "Footwear" in *ODB*, 2:795–6.

257 See e.g. above, nn. 247–250.

258 See above, n. 247.

National Museum, Khartoum). In Górecki's opinion these were borrowed from imperial iconography.[259]

Shoes with pointed toes were already known in the ancient world. Under the influence of Asian or Ionian fashion they appear in Etruria, on representations on sarcophagi and in painting. They were then adopted by the Romans and, still under the Republic, became an element of parade attire for the upper classes, as *calcei patricii, senatorii* and *equestres*. With an additional four straps wound around the calves (*corrigiae*) they appear on the Capitoline statue of Marcus Aurelius and on statues depicting the emperor Domitian (or perhaps Nerva) in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples. This provides evidence that they had been adopted into imperial attire in antiquity.[260]

In Byzantium the purple imperial shoes that were put on during coronation ceremonies were known as τζαγγία.[261] In the context of the

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[259] See Górecki 1980, 203–04, figs. 12b, 32.

[260] See Goldman 1974, 116–22, figs. 6.21a–b (Etruscan sarcophagus of *c.*525 BC from Caere); 6.22–6.25 (examples of *calcei* from Ara Pacis; an equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius; a statue of the 'empress' in the Norwegian Institute in Rome; and also archaeological finds from the vicinity of Late Roman legionary camps). On the patrician *calceus* on the basis of ancient sources see also Alföldi 1952, 53–68. It should be stressed that the form of Etruscan *calcei* with their pointed, upturned toes overturns Darkevich's opinion (1975, 140) that this type of footwear was only adopted by the Byzantines in the 10th C. from the Barbarian peoples. Meanwhile, H. Aigner ("Calceus" in *BKR*, 40–1) considers that this type of footwear was constructed from bands of textile, and had exposed toes. The purple *calcei* of Gallus that were stripped from his body after his death in 354 and taken to Constantius are mentioned by Ammianus (AMMIAN., 1:106 [15.1.2]).

[261] See George the Monk's account of Basil I's coronation as co-emperor by Michael III in 866 in the *Chronicon breve* (MPG, 110:1064, 1168): Καὶ οἱ πραιπόσιτοι ἐνέγκαντες διβιτήσιον καὶ τζαγγία ἐνέδυσαν τὸν Βασίλειον· [...] Τοῦτον ἀναστῆναι κελεύσας ὁ βασιλεύς, τὰ τζάγγια αὐτοῦ (προσέταξε) σῦραι καὶ ὑποδήσασθαι. Τοῦ δὲ ἀνανεύοντος καὶ πρὸς Βασίλειον ἀποβλέποντος, ἐν θυμῷ προσέταττεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. Τοῦ δὲ Βασιλείου ἐπινεύσαντος αὐτῷ, ὑπεδήσατο τὰ τζάγγια, and also his continuator in THEOPH. CONT., pp. 832^{22}–833^{1}, 835^{12-17}; CHPASCH, 1:614^{5-6} (on the king of the Laz people donning pearl-adorned shoes of Persian style as a sign of his acceptance into the circle of imperial vassals); DE CER., p. 416^{18-22} [I 92] (Peter Patrikios on the putting on of *tzangia* during the coronation of Leo I); SKYL. CONT., p. 105^{1-3} (= KEDRENOS, 2:643^{13-15}) who by this date speaks only of red imperial footwear: κοκκοβαφῆ περιβαλεῖν πέδιλα; and also other sources collected by K. Czerwenka-Papadopoulos & T. Kolias, "Tzangion" in *BKR*, 276; Parani 2003, 30–1 (especially the anonymous description of the red *tzangia* of Manuel I Komnenos, which were adorned with white pearls—a reference to his spotless character—arranged to form an eagle motif, symbolizing his high-flying nature); Ball 2005, 13–14 (who interprets KOMNENE's reference [III 4/5] to the purple πεδίλα of Constantine, son of Mary of Alania, as referring to imperial shoes, and reconstructs them on the pattern of the silk shoe of *c.*1200 found in the grave of Otto II, Bishop of Bamberg); and also K. Wessel, "Insignien" in *RbK*, 3:445–7, although when giving examples of depictions

Nubian representations the description in Pseudo-Kodinos's treatise of calf-high imperial *tzangia* adorned with precious stones and pearls would appear to be especially important.[262] Such imperial footwear was taken on military expeditions, though it is unlikely to have been worn in battle.[263] There is no evidence that this type of footwear was worn by Byzantine troops—although in combination with leg protectors the use of some sort of ankle-shoes (possibly called καλίκιος)[264] was essential. We can only assume that the *tzangia* of the warrior saints were related to the shoes worn in the Byzantine army, although (with the exception of Nubian depictions) they did not imitate the ornate imperial footwear.

Tall boots (krepides, hypodemata)

In the Middle Byzantine iconography of the warrior saints lower leg protectors are often replaced by tall boots, with the leather boot-legs fulfilling the same protective function. Such footwear is worn, for example, by: Sts George, Theodore and Demetrios on an icon in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg; the saints on the wings of the *Harbaville triptych* and a triptych in the Vatican Museum;[265] Sts George and Theodore on horseback in the chapel of the Snake (or 'of Honorius') in Korama; a saint on the south wall of the church of the Hagioi Strategoi in Upper Boularioi on the Mani, and on the wings of a triptych in St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai (figs. 20a,b, 22a,b, 42, 60); tall boots are also worn by certain of the military saints in the chapel

in art Wessel confuses *tzangia* with *endromides* and *kampagia* (see below, n. 269 and p. 200f); cf. also a similar mistake made by Górecki (1980, 203–4), who derives *tzangia* from Roman *campagi*. In turn *tzangia* are linked with sandals by A. Kazhdan and N.P. Ševčenko, "Footwear" in *ODB*, 2:795.

[262] Ps. Kodinos, p. 171^{11-17} [III]: Ἔστι καὶ ἕτερον εἶδος ὑποδημάτων, ἃ καλοῦνται τζαγκία, ἔχοντα ἐκ πλαγίων κατὰ τὰς κνήμας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ταρσῶν ἀετοὺς διὰ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων, ἅτινα καὶ φορεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἴς τε τοὺς περιπάτους καὶ τὰς προκύψεις. See also Wessel, above, n. 261.

[263] Describing the defeat at Azas near Aleppo, Psellos notes ($1{:}39^{16-20}$ [III 10]) that while fleeing on horseback the emperor Romanos III Argyros (1028–34) was betrayed by the colour of his footwear: Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς προῆλθε τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ λόχου τῷ τοῦ ἵππου συμπλανώμενος δρόμῳ καὶ πνεύματι, καὶ πρός τινι ἐγεγόνει λόφῳ, καὶ ἄποπτος ὦπτο τοῖς θέουσί τε καὶ παραθέουσι (**κατηγόρει γὰρ τοῦτον τὸ περὶ τῷ πεδίλῳ χρῶμα**...). This suggests that in the haste he had not managed to put on boots suitable for battle.

[264] On the medieval meaning of this word see below, n. 292.

[265] See *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 69, 79–80 (= Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, nos. 32–33).

painted during the reign of Nikephoros Phokas in Çavuşin, and in the churches of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze and of the Anargyroi in Kastoria (figs. 30a, 59).[266] The boots of the equestrian saints on stone reliefs (of *c.*1062) in the Kievan monastery of St Michael are of an interesting form, since the boot-legs extend somewhat higher to protect the knees, in a similar way to the greaves worn by Theodore Stratelates on a steatite icon in the Vatican collections.[267]

The tall boot as a type derives from ancient Greece, where soft leather ἐνδρομίδες that reached to the mid calf, and were laced and open at the front, were employed by sportsmen and hunters.[268] In Roman sculpture tall boots with richly decorated turned-down boot-legs and exposed toes appear in the iconography of gods (especially military ones), heroes and emperors—which may indicate that they had a parade character.[269]

Boots that covered the calf (ὑποδήματα)[270] had already become part of the equipment of imperial troops in the period before Iconoclasm,

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[266] Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 246–247, 250, vol. 3, fig. 310; Drandakes 1995, fig. 33 on p. 419; Weitzmann 1976, nos. B43–44; Pelekanidis 1953, figs. 21, 23/1. Rodley 1983, 317–18, fig. 8; see also pp. 309–11, 324–5, 339, where she suggests that the minor importance of the Çavuşin church indicates foundation by a member of the Phokas family (probably Melias the Magistros) rather than the emperor himself.

[267] See Sidorenko 2000, figs. 1–2 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 196 and fig. on p. 274) and also above, p. 189.

[268] W. Amelung, "'Ενδρομίδες" in *PR*, 5:2555–7; F. Brein, "Endromis" in *BKR*, 69; as examples of *endromides* in Hellenistic art Goldman (1974, 123) mentions the Gigantomachia frieze on the Pergamon Altar.

[269] See e.g. the following statues: the Spirit of Rome in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples (from the Farnese collection); Mars in the Capitoline Museum, Rome; and the emperor Augustus from Cherchel in Algeria (Goldman 1974, 123 and figs. 6.28–6.29 = Marković 1995, fig. 16; Robinson 1975, fig. 432). This motif entered the iconography of Horus in military attire, see Kantorowicz 1961, figs. 7, 10–13 (and also murals from Dura-Europos depicting Palmyrene gods with the same type of military boots, figs. 25–26). *Endromides* with decorative lion heads on the boot-legs are worn by the consuls Probus Familus and the emperor Honorius on the consular diptych for 406 (now in Aosta Cathedral treasury), which was probably made in a Roman wokshop (Volbach 1976, no. 1 = Leader 2000, 419, fig. 18).

[270] McGeer 1995, 205; Kolias 1988, 72. Both authors believe, on the basis of references in the *Suda* (see above, n. 241) and in Pseudo-Zonaras's work, that the term *hypodemata* which meant footwear in general, referred in a narrower sense to tall boots, which might replace greaves. See also Koukoules 4:414. Leo VI mentions {LT, vol. B', p. 358 [XXXVIII]} loose-fitting *hypodemata* that are more comfortable on the march: ὑποδήματα μετρίως καθηλωμένα· ταῦτα γάρ χρήσιμα καί μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις. *Hypodemata* presumably had tall boot-legs, since Theoph. Cont. (p. 349[17–18]) mentions a knife hidden in them. See also the description of Digenes Akritas bidding farewell to his beloved (Dig. Akr., p. 354[1562]). T. Kolias ("Hypodema"

probably under the influence of the Gothic army.[271] When describing Heraclius's expedition against the Persians in 622, George of Pisidia quotes a soldier who laments that the ruler, deprived of the imperial purple and exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, must now dye his tall black boots with Persian blood.[272] Mary Whitby interprets this section of the poem in the light of later references by George the Monk and Leo Grammatikos (who also refers to George of Pisidia's words). George the Monk speaks of a ceremony that took place at Easter 622, when Heraclius was setting off on an expedition to recover the relic of the True Cross; in the presence of the patriarch Sergios in the Hagia Sophia, the emperor took off his imperial shoes and put on his tall riding boots, thereby passing power in the capital over to his ten-year-old son, Heraclius Constantine.[273] This ceremony was probably cultivated over the following centuries, since Constantine Porphyrogennetos describes a similar ritual on the emperor's return from campaign. Greeted in the church of the Virgin at the Forum by a procession led by the patriarch walking from the Hagia Sophia, he ceremoniously removed his military uniform and donned 'civilian' attire: tunic, gold

in *BKR*, 123–4) notes the change in the ancient meaning of the word, which was originally used to describe sandals.

[271] See Haldon 1999, 130; and in reference to cataphracts, Hoffmeyer (1966, 51), who nevertheless believes that the Byzantines borrowed tall boots from the Huns; see also the sources below, n. 275.

[272] George Pisid., *Expeditio Persica*, p. 121^{18-22} [III]:
καὶ νῦν μεταμπέδιλον ἐκτείνων πόδα
τοῖς μὴ πρέπουσίν ἐστιν εὐπερεπέστερος
καὶ τοῖς πενιχροῖς τιμιώτερος μένει·
βάψαι γὰρ αὐτὸν τῇ ξένῃ βαφῇ θέλει
ποιῶν ἐρυθρὸν Περσικῶν ἐξ αἱμάτων.
An English translation of this section is published by Whitby 1994, 198. Black *krepides* are mentioned by Paul Silentiarios in his description of the Hagia Sophia (v. 261; quoted in Whitby 1987, 462), referring to μελαγκρήπιδα in a description of the dress of imperial shield-bearers; they are also spoken of by Eust. Il, $1{:}267^{12-13}$. Harder to interpret is a reference by Harun ibn Yahya to boots of odd colours—one red, the other black—worn by the emperor while celebrating the feast of Epiphany on 6 January (Vasiliev, 2/2:390).

[273] George the Monk, $2{:}670^{9-16}$; Leo Gram., pp. 149^{13}–150^{3} (who writes only of the taking of the decision to go to war in Easter of 622); Whitby 1994, 197; See also another version by George the Monk in the *Chronicon Breve* in MPG, $110{:}829^{25-30}$: Καὶ εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὴν Μεγάλην ἐκκλησίαν μέλανα ὑποδήματα περιβαλόμενος [καὶ πρηνὴς πεσὼν] ηὔξατο· ὃν ἰδὼν Γεώργιος ὁ Πισίδης μετὰ τοσαύτης ταπεινώσεως, ἔφη· >>Ὦ βασιλεῦ, Μελαμβαφὲς πέδιλον εἵλιξας πόδας, Βάψεις ἐρυθρὸν Περσικῶν ἐξ αἱμάτων.<<

chlamys and *campagi*,[274] thereby re-embodying himself as the civil head of state.

Maurice, and after him Leo VI, mention Gothic *hypodemata* with wide toes and tall leather boot-legs fastened by buckles, which were studded with iron hobnails (καρφίοις) to increase their durability. From these texts and the *Praecepta militaria* of Nikephoros Phokas it is evident that the legs of these boots did not reach above the knee as in the case of κρηπῖδας (Lat. *crepidae*) which were designed for riding, and would have only hindered the movement of footsoldiers, slowing the march.[275] Other Middle Byzantine tactical manuals advise issuing footsoldiers with *hypodemata* that enclosed the toes, and had wooden soles, intended both to increase their durability and to protect the wearer from hidden iron caltrops planted by the enemy.[276] Choniates meanwhile mentions that John II Komnenos, who had been fatally wounded while hunting in the hills of Cilicia (1 April 1143), attempted

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[274] PORPH., p. 144^{779-83} [C]: Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Φόρου ἐλθόντες κατέβησαν τῶν ἵππων, καὶ εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου, προσαπαντήσαντος αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖσε τοῦ πατριάρχου μετὰ λιτῆς τῆς Μεγάλης Ἐκκλησίας. ἐν ᾧ λαβόντες κηροὺς παρὰ τοῦ πραιποσίτου καὶ εὐξάμενοι, ἐξελθόντες καὶ ἐκβαλόντες τὰ **στρατηγικὰ**, ἐφόρεσαν διβητήσια τριβλάτια καὶ χλαμύδας χρυσοϋφάντους καὶ **καμπάγια**,...; On *kampagia* see below, p. 201ff.

[275] See STRAT., pp. 418^{3}–420^{8} [XII B 1]: Τὰ ὑποδήματα αὐτῶν Γοτθικά, κασσυτά, δίχα ῥωθωνίων, ἁπλῶς ἐρραμμένα, ὑπὸ δύο ἀσίων καὶ μὴ πλέον· ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ ἀλίγοις καὶ μικροῖς κέντροις καθηλοῦσθαι αὐτὰ πρὸς πλείονα ὑπουργίαν. Οὐ γὰρ χρεία κρηπιδίων ἢ ἀκριδίων, ὡς τούτων ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις οὐκ ἐπιτηδείων ὄντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τὴν φορεσίαν βραδέων. (= LT, 1:119^{1443}–120^{1447} [VI 26]); see also Haldon 1999, 130. In turn, in the PRAECEPTA (p. 12^{20-1} [I 3] = TNU [MG], p. 88^{25-6} [LVI 3]) infantrymen are advised to wear 'short boots' that when folded reached to the knees, but unfolded extend to the thighs (καὶ ὑποδήματα κοντά, διπλᾶ μέχρι τῶν γονάτων, εἴτε καὶ μονοπλὰ μέχρι τῶν μηρῶν); according to McGeer (1995, 205) these were combined with long leggings. Kolias (1988, 73) further points to a reference by ATTALEIATES (p. 41^{4-8}) who describing Botaneiates' fight with the Patzinaks in 1049, states that after the imperial troops' horses had been killed they had to cut off their soles in order to move about freely. The chronicler's text (ταύτας δ' ἀποτεμόντες ἐν ἐμβάδων τάξει τὰ κάτω μέρη κατέλιπον) does not, however, explain whether the soldiers cut off the soles, as Kolias would have it, or only the boot-legs at the very bottom. That *hypodemata* were fastened with the aid of leather straps is mentioned by KOMNENE, 3:85^{11-14} [XII 9/7]. Roman *crepidae* were similar in form to low sandals (*calcei*), see E. Pochmarski, "Crepida" in *BKR*, 60. The *crepidae*—'shoes for the feet'—used by the Romans, identical with *garbola* and the Greek *arbylai*, are also mentioned by LYDOS, p. 22^{25-6} [I 5/12].

[276] See HERON, p. 42^{18-21} [10] (see also Sullivan's commentary on p. 180, which indicates that Heron—who was writing in the 10th C.—substituted the term ἐνδρομίδας from Philon's Classical treatise on which he modelled his work, by the then contemporary ὑποδήμασι); SYLLOGE, p. 60 [XXXVIII 11]; and also above, n. 275. On caltrops (*triboloi*, Lat. *triboli*), see e.g. Southern/Dixon 1996, 166.

to bind his wound with a piece of soft leather (ἐκδορά) cut from his boots, presumably from the boot-leg.[277]

While the ancient term *endromides* was being supplanted in the language by *hypodemata* (used in the medieval sense),[278] it is possible to observe a parallel process of open-toed boots with decorative boot-legs being replaced in the iconography by fully-enclosed knee-length footwear. In the sixth and seventh centuries figures in military attire are still occasionally depicted wearing *endromides.* Pagan gods and personifications are clad in such footwear on a silver *situla* from the time of Heraclius (613–629/630) discovered in 1814 at Kuczurmare in Bucovina (now in Ukraine). Other depictions include the emperor and an attendant holding a small statue of Victory on the Barberini panel; Christ on a mosaic in the archbishop's chapel in Ravenna; and finally David, Goliath and Saul's guards on silver bowls found at Karavas on Cyprus (AD 628–30).[279] At the same in the earliest images, military saints wearing tall full boots with rounded toes are shown alongside others wearing *endromides* (figs. 6, 7c–8, 12–13, 15);[280] this is evidence that in the sixth and seventh centuries artists were already looking to the contemporary imperial army for patterns of equipment. *Endromides* do not appear at all in post-Iconoclastic art, and the considerable popularity of tall, fully-enclosed boots is also indicated by their frequent appearance in depictions of soldiers (also on horseback)

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277 Choniates, p. 40^{74-7}: τότε δ' οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς παρ' οὐδὲν θέμενος τὸ ξέσμα τοῦ δέρματος ὑμένος ἠκέσατο ἠπιθέματι, ἥν φασιν ἐκδοράν ἐκ τοῦ τῶν ποδῶν ἀποσυρέντος καττύματος, σφαλερῶς ἐντεῦθεν περιρώμενος τὸν προϊόντα ἐπισχεῖν ὕφαιμον ἰχῶρα τοῦ τραύματος.

278 The change in the terminology of tall footwear can be seen in the description of a mounted statue of Justinian crowning his (now lost) column in Constantinople given by Procopius in his panegyric *On Buildings* (3/2:18^{8-10} [I 2/8]). The statue is no longer extant, but is known from a 15th-C. sketch in a codex (*Ms. 35*, fol. 144v) in the University Library, Budapest (*Byzance*, fig. 2 on p. 168; Sodini 1994, fig. 32). When describing Justinian's footwear—which is clearly visible on the sketch—as laced open-toed *endromides* with lion's head, Procopius uses the term ἀρβύλας, which had been applied in antiquity to peasant footwear. On the identification of the Budapest drawing with the statue from the column see Mango 1993, 5–6; and Papadaki-Oekland (1990, 227–30, figs. 1–3), who also sees Justinian's column on a miniature of *c.*1100 in the *Book of Job* (*Vat. gr. 751*, fol. 26r), and in a image derived from it in the *Manasses Chronicle* (*Vat. slav. II*, fol. 109r).

279 See e.g. Dodd 1961, nos. 56, 58a, 61, 64a; *Byzance*, no. 20 and fig. 2 on p. 101 (= Grabar 1936, fig. 4; Leader 2000, figs. 1–2); Parani 2003, 144; and above, n. 138 on p. 98. Boots with tall decorated boot-legs became a popular iconographical motif in Western Europe already in the 9th C. as a result of the Carolingian Renaissance, see e.g. Durand 1984, fig. 2; Gamber 1994, figs. 15–16.

280 See e.g. Marković 1995, figs. 20–21, 31.

in manuscript illuminations, ranging from tenth-century psalters with marginal decoration to the *Madrid Skylitzes*.[281]

Bast sandals—servoula (mouzakia) *and* kampagia

Besides tubiform leg protectors and tall boots, a third type of lower legwear appears in the warrior saint iconography. This is a long cloth band reminiscent of a bandage that is wrapped tightly around the leg from ankle to knee (like the puttees used by soldiers as late as the Second World War) and then tucked into low boots. This type of legwear is worn by a number of warrior saints: Sts Nestor and Lupus on the Thessalonikan reliquary of St Demetrios (funded by Constantine X Doukas 1059–1067 and Eudokia Makrembolitissa, currently in the Armoury of the Moscow Kremlin); St George on a wooden relief icon from the Crimea; Theodore Stratelates and Nestor on frescoes in the katholikon of Hosios Loukas monastery; Sts George, Artemios and Demetrios in the Oxford codex of *Homilies of John Chrysostom*, fols. 166r, 209v and 213r; St George in the *Evangelistarion Dionysiou 587* (fol. 151v); as well as certain of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in the Great Pigeon House in Çavuşin (figs. 25c–d, 27, 46a,c, 59).[282] Another variant is worn by several saints on the wings of the *Forty martyrs triptych* in the Hermitage, who have cloth strips that criss-cross loosely over their greaves (figs. 19a,b).[283]

The custom of the emperor binding his calves with linen cloth on Easter Sunday is mentioned in *De ceremoniis*. This was intended, by

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[281] See e.g. miniatures in the Athonite *Psalter Pantokrator 61* on fols. 30v, 68v, 89r, 109v (Der Nersessian 1966, figs. 12, 16; *Athos*, vol. Γ', figs. 186, 198, 205); the *Theodore Psalter Brit. Add. 19352* on fols. 10v, 12r, 42v, 63v, 74v, 97v, 105v, 181r, 182r, 191r (Der Nersessian 1970, figs. 19, 22, 73, 102, 119, 159, 173, 284–285, 299) and the *Khludov Psalter* (*129d*) (Shchepkina 1977, figs. 54, 58, 60, 141, 148). Among the miniatures in the *Madrid Skylitzes* of special interest are those by Master I, depicting the battles of Leo V the Armenian (813–820) with the Bulgars (fol. 12r, see Tsamakda 2002, figs. 6–7). On them are depicted boots of the Greek cavalry with legs that are taller at the front, similar to those on the Kievan reliefs (see above, n. 267) and a miniature in the *Psalter of Basil II* (*Ven. Marcianus gr. 17*, fol. 3r, see e.g. Ševčenko 1962, fig. 17; and the colour reproduction in *Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 186), where the emperor is depicted in red boots decorated with pearls. For other examples of tall boots in the *Madrid Skylitzes* see Hoffmeyer 1966, fig. 8[4, 7, 8] (although on p. 51 she interprets the bulk of depictions of tall boots as leg protectors); Tsamakda 2002, *passim*.

[282] See e.g.: *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 36, 202 (= Walter 1973, fig. 4; Walter 2003a, 84; Marković 1995, fig. 47; Milyaeva 2000, fig. 1); Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 57, 66; Velmans 1974, fig. 22; Hutter 1999, figs. 20–21; *Athos*, vol. A', fig. 265; Restle 1967, vol. 3, fig. 310.

[283] See e.g. Bank 1966, nos. 126, 130 (= Cutler 1994, fig. 28).

association with the shroud, to recall the death of the Saviour, while the accompanying gilded boots symbolized his resurrection.[284] It would be wrong, however, to link the puttees represented in art exclusively with this reference, since aside from the examples mentioned above there are others that also show the saints' feet bound with cloth strips. This is how artists portrayed the footwear of George and Demetrios on marble reliefs adorning the façade of the church of San Marco in Venice. Other examples include Theodore Teron on an icon in St John's Monastery on Patmos, the same saint on page 41v of the *Evangelistarion Dionysiou 587*, and a mosaic in the cathedral in Cefalù, and also Sts John the Warrior, Merkourios, Demetrios, Theodore and Paul the Greater on the arch leading to the presbytery of the cathedral in Monreale (fig. 29, 46a).[285]

Legwear made from cloth strips wrapped around the leg to knee-height, in combination with a simple form of sole (difficult to discern), also appears in Byzantine depictions of other occupations—especially farmers and shepherds—and also paupers. Besides being worn by shepherds in Nativity scenes,[286] footwear of this type appear in miniatures depicting hunting and rural labour in treatises such as: a tenth-century Byzantine copy of Nikander's *Theriaka* (*Ms. suppl. gr. 247*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fols. 47v–48r; fig. 61); the *Kynegetika* of Pseudo-Oppian the Syrian from the turn of the tenth/eleventh century (*Marcianus gr. 479*, fols. 19v–20v, 47v–48r, 62r, 63r);[287] and also the annual cycle of rural labour as depicted in calendars.[288]

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[284] De Cer, 1:638[15-17] [II 40]: τὸ δὲ τὰς κνήμας λινῷ ἐσφινῶσθαι ἀμφίῳ μετὰ καὶ χουσωμένων πεδίλων, ταὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ νεκρότητος καὶ λαμπρότητος.

[285] See e.g. Marković 1995, fig. 42 (= Maguire 1996, fig. 67); *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 76; *Athos*, vol. A', fig. 216; and Borsook 1990, figs. 9, 95. This motif became common especially in Late- and post-Byzantine iconography (e.g. Marković, fig. 5; Maguire 1996, figs. 14–15; and Myslivec 1934, figs. 1, 6/5, 7/4, 9/3, 16).

[286] Boots with cloth strips appear in several Nativity scenes: on an icon in St Catherine's monastery on Mt Sinai (1st half of 12th C.); and on miniatures in two Athonite MSS: the 11th-C. *Evangelistarion* from the Great Lavra monastery on fol. 114v; and in the 12th-C. *Vatopedi Psalter 762*, fol. 89r (*Sinai*, fig. 18; *Athos*, vol. Γ', fig. 7, and vol. Δ', fig. 217). See also illustrations of the Annunciation to the Shepherds in the 12th-C. *Evangelistarion Panteleimon 2*, fol. 210r; and in the Athonite *Menologion Esphigmenou 14*, fol. 393v (*Athos*, vol. B', figs. 284, 357).

[287] See Kádár 1978, figs. 19, 154/2–3, 155/1–2, 174/2–3, 183/1–2 (see also the miniatures in later copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, *Cod. Par. gr 2736* [2nd half of 15th C.] and *2737* [illuminated in 1554, by Angelus Vegetius]); Weitzmann 1984, 93–6, figs. 127–131, 165–166; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 160 (= *Byzance*, no. 259).

[288] e.g. in the *Menologion Esphigmenou 14*, fols. 386r-v; in the 11th-C. *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos* from a Constantinopolitan *scriptorium*, *Par. gr. 533*, fols. 34r–v

Although there appear to be no detailed descriptions of this type of legwear in Byzantine sources, on the basis of the above evidence and the references by Constantine Porphyrogennetos they can be identified with the cheap and crude footwear of servants called **σέρβουλα** (from the Latin *servus*—servant, slave), worn by so-called *tzervoulianoi*.[289] This theory is confirmed in that *servoula*, which are described as a type of sandal (known also by the Arabic or Armenian name, **μουζάκια**), are recommended by Phokas for imperial footsoldiers alongside 'short' *hypodemata*.[290]

These *servoula* are without doubt derived from Roman military sandals. During the Republic and early Empire the Roman legions employed low sandals called *caligae* (from *callus*—hard skin) the sole of which was cut from a single piece of oxhide and fitted with iron hobnails. The dense mesh of thongs enclosing the foot ensured durability as well as ventilation.[291] At the turn of the first and second centuries AD *caligae* were gradually replaced for army use by the cheaper

and 35r, showing bucolic scenes; and also in the 12th-C. Codex *Vat. gr. 394*, fol. 12v (*Athos*, vol. B', figs. 346–347; *Byzantium*, no. 267; and *Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 394).

289 See DAI, 1:152[12–15] [32]: Σέρβλοι δὲ τῇ τῶν 'Ρωμαίων διαλέκτῳ 'δοῦλοι' προσαγορεύονται, ὅθεν καὶ '**σέρβυλα**' ἡ κοινὴ συνήθεια τὰ δουλικὰ φησιν ὑποδήματα, καὶ '**τζερβουλιανοὺς**' τοὺς τὰ εὐτελῆ καὶ πενιχρὰ ὑποδήματα φοροῦντας. See also what seems to be the more correct form **σέρβουλα** mentioned in the apparatus (p.153) in the redaction preserved in codex *Vat. Palatinus gr. 126*. Also for ACHMET, p. 198[13–16] [242], 218[18] [266] tall boots (which he terms ὑποδήματα) signify hardship and servile labour.

290 See PRAECEPTA, p. 12[22–3] [I 3]: καὶ σανδάλια ἤγουν **μουζάκια**, εἴτε τὰ λεγόμενα ἐν τῇ συνηθείᾳ **τζερβούλια**; TNU [MG], p. 88[26]–90[27] [LVI 3]: **μουζάκια** καὶ **τζερβούλια**. See also Koukoules, 4:411–14 and McGeer (1995, 62) who in the commentary to Phokas' text cites literature on the Arabic–Armenian etymology of peasant *mouzakia*. Recently on Byzantine *sandalia* see Dawson (2002, 83, n. 15)—given their identification as a variety of sandal (since as is evident from ACHMET's description [p. 178 [226]], they covered the foot to a far greater extent than ancient and modern sandals), Dawson probably goes too far in suggesting the term also applied to full boots.

291 On the appearance, construction and function of Roman military *caligae*, see Goldman 1974, 122–3, figs. 6.27a–b (a *caliga* from Mainz and its reconstruction); James 2004, 59, fig. 30 (*caligae* from Dura); and Żygulski 1998, 95, fig. 116. See also depictions in Roman sculpture—on Trajan's Column, and worn on statues of the following emperors: Caesar in the Palazzo Senatorio sul Campidoglio; Augustus in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; Drusus the Younger in the Cagliari Museum, and others (Gamber 1978, fig. 382; Robinson 1975, figs. 429–31, 474). And also generally on *caligae* as Roman military footwear see G. Mau, "Caliga" in *PR*, 3:1335; and H. Aigner, "Caliga" in *BKR*, 41. Awls used in the production of military *caligae* were found among Roman military objects at Dura-Europos (Roztovtzeff 1935, 223).

campagi militares,[292] which were related in form to *servoula*. The term *caligae* reentered usage in thirteenth-century Western Europe, but now referred to knightly hose-leggings.

John Lydos describes patrician *campagi* as a type of black sandals with enclosed toes and heels, and held in place by straps that were wound around the leg to knee-height. In his opinion this type of boots, which originated in Tuscany, borrowed their name from the field (*campus*) on which the *archontes* who wore them were promoted.[293] In contrast to *servoula* which were constructed in a similar way, *campagi* were parade wear, worn by the emperor, various officials both military and civilian, and above all by senators, during promotions and religious ceremonies at the court.[294] Of course it is not possible to

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[292] The term καλίκιος appears still in DIG. AKR. (p. 296[763], 300[825] [τὰ καλίτσια], 330[1222]; 336[1323]) and is mentioned in Middle Byzantine monastic *typika* (A. Kazhdan & N.P. Ševčenko, "Footwear" in *ODB*, 2:796), but according to Goldman (1974, 122) there was a complete change in the meaning of the word in the 4th C., which had been used until then to describe a type of low, full soft shoes; see also Southern/Dixon (1996, 124), who state that *caligae* had disappeared from the Roman army in the early 2nd C. They can, however, still be seen on a 5th-C. miniature in the *Vergilius Romanus* codex in the Vatican (*Ms. Lat. 3867*, fol. X; see Eggenberger 1977, fig. 14; Gamber 1994, fig. 6) in combination with textile puttees that extended above the knee. Prices of boots as specified in *Diocletian's edict* [IX 5–25] are given by Goldman 1974, n. 4.

[293] LYDOS, p. 30[22]–32[6] [I 7/17]: καὶ ὑπόδημα μέλαν, ὑποσάνδαλον, δι' ὅλου γυμνόν, βραχεῖ τινι ἀναστήματι τὴν πτέρνην, ἐπ' ἄκρου δὲ τοὺς δακτύλους τῶν ποδῶν συσφίγγον, ἱμάντων ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀστραγάλους ὑπὸ τὸ ψαλίδωμα τοῦ ποδὸς διελκομένων, ἐπὶ τὸ στῆθος ἀνθυπαντώντων ἀλλήλοις καὶ διαδεσμούντων τὸν πόδα, ὥστε βραχὺ λίαν ἔκ τε δακτύλων ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐξόπισθεν διαφαίνεσθαι τὸ ὑπόδημα, ὅλον δὲ τὸν πόδα τῇ περισκελίδι διαλάμπειν. κάμπαγον αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν κάμπον, οἷον εἰ τὸ πεδίον, χρείας ἔτι καὶ νῦν· ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ πεδίου γινόμενοι τὰς προαγωγὰς τῶν ἀρχόντων Ῥωμαῖοι ἐπετέλουν, ἐφ' οὗ τοῖς τοιούτοις ἐστέλλοντο ὑποδήμασιν. τουτονὶ τὸν κάμπαγον Θούσκων γενέσθαι τὸ πρὶν ὁ Λέπιδος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἱερέων φησίν. *Kampagia* are identified by McCormick (1986, 216) as sandals in the context of references in the description of the triumph of Basil I in PORPH.; OIKONOMIDES, (p. 167, n. 145) does the same with respect to references in the *Kletorologion*. See also K. Wessel, "Insignien" in *RbK*, 3:447–8; G. Mau, "Campagus" in *PR*, 3:1433–4; Koukoules, 4:412–13.

[294] MALALAS (p. 247[24] [XIII 8]) lists *kampagia* alongside the chlamys as an element of military parade attire. They are also regarded as part of military parade attire in DE CER. (1:639[14–19] [II 40]), which states that *kampagia* were worn by the emperors Anastasius, Nikephoros Phokas (during acclamations) and Basil I (during a triumph), see Peter Patrikios's account in DE CER., 1:423[3] [I 92], 439[7] [I 96]; and above, n. 274. See also DE CER. ([VOGT], 2:84[5] [I 69]), listing *kampagia* as an element of imperial funerary costume, and also references (also by Peter Patrikios) on the receiving of imperial *kampagia* by promoted *nobelissimoi*, *kandidatoi* and the *proedros* of the Senate (DE CER. [VOGT], 2:34[21] [I 53]; 1:417[2–7] [I 91], 442[22]–423[1] [I 97]), and also as an element of the attire of guests (senators, *patrikioi* and others) invited to the imperial table in the *Chrysotriklinos* on religious feastdays (DE CER., 1:742[9, 18] 743[14], 751[21] 752[1, 11], 757[19],

rule out that, as with *caligae*, the term καμπάγια had altered its meaning and now referred to some type of parade footwear. This could not have happened before the sixth century since the Latin etymology of the word is still referred to by Peter Patrikios, who often mentions this type of footwear together with the term καμπότουβα, which we can link with a linen tube worn over the calf to prevent chafing from the thongs that were wrapped around it.[295]

Depictions of *kampagia* worn over *kampotouba* by soldiers can be found in Early Byzantine art, for example on an unidentified warrior represented on an ivory panel added secondarily to the cladding of the ambo in Aachen cathedral, and also on a ceramic icon depicting Joshua and Caleb from Vinica (fig. 7b).[296] In the Middle Byzantine iconography of the warrior saints it is possible to see echoes of this motif in the braided pattern of criss-crossed thongs covering their leg protectors—for example on images of St Demetrios on an ivory panel in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and St George accompanied by St Theodore on a steatite icon in the Historical Museum, Moscow (fig. 40).[297] What should perhaps be regarded as a considerably more stylized version of *kampagia* can be seen on the puttees of St Theodore on a panel from Bathys Ryax, which the artist has represented as a black zigzag pattern of straps running from heel to below the knee (fig. 47).[298] The faithful depictions of *kampagia* worn by St Hieron in the Church of the Buckle in Korama, and St George on a

759^{10}, 769^{23}, 773^{14}, 774^{14}, 777^{22-3}, 779^{10}, 780^{2}, 781^{4} [II 52] = Oikonomides, pp. 167^{17}, $169^{3, 19}$, $181^{19, 31}$, 189^{15}, 191^{15}, 205^{27}, $211^{5, 25}$, 217^{23}, 219^{20}, $221^{2, 27}$). See also the commentary in De Cer., 2:419–24; Fauro 1995, 486.

295 See Peter Patrikios's reference in De Cer., 1:639^{14} [II 40]: δὲ τῶν καμπαγίων, ἃ Λατίνων φωνῇ προσηγόρευται, and p. 439^{7} [I 96]: καὶ καμπάγια καὶ καμπότουβα. καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόρου πεζοπορῶν. See also De Cer., 2:265; Fauro 1995, 503; and Kolias (1993a, 40; and 1988, 72, n. 16) citing Mihăescu, who was the first to recognize *kampotouba* as a type of leg protector worn at court, which would seem to be justified in view of the word's etymology—literally '*kampagia*-tubes', as compared with *chalkotouba*—metal greaves. *Kampotouba* are wrongly identified as trousers quilted in a diamond pattern by Dawson (2002, 82, fig. VII–5). On the change in the meaning of the word *caliga*, see above, n. 292.

296 See Volbach 1976, no. 78 (= Marković 1995, 574, fig. 17, who links the figure on the panel with Mars); Balabanov/Krstevski 1993, no. 46. Hoffmeyer (1966, 51) believes that sandals went out of fashion in the Byzantine army in the 7th century.

297 See *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 80 (= Cutler 1994, fig. 126); Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 28.

298 See Bank 1966, no. 190 (= Papamastorakes 1998, fig. 5).

mosaic in the cathedral in Monreale can be regarded as exceptional.[299] The first of these examples is, however, characterized by strong stylistic archaization, while the second is suspicious because of the considerable intervention of conservators in the fabric of the painting.

It can therefore be assumed that in the Middle Byzantine period the heavily distorted motif of *kampotouba* held in place by the criss-crossed straps of the *kampagia* was merely an imitation of an older iconographical model that lacked understanding of the original form; presumably the artists were ignorant of the prototype, which had disappeared after the sixth century, and were attempting to make it resemble the *servoula* common in their own day.

Trousers (toubia, anaxyrides)

Military saints in Byzantine painting are generally depicted in close-fitting trousers. These are usually tucked into boots, leaving visible only the section covering the thighs. The trousers are sometimes of a uniform colour (figs. 8, 12, 25d, 41b, 42, 46c, 62, 70),[300] or shown as made from what appears to be patterned cloth, which is embroidered in a range of decorative motifs. The variety of patterns indicate that the painters sought inspiration from actual textiles known to them from everyday life. There are simple patterns arranged from just a few mosaic tesserae, as for example on the leggings of Sts Theodore Stratelates and Orestes in the inner narthex of the katholikon of Nea Mone; Demetrios in St Michael's monastery, Kiev (figs. 26, 44a–b); the saints in the Sicilian cathedral in Cefalù; as well as Theodore Teron in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo. Then there are more elaborate designs, such as the round sequin motif and stripes sewn down the front of St Demetrios's trousers on a marginal drawing on page 166r of the *Homilies of John Chrysostomos* at Magdalen College, Oxford (Cod. gr. 3) and the rhomboids inscribed with lilies and rosettes on the trousers of Sts George and Theodore Teron in the church of the Anargyroi, Kastoria (fig. 30a; see also 30b,c, 38, 46a,b, 58, 70).[301]

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[299] See e.g. Epstein 1986, fig. 42 (= Jolivet-Lévy 1992, fig. 109a); Borsook 1990, fig. 95.

[300] See e.g. Maguire 1996, figs. 10–11 (only St Theodore Stratelates); Hutter 1999, figs. 20–21; *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 69, 111.

[301] See e.g.: Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, figs. 59, 61; *Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 283; Borsook 1990, figs. 9, 35; Velmans 1974, fig. 22 (similarly decorative stripes are visible on the 11th–13th C. mosaic icon of St George from Matskhvarishi; see Alibegashvili

Painted representations of saints with partly bared legs, following the Roman custom, are rare.[302] The flesh-coloured tone of the thighs of certain of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in the Great Pigeon House in Çavuşin indicate that they were intentionally left bare; the same is true of St Hieron in the Church of the Buckle in Korama, and in the early eleventh-century cemetery chapel of Karabulut Kilisesi near Matiana (currently Avcilar); and also Theodore and George on horseback on the wings of a triptych from St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai. Representations of the two St Theodores and St Merkourios at Hosios Loukas leave no doubt; those in mosaic technique show especially clearly the outline of the muscles of the bare calf and the

1979, fig. 1); Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 12 on p. 33; Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 21/2 (see also St Nestor's ankle-length white trousers decorated with thin, vertical, red and blue bands on an arcade pier in the Holy Anargyroi church, Kastoria; these are probably identical with the 'Egyptian trousers' (see below, n. 312) mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogennetos; Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 27/2). The textile motif adorned with patterns of rhomboids inscribed with rosettes and lilies (probably a heraldic motif borrowed from the West) was especially popular towards the end of the 12th C. and in the 13th, e.g. on St Orestes' trousers at Episkopi in Eurytania; on Demetrios's trousers and Theodore Stratelates' cloak in the Vrondamos Monastery on the Peloponnese; on St George's *kabadion* on a 13th-C. Mt Sinai icon; and on St George's trousers on a fresco in the church of St John Chrysostom in Geraki (Drandakes 1988, fig. 85; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 17; Maguire 1996, fig. 163; Moutsopoulos/Demetrokalles 1981, fig. 65 and colour fig. 13). Meanwhile, on 11th-C. examples the field of rhomboids is decorated only with dots, e.g. in the *Evangelistarion Dionysiou 587* (fols. 41v, 123r), which, as mentioned earlier, dates from 1059 (*Athos*, vol. B', figs. 216, 241).

[302] Trousers were not used in the armies of ancient Greece and Rome, as is evident from the absence of depictions in art and the lack of an appropriate term in Classical Greek (the fact that Homer and other ancient writers had no term for trousers and had to paraphrase is pointed out by Eust. Il., 1:328[26–9] Τὸ δέ «αἰδῶ ἀμφικαλύπτει» περιφραστικῶς εἶπεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔκειτο ἴσως μία λέξις δηλωτικὴ τοῦ καλύμματος τῆς αἰδοῦς, ὅπερ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν βράκαν φασίν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀναξυρίδα ἐκ τοῦ ἀνασύρεσθαι.). Antique depictions of soldiers in trousers always refer to barbarian peoples (e.g. Dacian prisoners on metopes of the Tropaeum Traiani, Persians on the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki, and Germans on Trajan's Column in Rome, see e.g. Żygulski 1998, 179, fig. 183); see also G. Mau, "'Αναξυρίδες" in *PR*, 1:2100–1 (on the trousers worn by the Celts, Germanics and Sarmatians, and also in art by Amazons. The trousers of Amazons also figure in Byzantine culture, e.g. the lilac *toubia* of the Amazon Maximo, richly adorned with pearls, precious stones and brocade, described in Dig. Akr., p. 80[226–8] [Grottaferrata version, bk. IV] and 348[1494–95] [Escorial redaction]). According to Southern/Dixon (1996, 123) trousers were adopted by the Late Roman army in the 3rd century, probably as a result of the increasing numbers of Germanic *Foederati*; at first they were knee-length and tight and worn only by cavalry, later they were full-length, looser and made of wool. A soldier is depicted in such early trousers on a Roman ivory panel with scenes from the life of St Paul, dated to the 5th C. currently at the Museo Nazionale del Bargello, Florence (Nicolle 1992, fig. on p. 19).

form of the kneecaps (figs. 25a-c, 59 and 60).[303] A similar phenomenon is observable in sculpture, especially in ivory. The clearly modelled leg musculature of warriors in works such as the *Forty Martyrs Triptych* in the Hermitage and a panel with St Demetrios in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, allow us to conclude that the craftsmen's intention was to show the warriors with their upper legs uncovered (figs. 19a,b, 67), although the wearing off of the polychrome decoration that usually covered ivories must leave some doubt.[304] However, the presence of trousers on a wooden relief icon of St George in the National Museum, Kiev (fig. 27) is confirmed by remnants of light blue polychromy.[305] In turn, the engraved ornamental motifs adorning the leggings of St Theodore on a steatite icon in the Vatican (fig. 34) make it clear that he is wearing trousers.[306]

It should be stressed that all the above 'trouserless' portrayals of military saints date from the tenth and early eleventh centuries, and there appear to be no similar examples in the later iconography. This may be evidence of the replacement of an older pictorial formula—patterned on ancient tradition—by a new image created under the influence of the actual appearance of troops.

Trousers were known by the terms ἀναξυρίδες (singular ἀναξυρίς), φημινάλια, and also βρακία from the Celto-Roman *bracae* or *bracca*. Known in antiquity as characteristic of the Barbarian peoples, trousers appeared in the Byzantine army relatively late.[307] Military manuals and

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[303] See Restle 310, vol. 3, fig. 310; Epstein 1986, fig. 42; Jolivet-Lévy 1992, figs. 109a, 112b; Weitzmann 1976, nos. B43, B44; Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 47–48, 57.

[304] On the antique custom of adding polychrome decoration to ivories in Byzantium see Connor (1998), who found remnants of red and green pigments and traces of gold on a panel with St Demetrios. An ivory from Saint Petersburg had a blue ground, along with a crystallized green pigment and traces of gold and pink (see Connor's table on pp. 84–7, figs. 7–9 and the colour close-ups on plates IX–XIV). See also the *Harbaville Triptych*, where Sts George and Eustathios have traces of yelowish polychromy on their legs and partially gilded cloaks.

[305] The fragments are clearly visible on the colour reproduction in *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 202.

[306] See Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 6 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 104).

[307] See EUST. IL., 1:36$^{11-12}$ ἐν τῷ ἀναξυρίς, ὃ τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις βρακίον δηλοῖ. ἀναξυρὶς γὰρ τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνασύρεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς λέγεται, (p. 328$^{28-29}$) δηλωτικὴ τοῦ καλύμματος τῆς αἰδοῦς, ὅπερ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν βράκαν φασίν, ἕτεροι δὲ ἀναξυρίδα ἐκ τοῦ ἀνασύρεσθαι; HESYCHIOS, vol. 1, [p. 178]: ἀναξυρίδες· φημινάλια, βρακία βαρβαρικὰ ἐνδύματα ποδῶν. ὑποδήματα βαθέα ἢ βασιλικά; SUDA, 1:180$^{1-3}$ [1993] 'Αναξυρίδας· φιμινάλια, βρακία, ἢ τὰ βαθέα καὶ ἄβατα ὑποδήματα. καίπερ τῷ Θεοδοσίῳ ἐκλελυμένον τὸν ἱμάντα, τὸν ἀμφὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα τὰς ἀναξυρίδας δέοντα, 4·108^{8} [1282], 739^{3} [460]: Περισκελῆ· βρακία, φημινάλια. […] Φιμινάλια·

other sources provide no precise information that might allow us to determine, even approximately, when this took place.[308] In the reign of Justinian, trousers distinguished the mercenary barbarian formations in the army of Belisarius,[309] from whom undoubtedly the Greeks borrowed them. This would suggest that trousers were adopted by the army in the mid-sixth century, which is corroborated in the early iconography of the warrior saints, who are normally shown without them. Surviving examples of close-fitting trousers (leggings) from Antinoöpolis in Egypt (in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin but lost during World War II, in the Louvre, and in the Musée des Tissus in Lyon) may be of Persian origin, as is evident from their embroidered decoration. At that time all were made from dyed woollen yarn, which is evidence of the popularity of this technique.[310] One of the earliest depictions of trousers in the iconography of the military saints is a seventh- or eighth-century icon from St Catherine's Monastery, Mt Sinai showing Merkourios on horseback (fig. 8).[311] He is painted with loose yellow trousers that are tucked into tall boots.

ἀναξυρίδας, and also F. Brein, "Anaxyrides" in *BKR*, 9–10; E. Pochmarski, "Brac(c)ae" in *BKR*, 35–6; and above, n. 302. D'Amato (2005, 21–2) cites Isidore of Seville (*Orig.* XIX 34/5), who states that leggings were called *toubia* in the East, and *tibialia* or *ocreae* in the West. He points out that the term *toubion* was also used to describe a variety of tall boots. The Celtic units of *Bracchiati* and *Cornuti* (whose names presumably derive from their trousers and horned helmets) are mentioned by Ammian., 1:125 [15.5.30]. The anachronistic nature of the trousers painted on a Roman shield found at Dura-Europos in scenes illustrating the Trojan War is noticed by MacMullen 1964, 446.

308 Darkevich (1975, 140, 150) and after him Górecki (1980, 205–6) believe that trousers appear only in the 10th or even 11th C.—a narrow, tight variety for the cavalry and short, loose ones for the infantry. Nicolle (1992, 42) reconstructs knee-length trousers in the attire of a 5th/6th-C. member of the Blues faction in Antioch. Meanwhile, Dawson (2002, 83) believes the lack of references to trousers worn in the imperial army in the manuals is the result of their universal appearance in military costume.

309 Procopius, 1:244$^{8-10}$ [II 21/6]: οὔτε χλαμύδα οὔτε ἄλλην ἐπωμίδα τινὰ, ἀλλὰ χιτῶνας μὲν λινοῦς καὶ ἀναξυρίδας ἀμπεχόμενοι, εἶτα διεζωσμένοι ἐβάδιζον; he also mentions trousers as a costume item characteristic of the Slavs and Antes (2:358$^{7-9}$ [VII 14/26]). In turn, Simocatta (153$^{21-23}$ [IV 3/8]) describes the richly adorned trousers that were part of the ceremonial attire of Chosroes: ἀναξυρίδες δ' αὐτῷ χρυσοποίκιλοι, ἔργα ὑφάντου χειρὸς μεγατίμια. καὶ τοσαύτην εἶχεν ἡ στολὴ τὴν τρυφὴν ὁπόσην ἠβούλετο ἡ τῆς σοβαρότητος ἔφεσις. Cf. also Ravegnani (1988, 42) who wrongly identifies trousers on a mosaic in San Vitale, Ravenna.

310 See D'Amato 2005, 18–19, 22, figs. on pp. 22–3.

311 See above, n. 71 on p. 80.

By the Middle Byzantine period, trousers of different styles, made from wool, cotton and silk, were a common item of male attire.[312] Traditionally-inclined Byzantine intellectuals nevertheless continued to cultivate a Classical attitude of aversion towards such barbarian 'novelties' and regarded them with disdain.[313]

We can find clear signs of the use of a particular variety of trousers in the army only from the tenth century. Among the equipment being prepared for the invasion of Crete in 949 Constantine Porphyrogennetos lists **τουβία**, probably a type of military legging used for riding, which are worn in conjunction with *hypodemata*. He also recommends that the clothing supplied to an emperor about to embark on campaign should include *toubia* of the highest quality with silk stripes, decorated with embroidered eagles, as well as others adorned with a hornet motif.[314]

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312 The various textiles from which red trousers were made are mentioned by ACHMET 198^{19-23} [242]: ὅτι ἐρυθρὰ ἦν τὰ τουβία[...] εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ **ἔριου** [...], εἰ δ' ἀπὸ **βάμβακος** [...], εἰ δ' ἀπὸ **μετάξης**; while DE CER. (1:678^{7-8} [II 45]) speaks of striped Egyptian trousers and others made from low-quality silk and cotton (τουβία λωρωτὰ Αἰγύπτικα ρ. τουβία κουκουλάρικα [...] τουβία βαμβακερὰ).

According to ACHMET, when trousers appear to a woman in a dream, she is sure to have a male child (198^{24-25} [242], 218^{15-18} [266]): εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐφόρει βρακία, καὶ αὐτὸ εἰς τέκνον κρίνεται ἄρσεν καὶ κληρονομίαν τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ ἀνδρός. ἐὰν ἴδῃ, ὅτι ἐφόρει τουβία καὶ ὑποδήματα ἀνδρός, τὰ τουβία εἰς τέκνον ἄρσεν—this is evidence that trousers were already linked in Byzantium with the male sex. Ball (2002, 77) points out that the differences between female and male attire are not always discernable in art but are underlined in literary sources. If we accept after Dawson (2002, 82–3; reconstruction on fig. VII–5) that the Byzantines employed padded trousers, one might view the rhomboidal patterns on the leggings of some warrior saints as the stitch-marks of quilted layers of cloth (see above, n. 301).

313 E.g. EUST. THESS. (82^{5-11}) and after him CHONIATES (298^{27-32}) mention that during the many days of the siege of Thessaloniki by the Normans in 1185 the city's incompetent *strategos*, David Komnenos, was never seen adequately armed and on horseback, but rather rode on a mule and wore ornamented knee-length trousers and shoes of the latest fashion: Οὐκοῦν ἡ μέραι συχναί, αἱ μὲν πρὸ τοῦ σφοδροῦ πολέμου, αἱ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τούτου ἀκμὴν, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐκεῖνον εἶδεν οὔτε ἐν ὅπλοις δεινοῖς δύναντα οὔτε ἵππου εὐγενοῦς ἐπιβάντα, ἡμίονος δὲ ὤχει αὐτὸ ἀπὸ **βράκας** καὶ πεδίλων νεωτερικῶν. Even more mocking in tone is Choniates' statement: τοίνυν οὐδενὶ τῶν ἁπάντων ὦπτο πανοπλίαν ἀμφιασάμενος, ἀλλ' ἀπεῖχε κράνους καὶ θώρακος καὶ κνημίδων καὶ θυρεοῦ κατὰ τὰς ἀσκιατραφημένας τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ μηδὲν εἰδυίας πλέον γυναικωνίτιδος καὶ περιῄει τὴν πόλιν ἡμιόνῳ ἔποχος μετ' **ἀναξυρίδος** συνεπτυγμένης ὀπισθίῳ δεσμεύματι καὶ πεδίλων κομψῶν ἐστιγμένων χρυσῷ ἐς αὐτὸν ἀποληγόντων ἀστράγαλον. See also Kazhdan/Epstein (1985, 76–7) who cite other comments by CHONIATES (186^{73-75} and 273^{85-89}) on the trousers of Andronikos Komnenos and on a certain soldier's remark directed at Manuel I.

314 See DE CER., 1:677^{16}, $678^{2,7-8}$ [II 45] (and above, n. 312); PORPH., pp. 108^{239}–110^{241} [C]. On the etymology of the term derived from Lat. *tubus, tibiale*, see Haldon's commentary to PORPH., p. 221 (with references to earlier studies). Imperial *toubia* appear

In summary, we can regard trousers in the iconography of the military saints as a purely Byzantine feature that was probably modelled on the actual costume of imperial troops. Between the eighth century and the early eleventh, trousers gradually ousted the older formula of bare legs in Roman military tradition, and completely replaced it by the twelfth century. The last link in the evolution of legwear of the warrior saints in our period was single-coloured hose. These can be seen on thirteenth-century icons made in Crusader artistic circles depicting St George in the British Museum (fig. 56), and the back of a Cypriot (or south Italian) icon of the Virgin Hodegetria Aristerokratousa (lit. 'holding a baby in the left hand'), depicting Sts Sergios and Bakchos on horseback, currently in the monastery of St Catherine on Mt Sinai (fig. 63).[315] The motif of hose leggings was occasionally borrowed from the iconography of western European chivalry[316] but did not spread into Byzantine art.

The Shield

Complementing the armour, leg-protectors and arm-guards was the shield, one of the earliest types of defensive equipment, known since prehistoric times. The shield's form underwent continuous evolution as a result of changing tactics, systems of combat and methods of screening the fighting man's body from the enemy's blows, and also as a result of custom. Changes in the construction and shape of the shield can also be observed in Byzantium. The wealth of forms is reflected in the terminology.

As with body armour, many terms for shields appear in the texts, both generic and referring to specific forms. The term ἀσπίς, derived from antique terminology, without additional epithets, was the most

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already in a description of an acclamation in honour of Anastasius (De Cer. 1:423[3] [I 92]). On the red silk *toubia* for riding donned by the emperor during coronations, see Ps. Kodinos, p. 270[8–12] [VII]. On leggings, which appear frequently in the *Madrid Skylitzes* (including lamellar leggings on fol. 195v), see Hoffmeyer 1966, 51, fig. 48.

[315] See *Glory of Byzantium*, no 261 (= *Byzantium*, no 191); Weitzmann 1966, 67–72, figs. 63–4 (= *Sinai*, fig. 66; *Sinai, Vizantija, Rus'*, no. S64A), Weitzmann 1984, 148–9, figs. 53/3–4.

[316] See e.g. France 1999, figs. 1–3. The equestrian depiction of Sts Sergios and Bakchos on a Sinaian icon and an icon with both Sts Theodore on horseback that was probably a model for it, are on grounds of style and iconography linked with a Venetian workshop or one in service of the Crusaders, see Walter 2003a, 159 and n. 85.

popular generic term for a shield.[317] From Roman legionary terminology came the synonym, σκουτάριον, equivalent to the Latin *scutum*, which was popular in the sixth century, especially among authors of military manuals.[318] Derived from these terms is the name of a class

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317 On the antique *aspis* (a circular shield, 70–100 cm in diameter. and usually of bronze) see H. Aigner, "Aspis", *BKR*, 17; H. Droysen, "Aspis (Ἀσπίς) (15)", *PR*, 2/2 (1896):1735–36. Hesychios (1:263) equates the *aspis* with the *skoutarion*, or with weapons in general (ἀσπίδα· σκουτάριν· ἢ ὅπλον); while Lydos (p. 4$^{16–17}$ entitles a subheading [I 5/11]: διὰ τί τὰς ἀσπίδας σκοῦτα καὶ κλίπεα καὶ πάρμας οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι καὶ τίς ἡ διαφορὰ τούτων. In general it is authors writing in archaizing language that use the term ἀσπίδα to describe the shield, e.g. Procopius, 1:96^{13} [I 18/33], 98^{28} [I 18/46], 212^{23} [II 13/23] (the *aspis* of Chosroes), 350^{9} [III 8/27], 409^{8} [III 23/16], 465^{18} [IV 11/19] (on the shields of the Moors), 469^{22} [IV 11/51], 546$^{19, 22}$ [IV 28/9], 550^{4} [IV 28/34], 2:48$^{2, 25}$ [V 9/15, 21], 50^{15} [V 10/1] (on the shields of the Isaurians), 91^{14} [V 18/13], 144^{13} [V 29/35], 261^{22} [VI 25/3], 506^{10} [VIII 5/19] (on the shields of the Goths and Franks), 524^{9} [VIII 8/34], 543$^{6, 10}$ [VIII 11/45, 46] (and of the Persians); Agathias, p. 33^{4} [I 9]; Attaleiates, pp. 25^{1}, 41^{8}, 42^{14}, 151^{19}, 178^{12}, 248^{7}, 294^{20}; Komnene, 1:40^{16} [I 11/5], 41$^{29–30}$ [I 11/7], 94^{25} [II 10/3], 96$^{5, 7}$ [II 11/2], 97^{8} [II 11/5], 137$^{1–3}$ [III 11/2], 2:31^{7} [V 7/2], 197^{21} [X 3/5], 217^{23} [X 8/6], 218^{23} [X 8/8], 219^{12} [X 8/9], 224^{30} [X 9/8], 3:198^{30} [XV 3/8], 208^{18} [XV 6/4]; Bryennios, p. 123^{24} [I 20]; Choniates, pp. 15^{94} (on the elongated shields of the Varangian unit—περιμήκεσιν ἀσπίσι), 25^{37}, 139^{37}, 165^{87}, 196^{77}, 197^{83}; Kinnamos, pp. 45^{14}, 62^{12} [II], 95^{9} [III]; Psellos, 1:33^{2} [III 4], 2:7^{8} [VI 87]. Eust Il, 1:57^{10}, 110$^{31–32}$, 234^{2}, 368$^{2, 8}$, 369^{23}, 370$^{8, 30}$, 371$^{2–3, 12}$, 556^{5}, 660^{23}, 666^{6}, 785^{8}, 789^{28}, 2:3^{21}, 5^{3},6^{8}, 51$^{2, 5}$, 101^{8}, 118^{16}, 255$^{17–18}$, 399$^{22–23}$. See also Nicolle (1988, 2:590); and Kolias (1988, 89 and n. 6), who also points out (118 n. 157) that the term *aspis* is used as a synonym for 'round' by Hesychios, 1:263: ἀσπιδὲς πεδίον· περιφερές· ἢ ἀσπίδας ἔχον and by Eust. Il., 1:882$^{54–56}$, 996$^{21–24}$—which suggests that it specifically refers to round shields. The term ἀσπίς is also generally used in military treatises (Peri Strategias, LT and Sylloge, see below, nn. 337, 339, 340, 357, 380). On the *koine* of Anna Komnene and Attaleiates see Buckler 1929, 481–4.

318 According to Polybios the *scutum* was a shield of semi-cylindrical, rectangular or oval shape (H. Aigner, "Scutum" in *BKR*, 233, with bibliog. on 234); Aigner reconstructs its dimensions as 120 × 75 cm (smaller during the Imperial period); while Żygulski (1998, 95, fig. 115) quotes 110 × 66 cm. Further examples of rectangular Roman shields from the 3rd C. AD are provided by Gamber 1978, figs. 379, 389; Meanwhile Ammian. (4/1:135 [24.2.12]) mentions the 'Argive scutum', which was round: *cuius medietas in sublime consurgens tereti **ambitu Argolici scuti***; see also H. Droysen, "Aspis (Ἀσπίς) (15)", *PR*, 2/2 (1896):1736. Elsewhere, Ammian. (1:183 [15.12.44]) implies that the Romans employed the semi-cylindrical *scutum* since it allowed them to form an impenetrable barrier that he compares to a 'tortoise shell'; see also the description of the similar compact formation known as the *phoulkon*, from German *Volk*, corresponding to the Roman *testudo* (Mihăescu 1968, 496, with further source references) in Strat., pp. 410$^{52–7}$ [XII 7], 440$^{22–5}$, 442^{30}–444^{55}, 446$^{85–6}$ [XIIB 16] (= LT, 1:180^{2123}–181^{2130} [VII 66 (73)], 182$^{2145–46}$ [VII 67 (74)], 187$^{2204–05}$ [VII 73 (80)]). It is possible that the 'Argive' shield underwent changes in Byzantium, since Psellos writes of Hungarians who: ἀσπὶς δὲ αὐτοῖς οὐδ' ἡτισοῦν ἐν χερσὶν, οὔτ' **ἐπιμήκης** ὁποίας δή φασι τὰς **Ἀργολικὰς, οὔτε περιφερὴς** (2:125$^{5–7}$ [VII 68]).

of heavy infantry, 'shield-bearers'—συνασπισταί, ἀσπιδηφόρες,[319] and σκουτάριοι—the linguistic equivalent of Roman *scutarii*.[320]

A number of terms are used exclusively for specific varieties of shield, depending on their shape and the regions in which they were employed. The term θυρεός, know already in ancient Greece, refers to

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Hence, the definition accepted by Ravegnani (1988, 47) of the *skoutarion* as an oval Byzantine shield appears to be correct.

The term *skoutarion* appears already in Justin. Nov., p. 417 [85,4 (AD 539)]; and in Malalas, pp. 200^{83-4} [X 51], 385^{12} [XVIII 56] (in reference to the red-leather 'shield of Ares', and the small Indian shield), 395^{10*} [XVIII 71]; but was firmly established by Maurice, who used the term exclusively, see e.g. Strat., pp. 344^{25} [X 3], 412^{86} [XII 7], 458^{7-9} [XIIB 20], $494^{81-4, 92}$ [XIID] (text which was repeated e.g. in LT, $1:137^{1612}$ [VII 3], 151^{1769} [VII 26(31)], 153^{1802}, 154^{1804} [VII 30(35)]); see also {LT, vol. B', pp. 22 [XV 24], 34 [XV 53]}); Naumachica, p. 21 [I 14]). The term is also common in the Praecepta.

On the etymology of *scutum* see O. Fiebiger, "Scutum", *PR*, 2/3:914–20 (esp. 914); Mihăescu 1968, 492–3; Kolias 1988, 89 and nn. 7–8, with further literature, e.g. on the origins of the *scutum*–σκῦτος from the Sanskrit root *skû*, 'to cover', 'to hide'. Meanwhile, Battisti (1968, 1072) indicates the pre-Indo-European origins of the term. In his commentary to Porph. (p. 241) Haldon considers σκουτάριον as a generic term for a shield.

[319] See e.g. Praecepta, p. 12^{7} [I 1]; Attaleiates, p. 53^{1}; Komnene, $1:100^{13-14}$ [II 12/4], 128^{15} [III 8/7], 158^{29-30} [IV 6/2], $2:26^{22}$ [V 5/7], Eust. Il., $1:110^{31-2}$, 274^{30}; Bryennios, pp. 123^{14} [I 20], 169^{11} [II 14; Kazhdan 1997, 87 (on this term in Choniates); Kolias 1988, 89. See also the variant Classical form ὑπασπιστής used commonly by Procopius (citing examples from only one book of his *Wars*), $1:363^{9}$ [III 11/19], 383^{14-15} [III 16/9], 385^{3} [III 17/1], 393^{14} [III 19/14], 394^{16} [III 19/23], 407^{19} [III 23/5] (see also Eust. Il., e.g. $1:737^{29}$, 738^{3}).

[320] In the Late Roman period, the most important regiment of the *Scholae Palatinae* (the officer's schools, which also served as a palace guard), was known as the *Scutarii* and was made up of two units each of 200 men; see e.g. Lydos, p. 20^{9-12} [I 5/9] (who equates *skoutarioi* with *aspidioi*); Not. Dign., pp. 13 [Or. V], 17 [Or. VI], 21 [Or. VII], 32 [Or. XI] 131 [Occ. VI], 142 [Occ. VII], 144–46 [Occ. IX]; and Ammian., 1:81 [14.7.9], 151 [16.4.1], 156 [16.6.2], who also mentions the tribunes of the *Scutarii*, Cella and Nestica (170 [16.11.6], 2:65 [17.10.5]) and their *rector* (commander) Scudilo (1:98 [14.10.8]). The *Scutarii* were always present at the Byzantine court, where they were subordinate to the *droungarios of the Vigla* (Haldon 1984, 241); Leo states (LT $1:75^{999}$–76^{1004} [IV 56]) that this name, the equivalent of the ancient hoplites, had been virtually forgotten by the 9th C. (Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι πολυπληθίας εὐποροῦντες ἴσως στρατευμάτων τῶν ποτε λεγομένων ὁπλίτων, νῦν δὲ σκουτάτων καλουμένων, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὀνόματος διὰ τὴν ἄγαν τῆς τακτικῆς μελέτης καὶ πράξεως ἀμέλειαν παρὰ μικρὸν παρὰ πάντων ἀγνοουμένου). Elsewhere Leo equates *skoutarioi* with hoplites, implying that they were a heavy infantry formation (LT, $1:137^{1610-12}$ [VII 3], $169^{1987-89}$ [VII 49 (56)], $251^{2900-01}$ [IX 70 (74)], {LT, vol. A', pp. 324 [XIV 64], 332 [XIV 78]}, after Strat., p. 434^{12-13} [XII 12]). In the Palaiologan era the imperial *skoutarion* was carried by a titled official, the σκουτέριος (Ps. Kodinos, p. 183^{11-15} [183]), while under Constantine Porphyrogennetos this privilege fell to the *spatharioi* (De Cer., $1:4^{18-20}$ [I 1]). On Byzantine *skoutatoi* in the Middle Byzantine period see Heath 1979, 30–2, with colour reconstructions on plates A1, A2, A4.

a large shield of barbarian origin popular from the Late Roman period onwards.[321] The written sources are not in agreement on the shape of the *thyreos*. John Lydos introduces confusion by deriving a (probably fantastic) etymology from θύρα, referring either to doors—suggesting an approximately rectangular shape—or to a round stone for blocking an entrance, which served the same function. Lydos settles the matter in favour of a round shape by writing that the Romans called it a *clipeus*.[322] In Leo's *Taktika*, the *thyreos* is described as a large, elongated shield with rounded ends, differing from the circular *aspis*.[323] Meanwhile, references in the *Alexiad* and the *Histories* of Niketas Choniates indicate that by the twelfth century the term was also being applied to the

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[321] LYDOS states (p. 22^{4-7} [I 5/10]) that the *thyreos* was the typical shield of the barbarians (while the Greeks were still using the *aspis*), and its name originated from its use in combat, where it provided cover while forcing doors ('Ἑλλήνων γὰρ ἴδιον καὶ μόνων ἀσπίσι τροχωτάταις ἐν πολέμῳ χρῆσθαι, βαρβάρων δὲ θυρεοῖς· πρὸς γὰρ τὸ κατεπεῖγον τῆς μάχης τὰς θύρας ἀνασπῶντες ὡς σκεπάσμασιν αὐταῖς εἰώθασι χρῆσθαι). Leo VI meanwhile refers {LT, vol. B', p. 144 [XVIII 107]} to the Slavs' use of an elongated shield called a *thyreos*, while the corresponding passage in the *Strategikon* (STRAT., p. 374^{44-45} [XI 4]) that served as a Leo's model still speaks of the shapely looking but unwieldy *skoutarion* ('Ὁπλίζονται δὲ ἀκοντίοις μικροῖς δυσὶν ἕκαστος ἀνήρ, τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ σκουταρίοις γενναίοις μέν, δυσμετακομίστοις δέ.). PROCOPIUS also writes of the *aspis* of the Slavs (2:358^{5} [VII 14/25]).

[322] See LYDOS ($20^{12, 20-24}$, 22^{2-4} [I 5/10]): καὶ μικρὸν ὕστερον εἰρήσεται, τί μέν ἐστι κλιπεᾶτος, τί δὲ σκουτᾶτος στρατιώτης [...] Εἰπεῖν δὲ καιρός, τί διαφέρει σκοῦτον κλιπέου. σκοῦτον τοίνυν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι τὸ ἰσχυρὸν ἅμα καὶ ἰσχνόν, ὅπερ Ἕλληνες στιπτὸν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἀντὶ τοῦ στιβαρόν, ὡς 'Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν 'Ἀχαρνεῦσι "στιπτοὶ γέροντες, Μαραθωνομάχοι πρίνινοι" [...] κλίπεον δὲ Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν θυρεὸν καλοῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ κλέπτειν καὶ καλύπτειν τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον αὐτόν. Ἑλλήνων γὰρ ἴδιον καὶ μόνων ἀσπίσι τροχωτάταις and above, n. 321 and Kolias 1988, 91. On the *clipeus* as a circular ('Argive'—see above, n. 318) form of shield used in ancient Rome see O. Fiebiger, "Clipeus" in *PR*, 4/1:55–6. Cf. Heath (1979, 8, 32) who erroneously sees the *thyreos* as a large circular Byzantine infantry shield, and the *skoutarion* as oval in shape.

[323] Leo describes the *thyreos* as a shield with rounded ends (LT, 1:$115^{1413-14}$ [VI 25]: σκουτάριν, ὅτε μὲν χρεία καλεῖ, ἐπίμηκες,—μέγα, ὃ καλεῖται θυρεός, πάντως δὲ στρογγύλον τέλειον. He also mentions the elongated shields of the ancient Macedonian cavalry known as *thyreophoroi* (LT, 1:$126^{1501-05}$ [VI 31 (32)]); based on the *Taktika* of Aelian [II 12]), and the elongated, rounded *thyreos* of Macedonian foot hoplites ($129^{1530-31}$ [VI 34]: καὶ γὰρ σκουτάρια ἐποίουν αὐτοῖς στρογγύλα, μεγάλα, παραμήκη, ἃ ἔλεγον θυρεούς). That the *thyreos* differed from the circular *aspis* is attested by Leo's listing (LT, 1:130^{1540} [VI 35 (36)] of the terms in turn, clearly as different types of shield (although here he is repeating Aelian [II 8]), while in another place he lists *thyreoi* that are rectangular next to 'other large *skoutaria*' ({LT, vol. B', p. 290 [XX 183]} δεῖ αὐτούς ὑπό σκουταρίων τετραγώνων ἐπιμηκῶν τῶν λεγομένων θυρεῶν, ἢ ἑτέρων σκουταρίων μεγάλων); and equates the *thyreos* with a 'great' *skoutarion* (LT, 1:$90^{1157-58}$ [V 2 (3)]). See also T. Kolias, "Thyreos" in *BKR*, 263; Kolias 1988, 91; Wiita 1978, 295; Rance 2008, 725–9 and above, n. 321.

kite-shaped shields of the Crusaders.[324] It seems therefore that in the ninth and tenth centuries '*thyreos*' was being used as a technical term for the large, oval shield.

The shape is quite precisely determined in the case of the word πάρμα (Lat. *parma*) which was applied until the tenth century to a relatively small, round cavalry shield with strengthened rim that originated in ancient Rome.[325] The lexicons indicate that the leather *parma* became popular in Thrace and also among the Chalcedonians.[326] In turn the πέλτη changed its antique form of a sheepskin- or goatskin-covered crescent into a round form, like a small *skoutarion*.[327] It continued to be used by light-armed infantry formations of peltasts, although the term itself was already considered an archaism.[328] A feature men-

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[324] Komnene (2:225^{9} [X 9/9]) uses the term *thyreos* for the first time in reference to the (probably kite-shaped) shields of the Crusaders; from then on it is the main word she employs to describe the shield (e.g. 3:65^{16} [XII 4/3], 142^{21} [XIV 1/3]; and below, nn. 351, 415). See also Choniates, pp. 61^{62} (as a defensive arm of the Crusaders taking part in the Second Crusade (1147), 138$^{22, 26}$ (the *thyreos* of Toros II hanging at the flank of his horse, which protected him from wounds in a duel with Andronikos Komnenos); cf. also Kolias 1988, 91, who interprets these references as generic terms for shields. Meanwhille, Nicolle (1988, 2:624) identifies the *thyreos* with the kite-shaped shield of the cavalry and the circular shield of the infantry. In turn, Bryennios (p. 75^{18} [I 1], 265^{25} [IV 4]) lists them among the equipment of the 'Immortals' of Michael VII Doukas; see also above n. 98 on p. 23.

[325] See Lydos, p. 22$^{8-11}$ [I 5/11]; H. Aigner ("Parma" in *BKR*, 188) believes that it was a metal shield of about 30 cm in diameter, used by gladiators; and also Górecki 1980, 209; Kolias (1988, 90–1 and n. 19), who on the basis of Isidore of Seville: *Parma levia arma, quasi parva, non clipeum*, indicates that the full *parma* was circular in shape.

[326] Suda, 4:59^{10} [674]: Πάρμαι· δερμάτινοι θυρεοὶ παρὰ Καλχηδονίοις., while Hesychios, 3:286 equates it with the short Thracian *thyreos* (πάρμη· Θ(ρ)ᾴκιον ὅπ(λ)ον, σκεπαστήριον, κονδότρον θυρεοῦ).

[327] On the original, crescent-like shape of the *pelta*, see Kolias's analysis of the term (1988, 90, n. 17), citing Isidore of Seville [XVIII 12, 4]: *Peltum scutum brevissimum in modum lunae mediae.* The Byzantine *pelta* was small in dimensions (LT 1:131^{1550} [VI 36 (37)]: πέλτην, ὅ ἐστι σκουτάριον μικρόν; Eust. Il. 1:538^{15}: ἀσπιδίσκια ἤγουν μικρὰ πελτάρια τὴν λέξιν), and was undoubtedly of a circular form, as is attested by comparison of the round *parma* to the Scythian variant of the *pelta* (see Lydos above, n. 325); as well as the frequent references to the small round shields of the peltasts (see below, nn. 328, 336, 339 and 376, 380). On the use of the term *pelta* in the Crusader States to described round Muslim shields (probably under Byzantine influence) see Nicolle 1988, 2:615.

[328] *Peltai* covered with goat- or sheepskin are mentioned by Eust. Il. 1:413$^{8-11}$, 3:394$^{20-21}$: ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἡ πέλτη ἀσπὶς ἦν δέρματι κεκαλυμμένη αἰγὸς [...] ἀσπίδα εἰπεῖν πρὸς διαστολήν, φασί, τῆς πέλτης. ἡ γὰρ πέλτη οὔτε ἴτυν ἔχει, καὶ αἰγὸς ἢ οἰὸς περιέσταλται δέρμα. Kolias (1988, 90) notes that in the *Taktika* and *Excerptum tacticum* the terms *pelta* and peltast are always accompanied by additional explanation, which may be evidence that shields of this type had fallen out of use by the 10th C.

tioned in several Byzantine lexicons that distinguished the *pelta* from other shields was the lack a reinforced rim.[329] The σάκος was a shield, that in view of its etymology and the meaning of its original Classical form σάκκος—'leather' or 'leather sack', was probably made from leather;[330] whereas εὔφορος (lit. 'comfortable') seems to have referred to a light shield of Georgian style.[331] In turn the δόρκα[332] mentioned by Porphyrogennetos was a large iron shield used only in the navy

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This view is supported by references in LT, 1:90$^{1158-59}$ [V 2 (3)] stating that small infantry shields had once been called *peltai* (ἕτερα σκουταρίσκια τῶν πεζῶν, τά ποτε λεγόμενα πέλται). The *pelta* is still listed alongside the *sakos* by Leo the Deacon, p. 47^{3} [III 8]; while Attaleiates (p. 46^{18}) mentions both types of shield, stating that at the battle of Mantzikert the emperor had 'neither *aspis* nor *pelta*'· οὔτε γὰρ ἀσπὶς οὔτε πέλτη οὔτ' ἔπαλξις.

Peltastai or 'peltasts' were originally a separate class of light troops intermediate between hoplites and *psiloi*, and were armed only with javelins, slings and bows. In the times of Leo the Wise, as is evident from his *Taktika* (LT, 1:115$^{1402-10}$ [VI 24], 131$^{1546-49}$ [VI 36 (37)]), the peltast class was absorbed into the *psiloi*, but continued to carry spears and small *peltai* that were curved like a barrel. On peltasts also see Suda, 3:548$^{16-25}$ [466]: 'Οπλῖται, πελτασταί, ψιλοί, τῆς πεζικῆς εἰσι καὶ μαχίμου δυνάμεως, ἔχουσι δὲ διαφοράς· ὁπλῖται μὲν γὰρ λέγονται οἱ βαρυτάτῃ κεχρημένοι ὁπλίσει κατὰ τὸν Μακεδονικὸν τρόπον ἀσπίσι περιφερέσι καὶ δόρασι περιμηκεστέροις. Ψιλοὶ δὲ οἳ κουφοτάτῃ κέχρηνται, τόξῳ καὶ ἀκοντίῳ καὶ λίθοις ἐκ σφενδόνης ἢ ἐκ χειρός· οἱ δὲ πελτασταὶ μέσῃ πως κέχρηνται σκευῇ· ἥ τε γὰρ πέλτη μικρὰ τίς ἐστιν ἀσπιδίσκη καὶ κούφη· καὶ τὰ δόρατα πολὺ τῶν ὁπλιτῶν λειπόμενα. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς σχηματικῆς δυνάμεως τρεῖς διαφοραί. καὶ 'Αριστοφάνης· τὸν θυμὸν κατάθου κύψας παρὰ τὴν ὀργὴν ὥσπερ ὁπλίτης. οἷον ὅπλα μὴ ἔχων, θυμῷ πολέμει μόνον. In an action against Bohemund at Ohrid, Alexios I designated a body of peltasts to shoot missiles at the Normans (Komnene, 2:20$^{13-16}$ [V 4/5]; and below, n. 259 on p. 370).

[329] Kolias 1988, 90; see Hesychios, 3:302: πέλτη· ἀσπὶς ἴτυν οὐκ ἔχουσα. ἢ ὅπλου σκέπασμα.; Suda, 4:82$^{18-19}$ [956]: Πέλτον· θωρακικὸν ὅπλον, καὶ εἶδος ταρίχου. ἢ ἀσπὶς ἴτυν μὴ ἔχουσα. On shield rims see also below, n. 347.

[330] Compare the shield of Ajax, which was made of seven layers of oxhide covered with a layer of bronze, and was convex in the centre with a bronze rim (Iliad, 2:11$^{219-22}$, 12$^{245-6}$, 13$^{266-8}$ [VII]). On the *sakos* in Byzantium see for example Hesychios, 4:223: σάκος· ἀσπίς. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ νεώτεροι σάγην τὴν πανοπλίαν φασί. σάκος αἴγειος· ἀντὶ τοῦ τεῦχος αἴγειον. θέλει δὲ εἰπεῖν τὴν πήραν, κατὰ μετάληψιν [σακοφόροι· ὁπλοφόροι]; Suda, 4:313$^{11-13}$ [40]: Σάκος· ὅπλον, ἀσπίδα. καὶ Σάκος, ἀρσενικόν, δι' ἑνὸς κ. Σάκους ἔχων καὶ κωρύκους. ἀντὶ τοῦ θυλάκους. κώρυκος δὲ πλέγμα δεκτικὸν ἄρτων.; Bryennios, p. 87^{19} [I 6]; Komnene, 2:222^{10} [X 9/4]; Kolias 1988, 89, nn. 9 and 90; and also above, n. 328.

[331] Suda, 2:479$^{6-7}$ [3802]: Εὔφορος· κοῦφος, ἐλαφρός. ὁ δὲ θυρεὸς τῶν 'Ιβήρων εὔφορος. On the Georgian shield (or *p'hari*) see also Nicolle 1988, 2:614.

[332] See e.g. DAI, 1:110^{31} [26] (during a battle with Rudolph, Berenger pretended to be dead after his army had left him on the battlefield, covering himself with his *dorka* which did not conceal his face and legs). The *dorka* is mentioned twice as part of a warship's equipment in De cer. 579^{2} [II 15], 670^{7} [II 45] (six *dorkai* were to be carried by a *dromon*) and DAI, 1:250$^{83-4}$ [51] (describing the fleet organized by Leo VI, the *dromons* of which were equipped also with shields and *dorkai*—οἷον σκουτάρια, δόρκας [...] καὶ ἄλλα, ὅσα ἐπιδέονται πλώϊμοι στρατιῶται ἐπιφέρεσθαι). In turn the

because of its weight.[333] Certain shield variants are mentioned only rarely, which may be evidence of their limited popularity,[334] or in some cases because they had completely fallen out of use—as with the ἀγκίλιον (from Lat. *ancile*) mentioned by John Lydos.[335]

As with armour, in order to properly specify a shield's type, an epithet was often added to the generic term. Small shields are described in the diminutive as σκουταρίσκια, ἀσπιδίσκια,[336] and as σκουτάρια μικρά[337]—in contrast to the large σκουτάρια μεγάλα.[338] Shields of elongated form are described as σκουτάρια ἐπιμήκη and ἀσπίδες ἐπιμήκεις; round ones as περιφέρεια (or στρογγύλα).[339] Triangular and

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custom of hanging *thyreoi* on the highest part of the ship is described in the NAUMACHICA (p. 65 [V 2/13]); see also Kolias 1988, 124.

[333] See Reiske's interpretation in DE CER., 2:682; and also DAI, 2:86 (linking the *dorka* with an Italian variant, the *targa*); Nicolle 1988, 2:596; and Kolias 1988, 95–6. These authors all believe that the *dorka* may have derived from the Arab leather shield known as the *darcah*, *doracah*, *addarca* (Kolias would even link it with the heavy *aspis* used by the troops of Leo of Tripoli during the storm of Thessaloniki in 904, see THEOPH. CONT., p. 523$^{17-18}$ [26]). Cf. also Haldon 1975, 34 n. 114, who sees the *dorka* as a defensive arm of sailors, but at the same time equates it with the Lydian shield. Manuel I Komnenos sheltered behind a large and heavy shield, perhaps a *dorka*, during a Norman siege on Kerkyra, see KINNAMOS, p. 100$^{14-17}$ [III]: ὁ κατανοήσας βασιλεὺς θατέρᾳ μέν χειρὶ ἀσπίδα εἵλετο, οὐ τῶν συνήθων δὴ τούτων οὐδὲ ἐξ ὧν σῶμα φράγνυται ἕν, εὐρεῖαν δὲ μάλιστα καὶ ἣν οὐδὲ κουφίσαι ἀνδρὶ ῥᾴδιον γίνεται; (see also the reference to *thyreoi* used during the same action in CHONIATES, p. 84$^{15-17}$: οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἐς τὸ ἀσφαλὲς ἀνατείναντες καὶ τὰ ξίφη σπασάμενοι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ φρουρίου προσηγγικότες ἐκθύμως διημιλλῶντο,). Additionally, see T. Kolias, "Dorka", *BKR*, 66; Nicolle 1988, 2:596 (who believes, that although made of leather, the *dorka* was used by sailors); and also frescoes from Peć depicting a warrior holding a shield of the same height as himself (Škrivanić 1957, fig. 75/2). On the other hand Leo {LT, vol. B', pp. 184 [XIV 13], 194 [XIX 25]} mentions *skoutaria* as part of the equipment of a *dromon*, and *skoutarioi* among its crew.

[334] E.g. the Lydian and woven shields mentioned in *De ceremoniis* (see above, n. 18 on p. 22 and below, n. 391).

[335] See LYDOS, p. 22$^{10-15}$ [I 5/11]; Kolias 1988, 89, n. 10.

[336] See e.g. SYLLOGE, p. 60 [XXXVIII 10] (= {LT, vol. B', p. 358 [XXXVIII]}), referring to the small round shields of the light-armed *psiloi* (ἀσπιδίσκια στρογγύλα). See also EUST. IL., 1:538^{15} (ἀσπιδίσκια ἤγουν μικρὰ πελτάρια), 2:122^{7}; HESYCHIOS, 1:[302].

[337] See e.g. Maurice's reference (STRAT., p. 258$^{13-15}$ [VIIB 15] = LT, 2:159^{4941}, 160$^{4944-46}$ [XIV 38]) to small *skoutaria* carried before battle on the chest (or covering the chest) to shield the helmet and armour, or on the back when they are made from shining iron (σιδηρᾶ σκουταρια λαμπρά). And also SYLLOGE on the small round shields of the javelineers (p. 53 [XXXI 3]: Οἱ δ' ἀκοντισταὶ περιφερεῖς μόνον ἀσπίδας μικρὰς ἔχοντες); and PRAECEPTA, p. 14^{36} [I 4] (= TNU [MG], p. 90^{39} [LVI 4]). See also below, n. 362.

[338] See e.g. LT, 1:130$^{1540-41}$ [VI 35 (36)].

[339] SYLLOGE, pp. 52 [XXXI 1], 61 [XXXIX 1] (= {LT, vol. B', pp. 360, 362 [XXXIX]}) mentions the elongated (probably oval) *aspis* of the *kataphraktoi*, 4½ spans (*spitha-*

rectangular shields are respectively ἀσπίδες τρίγωνοι and τετράγωνοι.[340] In turn, shields fitted with handgrips were probably known as χειροσκούταρα.[341]

All these shield types had a similar construction, elements of which can occasionally be discerned on images of the warrior saints.

Construction of the shield

Shields were constructed from a variety of materials. These included wood,[342] which was glued and covered for strength with leather (or

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mai) i.e. *c.*105 cm in length, and not less than 5 spans (*c.*117 cm) (ἀσπίδες μέν τοῖς καταφράκτοις ἔστωσαν ἐπιμήκεις σπιθαμῶν μάλιστα τεσσάρων καὶ ἡμισείας), while lightly-armoured mounted javelineers were to have elongated shields of the same size or round ones of three spans (*c.*70 cm) (οἱ μέν ἀκοντισταί [...] καί ἀσπίδα ἐπιμήκη σπιθαμῶν τεττάρων ἔγιστα ἤ καί περιφερῆ τρισπίθαμον); on the *spithame* see Schilbach (1970, 19–23, 45, 47–9; and 1982, 187; with references to sources published by him on the royal and Trapezuntine span), who states that it measured 12 *daktyloi* or *c.*23.4 cm; and also McGeer (1995, 63, 206), who expresses doubts at the excessive spear lengths obtained when using Schilbach's measurements (see below, n. 55 on p. 326—also in relation to shield sizes); see also below, nn. 376–380 on the similar shapes and dimensions of the light infantry *aspis*; and Parani 2003, 126. On the oval shields used by mercenary Wallachians and Serbs in Manuel I's battle against the Hungarians on 6 July 1167 see KINNAMOS, p. 271[18–19]; EUST. IL., 2:122[1–6] (elongated *thyreoi* of leather), 255[16–17]; while on rounded shields see e.g. EUST. IL., 1:688[4], 2:121[14–15], 203[12].

340 See e.g. SYLLOGE, p. 59 [XXXVIII 1] (= {LT, vol. B', p. 356 [XXXVIII]}); SUDA, 4:82[16] [995]: Πέλται· λόγχαι, καὶ ἀσπίδια τετράγωνα. καὶ καταπέλται, and also below, n. 401 on the rectangular shield. Parani (2003, 126) gives a height for this type of shield (of up to 1.404 m) as sufficient to cover the entire soldier.

341 The PRAECEPTA (p. 14[36–7] [I 4]) mentions χειροσκούταρα along with small shields as protection for archers (called *psiloi* by Phokas), which may suggest they were secured at the shoulder so as not to hinder the archer's movements. A shield of this type is mentioned in the hand-to-hand duel between Digenes Akritas and Philopappos (DIG. AKR., p. 332[1248]). In contrast, Kolias (1988, 110 and n. 130) believes the *cheiroskoutara* was a type of small archer shield, and that its name is not linked with it being held in the hand.

342 Kolias (1988, 92) cites two treatises on the art of besieging and defending fortresses, *De obsidione toleranda* and *Parekbolai*, which advise commanders preparing for a siege to collect planks (σανίδες) for the production and repair of shields. Kolias also points out the numerous references in the sources to broken shields and to missiles stuck in them—evidence that wood was the basic construction material of the *aspis*. Shields were certainly made of a light, buoyant material, as is indicated in several incidents when troops crossed rivers with their aid: Ammianus Marcellinus (AMMIAN. 1:171 [16.11.9], 185–6 16.12.57] mentions Julian the Apostate's Roman troops as well as Germans swimming with the aid of their shields across the Rhine; while in our period, CHONIATES speaks (p. 194[2–12]) of an action on the River Menander in 1176, during which a fleeing 'Persian' (i.e. Turkish) atabeg crossed the river by lying on a shield and using it as a raft (τοὺς διώκοντας δεδιὼς τὴν ἀσπίδα ὑποθεὶς τῷ ὕδατι ὡς κελητίῳ ταύτῃ ἐχρῆτο); he was followed by one the Byzantines' allied Alan troops, probably in the same manner since there was no ford. See also CAVARNOS, 10/1:149[13]

occasionally with parchment of a poorer quality, which was also easier to decorate);[343] hardened leather and metal, mostly iron;[344] and occasionally also copper and gold in the case of parade shields.[345] Shields were often reinforced with a metal rim to prevent damage in combat or while the shield rested on the ground.[346] While the Roman *scutum* often lacked such a rim, in Byzantium it was already in common use, and was known as σιάλωμα.[347] In the Middle Byzantine iconography of warrior saints, the *sialoma* is ever present. It often takes the form

(= MPG, 46:761); and Hoffmeyer 1966, 87, 89. For examples of Roman shields made from linked boards see Rostovtzeff 1935, 221, fig. 35; and *Age of Spirituality*, nos. 200–201.

343 On ancient leather shields see Eust. Il., 2:255²; *MPG*, 47:326 (τὰ δέρματα τῶν θυρεῶν). On leather covering for Byzantine shields see Kolias 1988, 92–3 and n. 34, and p. 126; McGeer 1995, 205–6; and Bartusis (1992, 327), who cites a letter by Maximus Planudes from the end of the 13th C., regretting that the parchment sent to him from Asia Minor was of low quality and better suited as a military drumskin or to cover a shield than for writing. On Asiatic leather shields made in various techniques see Nicolle (2002, 183, 190–1, 193, and esp. 199–206, where he discusses the lamination technique described by Al-Tarsusi, pp. 114–15 [4]); Hoffmeyer 1966, 89, 97; Haldon 2002, 71–2; Manova 1969, 214. The last recognizes leather shields in 13th–15th-C. painted representations from Bulgaria. The Military Museum in Belgrade has a round leather shield (Manova 1969, 210).

344 Leo instructs troops before battle to raise τά σιδηρᾶ σκουτάρια so that their gleam would frighten the enemy (LT, 1:90¹¹⁵⁹ [V 2 (3)] and {LT, vol. B', p. 294 [XX 188]}); see also above, n. 337; Hoffmeyer 1966, 87; and Kolias (1988, 97, n. 55) who believes the references to iron shields refer only to iron fittings covering the shield's wooden skeleton. On iron shields see also Haldon 1975, 33. Cf. also Aussaresses (1909, 50) who finds evidence for metal shields in the clang they made when struck. Metal shields that appear in Bulgarian painting are identified by Manova 1969, 209.

345 Sylloge (p. 103 [LIII 9] (= {LT, vol. B', p. 380 [LIII]}) mentions the copper rods and shields buried in the ground to defend against the mining activities of enemy besiegers. There can be no doubt that the Byzantines were conscious of the anachronistic character of bronze, which in antiquity was beaten into sheets to make the heavy circular shields of the hoplites (Eust. Il., 1:664¹¹⁻²⁰, and also e.g. 2:557¹, on the gilded shield of Nestor). When attending audiences before Constantine Porphyrogennetos and Romanos I Lekapenos, troops from the Macedonian *hetaireia* carried gold, gilded copper and iron *skoutaria* (σκουτάρια χρυσᾶ καὶ χαλκόχρυσα καὶ σιδηρᾶ) (De Cer. 1:576⁵⁻⁶ [II 15]). See also Eust. Il., 2:101⁹ and 3:144³⁻⁵ (on the imperial parade shield called the *amphivronta*: Τὴν δὲ ἀσπίδα τοῦ βασιλέως ἀμφιβρότην λέγει, πολυδαίδαλον, θοῦριν, καλήν. Ἔνθα σημείωσαι ὅτι τε, ὥσπερ ἀλλαχοῦ θοῦρις ἀλκή ἡ θοῦρόν τινα ποιοῦσα, ὅ ἐστιν ὁρμητίαν, οὕτω καὶ ἀσπὶς θοῦρις, καθά). On gilded parade shields see also Kolias 1988, 103. A gold shield appears beside St Eustathios in a scene of his conversion in the *Theodore Psalter, Brit. Add. 19352*, fol. 130v (see Der Nersessian 1970, 47, fig. 211).

346 See Kolias (1988, 93) who cites Polybius.

347 Hesychios, 4:26: σιάλωμα· μέρος τι τοῦ ὅπλου τοῦ καλουμένου θυρεοῦ; Suda, 4:353¹³ [353]: Σιάλωμα· σιδηρᾶ περιφέρεια τοῦ Ῥωμαϊκοῦ θυρεοῦ. On the presence of a rim on Byzantine shields see also Kolias 1988, 93–4; Manova (1969) 214.

of a gilded border, richly adorned with ornament, and sometimes with precious stones (figs. 5, 19a, 22a,b, 25a,c,d–27, 29–30c,e,f, 32, 37–39, 41a, 44a, 45a–48d, 50, 67–68, 71, 73, 81a).[348]

In ancient Rome the handgrip for the shield was made by cutting two openings close together in the wooden surface, leaving a bar as a handgrip (fig. 64).[349] These openings in the middle of the shield had to be covered to protect the vulnerable hand, and in the Late Roman period a metal boss or *umbo* was used for this purpose,[350] simultaneously adding strength to the whole construction. The Byzantine shield boss was known by the ancient term ὀμφαλός (lit. 'navel'),[351] and thanks to Maurice's *Strategikon* also by the Hellenized version of the Latin

[348] A rim encrusted with precious stones is depicted, e.g. on the shields of St Hieron in the Church of the Buckle in Korama (Turkish: Göreme), Joshua in the church of St George Diasorites on Naxos, and St George in Asinou (Jolivet-Lévy 1992, fig. 109a = Epstein 1986, fig. 42; Chatzidakis et al. 1989, fig. 10 on p. 74; Stylianou 1997, fig. 70). An ornamental border in the form of a geometric or palmette frieze and scrolling foliage appears on warrior saints' shields e.g. on frescoes in the churches of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze and the Holy Anargyroi in Kastoria; the chapel of St Panteleimon in Upper Boularioi, and the church of Episkopi on the Mani peninsula; it is also visible on the reliquary of St Demetrios in the Historical Museum in Moscow; on mosaics on the south wall of the presbytery of the cathedral in Cefalù, and in the monastery of Nea Mone on Chios (Pelekanidis 1953, figs. 21, 23, 27/1; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 12–13 on pp. 60–1; Borsook 1990, fig. 9; Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 48, 57; 66; Drandakes 1995, fig. 19 on p. 383 and fig. 21 on p. 168; Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, fig. 59; Grabar 1950, fig. 20 [= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 36]). See also the ornamental rims on Georgian shields (e.g. Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 36, 37; and Privalova 1980, fig. 50). On the subject of inscriptions on shield rims see below, p. 241.

[349] See O. Fiebiger, "Scutum" in *PR*, 2/3:915; Robinson 1975, 189, (on decorated shield bosses); Kolias 1988, 98 (with further bibliog.). The Late Roman *thyreoi* found at Dura-Europos have apertures cut out of the wooden surface to serve as handgrips (James 2004, fig. 92; *Age of Spirituality*, nos. 200–201 = Rostovtzeff 1935, fig. 35; Southern/Dixon 1996, fig. 19).

[350] Kaczanowski assumes (1992, 61–2, figs. 15/1, 3–4, 16/1a–b) that the protruding hemispherical shield boss appeared in the Roman army only in the late period, and that shields fitted with them were used initially by auxiliary units recruited from the barbarian nations; see also the examples found at Dura (James 2004, 160–2, 171–5, fig. 95).

[351] See e.g. EUST. IL., 1:785$^{28-9}$, 2:255^{5}, 256$^{5-8}$, 459$^{7-8}$ (ὡς τῆς ἀσπίδος ἐν τῷ μέσῳ ἐχούσης ὀμφαλόν, ὃς καὶ ἔοικε διὰ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι ὀμφαλός), 3:63^{21}; HESYCHIOS, 2:761; SUDA, 3:536$^{22-6}$ [316–317]: **καὶ Ὀμφάλιον, ὁ ὀμφαλὸς τῆς ἀσπίδος**. Ζηνὶ τόδ' ὀμφάλιον σάκεος τρύφος, ᾧ ἐπὶ λαιὰν ἔσχεν ἀριστεύων, ἄνθετο Νικαγόρας. [...] 'Ομφαλόν· τὸ μεσαίτατον. καὶ 'Ομφάλιον ἀσπίδος, τὸ μεσαίτατον αὐτῆς.; KOMNENE, 3:114$^{29-30}$ [XIII 8/2] mentions the copper shield bosses of the 'Celtic knights' i.e. Normans: ἐπ' ὀμφαλῷ χαλκοχύτῳ μαρμαίρων. See also H. Droysen, "Aspis ('Ασπίς) (15)", in *PR*, 2/2 (1896): 1735; Kolias 1988, 99.

buccula, βούκουλον.[352] Its shape can be reconstructed from archaeological finds from the Avar Khaganate, Italy and Syria (fig. 65), which are often associated with Byzantine shields.[353] The boss was made of a flat, broad ring fastened to the surface of the shield, and a prominent, sometimes sharply-pointed cone, which corresponds to the shield-boss of the *protostates* ('men standing in the first rank') mentioned in the anonymous treatise *Peri strategias*, which were additionally fitted with an 8-cm spike (ξίφος). This transformed the shield from a defensive arm into a type of offensive weapon, which unnerved the enemy and could inflict wounds.[354]

A shield boss of similar shape to those found archaeologically appears on a shield engraved on the silver dish (*missorium*) found at

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352 When describing the serried infantry formation (*phoulkon*) Maurice writes of shield bosses touching the rims of neighbouring shields in the front rank: Καὶ πυκνούμενοι σφίγγονται πρὸς τὸν μέσον τόπον κατὰ βάθος καὶ μῆκος τοσοῦτον, ἵνα οἱ μὲν ἔμπροσθεν τεταγμένοι ἐκ πλαγίου εἰς τὰ βούκουλα ἀλλήλοις ἐγγίζουσιν, οἱ δὲ ὄπισθεν κατὰ νώτου ἀλλήλοις σχεδὸν κεκόλληνται. [...] Καὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν κατὰ τὸ μέτοωπον τεταγμένων πυκνούντων τὰ σκουτάρια αὐτῶν μέχρι τοῦ ἐγγίζειν τοῖς βουκούλοις κατασκέποντες προσπεπλασμένως τὰς γαστέρας αὐτῶν μέχρι τῆς κνήμης, οἱ παρεστῶτες αὐτοῖς ὄπιθεν ὑπερανέχοντες τὰ σκουτάρια αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναπαύοντες εἰς τὰ βούκουλα τῶν ἔμπροσθεν σκέπουσι τὰ στήθη καὶ τὰς ὄψεις αὐτῶν καὶ οὕτως συμβάλλουσιν (STRAT., pp. 440^{22-5}, 442^{33-8} [XII B 16]). See also Kolias (1988, 100–2) who explains the disappearance of the term βούκουλον by the gradual transformation of its meaning, which by the 9th C. apparently referred to the shield as a whole. Cf. also the passages in Leo's *Taktika* modelled on Maurice's *Strategikon*, where the term is omitted (LT, 1:$179^{2109-13}$ [VII 64 (71)], 180^{2123}–181^{2130} [VII 66 (73)]). On the term's Latin origins see Mihăescu 1968, 491. Peter Patrikios also uses the term καταβουκοῦλον in DE CER. (1:412^{13-14} [I 91], 425^{5-7} [I 93]) where he speaks of summonses to pay a donative of five gold solidi and a pound (Gk. *litra*, Lat. *libra*; see below, n. 664) of silver in favour of these *kataboukoula*, which appear among acclamations in honour of Leo I and Anastasius.

353 See *Germanen*, no. V 97c (a bronze umbo occasionally linked with Byzantium, with gilded rivets and a disc on the tip from a 6th-century Gepid burial, currently in the Ferenc Móra Museum in Szeged); Haldon 2002, 75 and nn. 43, 45 (with further bibliog. on finds in Lombard burials in Italy and Gothic ones from the Crimea) figs. VI 3–5 (spiked Gothic umbo of *c.*400 from the Crimea, currently in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg), VI 14–15 (Umbrian shield-boss of the 7th C., currently in the Museo Alto Medioevo, Rome [for earlier bibliog. on this artifact see Kolias 1988, 99, n. 64] and a Byzantine shield boss decorated with animal ornament from ʿAin Dara, 10th/11th C., now in the Archaeological Museum, Aleppo).

354 PERI STRATEGIAS, p. 52^{3-13} [16]: τὰς δέ γε τῶν πρωτοστατούντων μάλιστα ἀσφαλεστέρας τυγχάνειν, ἔχειν δὲ αὐτὰς μόνας **πέταλον σιδηροῦν** κατὰ μέσον τῆς ἀσπίδος εἰς κύκλον γραφόμενον ἐν ᾧ **ξίφος** ἀνεστάτω οὐκ ἔλαττον τὸ ὕψος δακτύλων τεσσάρων, ἵν' οὐ μόνον τοὺς ἐναντίους φοβῇ πόρρωθεν ὁρῶντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τραυματίζῃ κακῶς εἰς πεῖραν ἐρχόμενον. The length of 'at least 4 fingers' mentioned in the treatise corresponds to about 78 mm (see above, n. 339) See also the interpretations of Kolias (1988, 99) and Haldon (2002, 69).

Kerch with an equestrian figure thought to represent Constantius II.[355] Meanwhile the lack of reference to pointed *omphalos* terminals and (in military treatises from post-Iconoclasm period) also to shield bosses themselves indicate that this element had lost its initial significance.[356] This is reflected in the iconography where the saints' shields have a flat conical umbo that closely follows the concave shape of the surface, which is best seen in side view (figs. 19a,b, 26–27, 46a–c, 67).[357] An exception is St George's shield on a tenth-century Georgian silver panel from Bravaldzali[358] where the *omphalos* has a distinctly pointed shape. The form of the umbo cannot be accurately determined when the shield is depicted frontally.

In turn, Kolias's suggestion that the trifoliate boss terminals of the shields of Sts Theodore and Demetrios shown on the seals of Nikephoros Botaneiates and Andronikos from the 1070s and '80s, and later of Alexios and Adrianos Komnenos,[359] should be interpreted

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[355] See Bank 1966, no. 1.

[356] This is pointed out by Kolias (1988, 98, 100), stressing the changes in passages in LT that were borrowed from Strat. (see above, n. 352).

[357] See e.g. the bosses of the shields of Sts Theodore, Demetrios and George, on fols. 41v, 123r and 151v of the *Evangelistarion Dionysiou 587*; St George on fol. 209v of the Oxford codex of the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos* (*Magdalen gr. 3*); and also St Demetrios on a mosaic from the main church of monastery of the Archangel Michael, Kiev; on a fresco in the church of Episkopi on the Mani peninsula; and on an ivory panel in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (*Athos*, vol. A', figs. 216, 241, 265; Hutter 1999, fig. 20; *Glory of Byzantium*, no 81 and fig. on p. 283 = Cutler 1994, fig. 126; Drandakes 1995, fig. 21 on p. 168). More clearly defined shield-bosses can be seen on the shields of Sts Demetrios and Prokopios on the *Forty Martyrs Triptych* in the Hermitage, and St Theodore on a panel in the Museo Archeologico, Venice, as well as on a gilt pendant in the British Museum (Cutler 1994, figs. 28, 44 [= Bank 1966, no. 126]; *Byzantium*, no. 160). An example in Georgian painting is St George's shield on a 12th-C. fresco in the church in Timotesubani (Privalova 1980, fig. 50).

The concave shape of the shield is mentioned in Peri Strategias, p. 84[13-14] [27]. In turn, Leo VI describes (LT, 1:132[1559-62] [VI 37(38)]) after Aelian [XII] the circular bronze Macedonian *aspis*, of 3 spans (*spithamai*) in diameter, which bellied out slightly: καὶ ἀσπὶς Μακεδονικὴ χαλκῆ, οὐ λίαν κοίνη, ἤγουν σκουτάριον στρογγύλον, μεγα, ἀπαλωτέραν ἔχον τὴν κοιλότητα, τὸ δὲ μέτρον αὐτῆς σπιθαμῶν τριῶν. Further sources are collected by Kolias (1988, 119 n. 163), who notes, however, that they always refer to the shields of other nations—Arabs and Normans.

[358] See Tschubinaschvili 1959, fig. 36.

[359] Cf. Kolias 1988, 100, n. 71 (and also his incorrect identification of the forms of shield bosses on miniatures in the *Madrid Skylitzes* and the *Theodore Psalter, Brit. Add. 19352*). The seals are published by Zacos 1972, vol. 1/3, nos. 2690, 2701bis–2702b, 2703–2704, 2707–2708b. The trifoliate form of shield-boss was probably introduced either by Nikephoros Botaneiates or by Isaac Komnenos while serving as *doux* (governor) of Antioch (1074–78). This motif became widespread on the seals of Isaac's close family after he was summoned to the capital by Botaneiates who was taking over the

as shield *xiphoi* arouses serious reservations in view of their form, as well as the interval separating these artefacts from the references in *Peri strategias*, during which no other illustrations of sharp, protruding bosses can be found.

The reduced prominence of the shield boss in the military iconography or its complete abandonment was undoubtedly caused by a change in the construction of Byzantine shields. With the replacement of handgrips cut into the fabric of the shield by leather thong grips secured to the shield's interior (a solution in use since Mycenaean times, known in ancient Greece as πόρπαξ, and in Byzantium also as ἀντιλαβεύς, ἀντοχεύς or ὄχανος),[360] the protection for the hand became redundant. The shield boss therefore became an element that merely reinforced the shield, yet at the same time added to its weight. Depictions of shields without bosses can therefore be regarded as a reflection of their changing form during the Byzantine era.

In the warrior saint iconography the *ochanos* appears rarely, perhaps because shields are as a rule depicted from the front or the side. One of the few examples where a saint's shield was painted with its interior towards the viewer is a fresco from the church of the Koimesis in Episkopi, on which St Orestes holds a small round *aspis* by two bow-

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imperial throne, and it remained present on Isaac's seals when he held the successive offices of *sebastos* and *despotes*. It was used by Isaac's two younger brothers, Alexios (while he served successively as *proedros*, *sebastos* and *megas domestikos of the West*) and *protosebastos* Adrianos (disappearing once he became *megas domestikos*).

[360] See H. Droysen, "Aspis ('Ασπίς) (15)" in *PR*, 2/2 (1896): 1736 (on the *porpax* of the Spartan shield and the antique κανών); Kolias 1988, 120–2 and n. 167; James 2004, 175–6, fig. 96 and the definitions of the various terms respectively by: Hesychios, 3:362: πόρπαξ· ἡ λαβὴ τοῦ ὅπλου, 1:[213]: ἀντιλαβεύς· ὁ πόρπαξ τῆς τοῦ ὁπλίτου ἀσπίδος, 1:[217]: ἀντοχεύς· πόρπαξ ἀσπίδος; and in the Suda, 3:402$^{4-6}$ [M 1128] πόρπαξ δὲ κατά τινας μὲν ὁ ἀναφορεὺς τῆς ἀσπίδος· ὡς δέ τινες, τὸ διῆκον μέσον τῆς ἀσπίδος σιδήριον, ᾧ κρατεῖ τὴν ἀσπίδα ὁ στρατιώτης. 4:177^{25}–178^{3} [2090]: Πόρπαξ· ᾧ τὴν ἀσπίδα κατέχουσιν ὁ λεγόμενος ὄχανος· ἀνετίθεσαν γὰρ τὰ ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ὅπλα ἄνευ ὀχάνων, ἵνα μὴ ἑτοίμως αὐτοῖς ἔχωσι χρῆσθαι. οὐ γάρ σ' ἐχρῆν, εἴπερ φιλεῖς τὸν δῆμον, ἐκ προνοίας ταύτας ἐᾶν αὐτοῖσι τοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀνατεθῆναι. Πόρπαξ, κατά τινας μὲν ὁ ἀναφορεὺς τῆς ἀσπίδος· ὡς δέ τινες τὸ διῆκον μέσον τῆς ἀσπίδος σιδήριον, ᾧ κρατεῖ τὴν ἀσπίδα ὁ στρατιώτης. Eust. Il. (1:371^{3}) indicates the antique origins of this element, which was initially composed of two straps in an X-like arrangement ('Ενταῦθα δὲ σημειοῦνται οἱ παλαιοί, ὅτι οὔπω τότε πόρπακας εἶχον αἱ ἀσπίδες), 3:394$^{10-11}$. In turn, we hear that during Digenes Akritas' duel with Philopappos (Dig. Akr., 164^{220} [VI] [≈ 332^{1250}]) after the hero's shield was splintered all that remained in his hand was its κράτημα (see also the definitions in the Suda, 3:599^{4} [1029]: Ὄχανος· τὸ κράτημα τῆς ἀσπίδος; and in Hesychios, vol. 2 [3:247]: ὄχανον· ὁ τῆς ἀσπίδος πόρπαξ).

shaped handgrips made from braided thongs which are secured to the shield's interior with the aid of four rings with mounts (fig. 38).[361]

Besides handgrips for carrying shields, in use already in Alexander the Great's army was a leather sling (τελαμών, ἀορτήρ), which allowed a soldier on the march or on horseback to hang the shield over his back. This gave him freedom of movement, while the shield also provided additional protection from the sun.[362] Long double straps are clearly visible above the handgrip on the shield of St George in Nerezi (fig. 45a), while a discarded shield fitted with a leather loop is visible

[361] *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 17. See also the similar handgrips made up from two bows visible on the following depictions of shields: figures in combat on a stone relief from the 11th-C. Kievan cathedral of St Sophia (Nicolle 1988, vol. 2, fig. 186 = Grabar 1976, fig. 58b); a 13th-C. relief from Iconium (modern Konya) preserved in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Art in Istanbul (Gamber 1995, fig. 12); an ivory plaque in the Hermitage (Cutler 1994, fig. 67); and also on fol. 173r of octateuch *Vat. gr. 747* (Lowden 1992, fig. 2); see also Kolias 1988, 120 n. 169. Handgrips on the shields of the warrior saints can also be seen on a fresco with an image of St Prokopios in the katholikon of the monastery of St Panteleimon in Nerezi, which is depicted with a complicated arrangement of three straps tied to each other on its external side; and on the cover of a 12th/13th C. gilded silver reliquary of St Demetrios in the treasury of the Vatopedi Monastery on Mt Athos (Maguire 1996, fig. 10; Grabar 1950, fig. 5). Kolias (1988, 96) believes that the leather-thong grips were fastened to the metal studs often visible on the shield's surface, as is confirmed by an Avar handgrip with two such studs found in Hungary (*Germanen*, no. V.98d). For later Serbian images of handgrips in frescoes from Gračanica, Dečani and Kalenić see Škrivanić 1957, figs. 67, 71, 75/4, 76/5–8, 76/10, 82; for Bulgarian examples see Manova 1969, 214, figs. 20/2–3 (from Boboshevo and Berende).

[362] On the subject of the *telamon* on the shield see Kolias 1988, 120 (with source references); Żygulski 1998, 55, 58 (on the straps on the shields of Macedonian phalangites). The slinging of shields on the back is mentioned by Komnene, 1:35^{13} [I 9/3]: οὐδὲ τὴν ἀσπίδα τῶν ὤμων παρεῖτο; and Leo the Deacon, p. 133^{15} [VIII 4] in reference to the Rus' (Tauroscythians). The custom may have been borrowed from Western Europe, since {LT, vol. B', p. 136 [XVIII 82]} states that the Franks and Lombards fastened shields to their torsos with the aid of straps to create a kind of corselet. Slinging a shield on the back freed the rider's arms for guiding the horse and holding a weapon. Vegetius, p. 40 [I 20] writes that foot archers have no shields since they have to carry bows. Strat., p. 126$^{5-7}$ [II 8] (= LT, 2:38$^{3806-07}$ [XII 49 (50)]): τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς πάντας, τοὺς ἐν μέσῳ ταssoμένους, ὅσοι τοξεύειν οἴδασιν, ἀρκάτους σκουταρίων χωρίς. Οὐδὲ γὰρ δυνατόν ἐστι δεόντως τρακτεύειν τινὰ τόξον ἐπάνω ἵππου ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ σκουταρίου κατεχομένου καὶ τόξου. Leo VI recommends (LT 1:153^{1800}–154^{1805} [VII 30 (35)] that archers do not carry shields, since holding them on the left arm hinders drawing the bow. See also Praecepta, p. 38$^{72-3}$ [III 9]; and also Darkó 1937, 129–30; McGeer 1995, 206; and Kolias 1988, 103. Leather straps used to sling the sword and shield are mentioned in Eust. Il., 1:368$^{8-9}$; Eust. Od., 2:55^{26}: διὸ καὶ ἀορτὴρ λέγεται. οὕτω δὲ καὶ τελαμών τις λέγεται ἀσπίδος ἀορτήρ.; Hesychios, 4:138 [392]: τελαμών· λῶρος, καὶ ὁ ἀναφορεὺς τοῦ ξίφους καὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος, ἢ δεσμός, ἢ φασκία. On the ancient *telamon* see also H. Droysen, "Aspis (Ἀσπίς) (15)" in *PR*, 2/2 (1896): 1735; while on the *aorter* for the sword see below, n. 142 on p. 346.

in a combat scene between Petronas and the Arab troops of the emir Amer on fol. 73v of the *Madrid Skylitzes*.[363] An *aorter* in the form of a loop placed loosely around the left wrist appears on a fresco depicting Sts Demetrios, George, Nestor and Merkourios on the south wall of the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria (figs. 48a–d).[364] Shields are carried by warrior saints on their backs in ninth century representations, initially only by cavalrymen, who usually bear a round *aspis* on the left shoulder (figs. 32, 61).[365] From the twelfth century saints depicted on foot occasionally have large kite-shaped or triangular shields slung on their backs. Examples include St Theodore Teron on an icon in the treasury of the monastery of St John the Evangelist on Patmos, whose large shield hangs on a red *aorter* adorned with gold band- and rhombus-shaped fittings (fig. 29); and various saints on frescoes in the church of Sts Kosmas and Damianos (the Holy Anargyroi) in Kastoria. On a mural on a neighbouring wall of the same church, St Nestor has a shield slung over his shoulder on a leather *aorter* attached to the shield's interior (fig. 30b).[366] Meanwhile, on a mosaic in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, St Merkourios holds up a round shield that rests on his back by means of a leather loop.[367] It should be stressed that the depiction of warrior saints with shields on their backs is a novelty that occurs for the first time in Middle Byzantine

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[363] See Tsamakda 2002, fig. 180.

[364] See Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 12–13 on pp. 60–1 (= Walter 2003a, fig. 4).

[365] The earliest depictions of saints on horseback with shields slung on their backs are of Sts George and Theodore on the wings of a 9th- or 10th-C. Sinaian triptych, where they are slung on an *aorter* over the right shoulder (Weitzmann 1976, nos. B43–44). On the 10th-C depictions of the equestrian warrior saints it is not possible to determine unambiguously whether their shields are slung on an *aorter* or held in the hand. Thanks to the raised hand gesture it is possible to suppose that the shield of a mounted saint in the Cappadocian church of Yusuf Koç Kilise in Avçilar (Maçan) hangs on a *aorter* (neg. no. L.75.1174(AE) in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington). See also the following later depictions: St George in the church of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos in Kastoria (Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 21 on p. 41), where a narrow *aorter* strap painted in red is visible; St Theodore Stratelates in the church of Hagioi Theodoroi near Kaphiona on the Mani (Drandakes 1995, fig. 21 on p. 94); and St Sergios in the 12th/13th-C. katholikon of the monastery of St Moses the Ethiopian (Mar Musa Al-Habashi) near Nebek in Syria (Dodd 1992, fig. 28). Other early depictions of horsemen with shields slung on their backs appear on miniatures in the *Khludov Psalter* on fols. 58r–v; and in the *Theodore Psalter* of 1066, *Brit. Add. 19352*, on fol. 145r (Shchepkina 1977, fig. 58; Der Nersessian 1970, fig. 233).

[366] See Pelekanidis 1953, figs. 21/1, 27/1; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 76.

[367] See Borsook 1990, fig. 36.

period and becomes widespread only in the Palaiologan era.[368] It can therefore be regard as an innovation introduced as a result of changes in how shields were actually carried.

The handgrips on shields' interiors could also be used to hang them on spears struck in the ground around tents erected on the camp perimeter. *Peri strategias* recommends creating this type of palisade to defend sites where the army halted.[369] The custom survived until the eleventh century, as is confirmed by Leo the Deacon's reference to John I Tzimiskes fortifying the camp at Dorostolon in 971, employing not only a ditch and rampart, but also, following Roman practice, a row of spears thrust into the parapet with *thyreoi* supported on them. Yahya of Antioch also describes the rampart surrounding Romanos Argyros's camp during the Syrian expedition of 1030, with shield placed on top of it, a solution characteristic of the Greeks.[370] A camp surrounded by a palisade of spears and shields is illustrated in the *Madrid Skylitzes* (fol. 176r; fig. 66), showing the arrival of volunteers at the camp of the

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[368] Several Serbian depictions of large, triangular shields slung on the back with the aid of an *aorter* are published by Škrivanić 1957, 136, figs. 4 (Merkourios in Resava–Manasija), 7 (Demetrios in the church of St Andreas on the Treska), 78 (Demetrios, George and Victor in the church of St Demetrios in Peć). See also Manova 1969, 210, figs. 7, 9–10 (round shield on the backs of Theodore Stratelates, Demetrios and Nestor in frescoes in the katholikon of the monastery of Zemen); see also Kolias 1988, 122, n. 176.

[369] See PERI STRATEGIAS p. 88^{24-8} [28]: Λυσιτελὲς δὲ τὸν χάρακα ἐκ τῶν παρακειμένων συντάττειν σκηνῶν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ταύτας, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰλῶν ἐλέγομεν, κύκλῳ τῶν ἰδίων σκηνῶν ἔχειν τά τε δόρατα καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας, ἀλλ' ἑκάστην ἴλην τῶν κατὰ τὰ πέρατα τεταγμένων τοῦ στρατοπέδου τὰ μὲν ἄλλὰ κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴ ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ δόρατά καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας εἰς τὸν κοινὸν χάρακα συντάττειν, ὅστις κύκλος ἐστὶν ἔνοπλος καὶ περίβολος συνέχων τὸ στράτευμα; see also Kolias 1988, 124 and n. 90 on p. 200. The origins of this custom should probably be sought in the Roman *castrum*: when describing a legionary camp on the Rhine, AMMIAN. (1:187 [16.12.62]) states it was surrounded by several lines of ramparts with shields (*scutumque ordine multiplicato uallatus*).

[370] See LEO THE DEACON 142^{1}–143^{9} [IX 1]: Αρτι δὲ ἡμέρας διαυγαζούσης, ἐρυμνῷ χάρακι τοῦτον τόν τρόπον ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐκρατύνετο. γεώλοφός τις χαμαίζηλος τοῦ Δορυστόλου ἐκ διαστήματος, κατὰ τὸ πεδίον ἀνίσταται, ἐν τούτῳ τὸ στράτευμα διασκηνισάμενος, ταφρείαν ἀνορύττειν κυκλόθεν ἐκέλευε· τόν τε χοῦν ἐκφοροῦντας ἐς τὴν τὸ στρατόπεδαον ταινιοῦσαν τῆς τάφρου ὀφρῦν ἀποτίθεσθαι, ἐς ὕψος δὲ ἀποχρῶν αἱρομένων τῶν χωμάτων ἄνωθεν καταπηγνύειν τὰ δόρατα, ἐπερείδειν τε τούτοις τοὺς θυρεοὺς ἀλλήλων ψαύοντας· ὡς ἀντὶ τείχους χρηματίζει τήν τε τάφρον καὶ τὸν ἐκφορηθέντα χοῦν τῷ στρατεύματι· καὶ μὴ ἐνὸν εἴν τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἔνδον διαβαίνειν, ἀλλ' εἴργεσθαι τῆς ἐφόδου τῇ τάφρῳ ἐγχρίπτουσιν. εἰθισμένον δὲ Ῥωμαίοις, ταύτῃ τὴν σφῶν ἐπὶ τῆς πολεμίας διατίθεσθαι ἔπαυλιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν χάρακα τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἐκρατύνατο, τῇ ἐπιούσῃ ἐκτάξας τὴν στρατιὰν τῷ τείχει προσέβαλλε. See also McGeer 1995, 350–4 (with a French translation of Yahya's account).

usurper Bardas Skleros; another miniature (fol. 201v) shows Romanos Argyros's tents during his Syrian campaign.[371]

Peri strategias, and after it the *Praecepta militaria*, advise that the shields of soldiers resting in camp should be supported against their spears, and that these should be thrust in the ground to the right of the feet of those sleeping with the concave sides turned towards them. In emergency the soldiers could then immediately reach for their shield when rising from bed.[372] There is reason to suppose that this custom influenced the iconography of the warrior saints. Theodore Stratelates, depicted in an orant pose on a steatite icon in the Vatican collections (fig. 34), is accompanied by a kite-shaped shield rested on a spear thrust in the ground before him in a manner similar to the shields on the *Madrid Skylitzes* miniature.[373] Although fragmentary, another eleventh-century panel depicting Theodore (currently in the Cherson Museum in Sevastopol),[374] appears to show a similar composition, and one can assume that Theodore's shield, though no longer preserved, was depicted in the same manner.

The type of the military saint on foot carrying a shield on the back or leaning against a spear is, however, relatively rare. The dominant arrangement in Middle Byzantine iconography (as well as in the period before Iconoclasm) was with the saint holding the shield in the left arm, or resting his left hand on a shield which sits on a base that is occasionally shown at its side. Regardless of the shield's position in the composition one can distinguish four basic types: round, oval, kite-shaped and triangular, and variants thereof.

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[371] See Tsamakda 2002, figs. 443, 479.

[372] See Peri Strategias, p. 84^{12-15} [27]: καὶ τὰ μὲν δόρατα ἀπέναντι τῶν ποδῶν καταπηγνύναι, τὰς δὲ ἀσπίδας ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἀνακλίνειν ὥστε τὴν κοίλην αὐτῶν ἐπιφάνειαν ἔνδοθεν πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας ὁρᾶν, ἵν' ἀναστάντες ἐκεῖνοι ἑτοίμως ταῦτας ἀναλαμβάνοιεν. Praecepta, p. 52^{26-8} [V 3]: ἔχοντες οἱ αὐτοὶ ὁπλίται καὶ τὰ κοντάρια αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ πεπηγμένα, τὰ δὲ σκουτάρια εἰς τὰ κοντάρια ἀκκουμπιζέτωσαν.

[373] See e.g. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 6 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 104).

[374] Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 7. The two Theodores are depicted in a similar arrangement, but with crossed lances on a Late Byzantine fresco in Poganovo, Serbia (Škrivanić 1957, 115, fig. 65).

Shape of the shield

Circular and oval shields (thyreos, skoutarion, *pelta,* parma)
Byzantine troops employed circular[375] and oval shields (figs. 5–6, 7b,c, 13, 19a–b, 22a–b, 15a,c,d, 26–27, 30a,f, 32, 37–41, 44a, 45b–47, 51, 56, 62, 67, 70–71, 73, 75a–b, 78), which had been known in ancient Greece and Rome. These could be of large dimensions or cover only a small portion of the body. Many light troops (*psiloi*) may well have not used shields at all, just as they did not employ body armour, making do instead with their tight-weaved clothing for protection.[376] The military treatises specify the shape and dimensions of the various shields in use. The sixth-century handbook *Peri strategias* states that shields of soldiers in the front rank were to have a diameter of no less than seven spans (*c.*164 cm), since only then, when drawn together, would they provide a solid defence against enemy missiles.[377] The *Praecepta,*

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[375] See e.g. the hoplite with a circular *aspis* depicted on a bronze krater from Vix as well as other representations in Greek, Archaic and Classical vase painting (e.g Gamber 1968, fig. 3; Żygulski 1998, figs. 14 [with an apron attached at the lower edge; also p. 26], 15, 18–20, 36–40). Small circular shields appear in Roman iconography, for example on a mural with gods in military uniforms funded in AD 239 by the tribune Julius Terentius in the temple of Baal at Dura-Europos, and also on numerous Palmyrene reliefs (see e.g. Marković 1995, fig. 19; Morehart 1958, figs. 15–16, 20; Teixidor 1979, figs. 22, 24, 25/2); a Late Roman example carried by a horseman is shown by Volbach 1976, no. 86b. On the Roman circular buckler known as the Argive shield, see above, n. 318.

[376] See Leo's *Taktika* (LT 1:130$^{1537-45}$ [VI 35 (36)]) after Aelian [II 8]. On the other hand, Maurice (STRAT., p. 458$^{8-9}$ [XIIB 20]) states that when marching against the Antes the *psiloi* had σκουταρίοις μικροτέροις, although at the same time he advises (146$^{12-15}$ [III 1]) that every third and fifth soldier standing in formation should not carry a shield but only a bow; see also Kolias 1988, 90, 122 and STRAT., p. 422$^{3-4}$ [XIIB 5]; LT, 1:119$^{1138-39}$ [VI 26]: ἔχειν δὲ καὶ σκουτάρια μικρά, στρογγύλα, 251$^{2820-21}$ [IX 58] where *psiloi* are advised to carry small shields (σκουτάρια μικρὰ), which may refer to peltasts added into their ranks—see also SUDA, 4:82$^{15, 17-18}$ [994, 996]: Πελτασταί· τοξόται, οἱ τοὺς ξυστοὺς κατέχοντες. [...] Πέλτον· θωρακικὸν ὅπλον, καὶ εἶδος ταρίχου. ἡ ἀσπὶς ἴτυν μὴ ἔχουσα. See also above, n. 328. On the use of the terms *thyreos* and *skoutarion* in DE CER., see Fauro 1995, 502.

[377] PERI STRATEGIAS, p. 52$^{5-9}$ [16]: καὶ τὴν μὲν τῶν ἀσπίδων διάμετρον οὐκ ἔλαττον εἶναι σπιθαμῶν ἑπτά, ὥστε τὰς ἀσπίδας εἰς ἀλλήλας καλῶς συντιθεμένας καταφράττειν καὶ κατακαλύπτειν καὶ φυλάττειν τὸ στράτευμα εἰς τὸ μηδένα ὑπὸ τῶν βελῶν τῶν ἐναντίων παθεῖν. Additionally, this treatise mentions (p. 116^{33} [39]) shields used during night reconnaissance missions that cover the soldier's entire body. Raveggnani (1988, 47) understands this size to refer to the army of Justinian I; Kolias (1988, 104) indicates that the reference to a 'diameter' (διάμετρος)—suggesting a circular shield—must in fact refer to the height of an oval shield, since a round shield of this size would be too cumbersome. On the dimensions of the Byzantine span see above,

and after it Ouranos, mentions the shields of the heavy infantry as the largest, measuring at least six spans (140 cm) in height, but advises that the light-armed javelinmen, the heavy *menaulatoi*[378] and the cavalry should carry somewhat lighter shields of four to five spans across (*c.*93–117 cm).[379] Slightly smaller dimensions are given in the *Sylloge tacticorum* and Leo's *Taktika*, recommending *peltastoi* have round shields of about three spans (*c.*70 cm) in diameter, or oval ones no larger than four spans (93.5 cm), while for *kataphraktoi* they recommend *thyreoi* of four and a half spans (105 cm) in height.[380] In view of the changes in methods of warfare it seems highly likely that the large *thyreos*—useful when fighting in the close formation known as the *phoulkon*, but cumbersome in individual combat and on horseback—was abandoned and replaced by smaller round and oval shields that were more convenient in one-to-one combat with the enemy.[381]

n. 339. More recently Rance (2008, 723–4) has also proposed that Byzantine writers might have employed the word 'diameter' in relation to oval shields as well.

378 On *menaulatoi*, see below, pp. 320–323.

379 Praecepta, p. 14^{28} [I 3] (= TNU [MG], p. 90^{31-3} [LVI 3]): τὰ δὲ σκουτάρια αὐτῶν [infantrymen] μὴ ἔλασσον τῶν ἓξ σπιθαμῶν εἶναι, ἀλλ' εἰ δυνατόν ἐστιν, εἶναι καὶ τὰ μείζονα. p. 18^{95-7} [I 9] (probably ≈ TNU [MG], pp. 92^{98}–94^{100} [LVI 9]—although there is a lacuna at this place in the text): πάντας δὲ τοὺς μεναυλάτους καὶ ἀκοντιστὰς ἔχειν σκουτάρια σεμνότερα τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, τὴν δὲ ἐξόπλισιν ἐν' ἴσης αὐτοῖς., p. 40^{36-8} [VI 3] (≈ TNU [MG], pp. 118^{43}–120^{46} [LXI 2]): πάντες δὲ αὐτῶν [i.e. cavalrymen] ἐχέτωσαν καὶ σκουτάρια, μηδὲ μέντοι γε οἷα τῶν πεζῶν ὀπλιτῶν, ἀλλὰ σεμνότερα, εἴτε ἀπὸ τεσσάρων σπιθαμῶν ἔχοντα εἴτε ἀπὸ πέντε,...Cf. also Dawson (2002, 83 and n. 20) who, by assuming a span of 12 cm, reduces the size of the large infantry shield to an unlikely 72 cm!

380 Sylloge, pp. 59 [XXXVIII 1], 60 [XXXVIII 6] (= {LT, pp. 356–7 [XXXVIII]) describes the circular shields of the *peltasts* as *c.*70 cm (3 *spithamai*) in diameter, and oval ones as no taller than 93.5 cm (4 *spithamai*): ἀσπίδες γάρ αὐτοῖς περιφερεῖς ἔστωσαν σπιθαμῶν τριῶν μάλιστα, ἢ καί ἐπιμήκεις τετρασπίθαμοι. (*Psiloi* are equated with *toxotes* (archers) by the Praecepta, p. 40^{29-30} [IV 3]). For *kataphraktoi* the Sylloge (see above, n. 339) recommends elongated *thyreoi* of no taller than 105 cm (4½ *spithamai*). On shield dimensions see also Haldon 1975, 34; and 1999, 129, 132; Wiita 1978, 295; Kolias 1988, 105, 109–10; Parani 2003, 125–6 (with minor inconsistencies when converting cubits into the metric system).

381 Haldon believes (2002, 69–71) that under Justinian the *phoulkon*, in which large, round and oval shields of about 1.50 m in diameter were employed, was still the basic heavy infantry formation, while light infantry were equipped only with small shields. See also Kolias (1988, 104, 111–14) who says that the oval shield was the basic defence employed by heavy infantry formations, but in the time of Leo VI might have been slightly smaller than its prototype (partly under the influence of Avar horse-archer tactics); he suggests that the popularity of round shields in art may have been the effect of iconographic inertia and that their actual employment in the army was minimal.

It should be no surprise then that the largest shields mentioned in *Peri strategias* and the *Praecepta*—which would have reached to the warrior's chest—are absent from the depictions of the warrior saints. The tall *thyreos*, whose origins go back to antiquity and which is known in the early imperial iconography (figs. 69, 72),[382] was replaced in Middle Byzantine art by smaller shields. These are normally shown side-on, had a diameter of about a metre, and reached only to the warrior's belt when resting on the ground (figs. 19b, 22, 27, 30a, 46, 62, 70).[383] When shields are depicted side-on, as was very popular in

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[382] E.g. the guardsmen's shields on the *missorium* of Valentinian I (or II) currently in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, and the *missorium* of Theodosius, and also the shielded infantrymen accompanying Justinian on a mosaic in San Vitale, Ravenna (Southern/Dixon 1996, figs. 14, 22; Piltz 1989, figs. 4, 25 [= *Age of Spirituality*, no. 65; Grabar 1936, fig. 20/1; Leader 2000, 417, fig. 12; and also below, pp. 297–298]). Large, oval *thyreoi* are also depicted on the 5th-C. diptych of Probus in Aosta Cathedral, and on a diptych of *c*.400 from Monza Cathedral showing the Roman *magister militum* Stilicho (died 408), a Vandal on his father's side, who after Theodosius's death became de facto ruler of the Western Empire (Volbach 1976, no. 1, 63 = Southern/Dixon 1996, fig. 15). On the popularity of the large oval shield in late antiquity see Coulston (2002, 10). Kolias meanwhile believes (1988, 104) that this shield type was introduced in the 3rd century AD; cf. Hoffmeyer (1966, 84) who links its introduction with Constantine the Great. The presence of oval Dacian shields on the pedestal of Trajan's column (see e.g. Gamber 1993, figs. 1–2) implies that the Romans were well aware of this shield form in the 2nd C. AD, and had adapted it for their own needs before the 3rd. The Late Roman shields found at Dura-Europos are also of an oval form (see e.g. *Age of Spirituality*, nos. 200–201).

[383] See e.g. the depictions of sideways-facing shields accompanying the following saints: Theodore Teron on the *Forty Martyrs Triptych* in the Hermitage; both Theodores on a triptych in the Vatican Museum; George on a mosaic in the cathedral in Cefalù; Hieron in the church of the Buckle in Korama; Merkourios on fol. 2v of the *Menologion of 1056* (*Par. gr. 580*); Prokopios on fol. 72v of the Moscow menologion *Mosq. gr. 382*; George, Theodore and Demetrios in the Athonite *Evangelistarion Dionysiou 587*; George, Artemios and Demetrios in the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos* (*Magdalen gr. 3*, fols. 166r, 209v and 213v); George and Theodore on a Constantinopolitan icon in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg; George on a Crimean relief icon in the National Museum, Kiev: Lupus on the wall of a Thessalonikan reliquary of St Demetrios in the Historical Museum, Moscow; George and Theodore on a Constantinopolitan *enkolpion* in the Cleveland Museum of Art, Ohio; and Theodore Stratelates and George on a wall of the Church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria (Cutler 1994, figs. 28, 169 [= Bank 1966, nos. 126, 130]; Borsook 1990, fig. 9; Epstein 1986, fig. 42; Spatharakis 1981, figs. 118, 142; *Byzantium*, no. 160; Athos, vol. A', figs. 216, 241, 265; Velmans 1974, fig. 22; Hutter 1999, figs. 20–21; *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 36, 69, 111, 202; Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 21 [= Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 10 and 12 on pp. 32–3; Maguire 1996, fig. 11]). Concave shields seen side-on next to warrior saints also appear in Georgian art, e.g. Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 36, 151–2, 156, 180, 348, 402, 406–7, 411, 432, 462, 473; and Parani 2003, 126, figs. 101, 116; who notes that round shields are most common in 10th-C. and early 11th-C. art.

the art of antiquity,[384] it is not always possible to determine for certain whether they are round or oval. When depicted frontally, shields are usually circular.

Round shields similar in diameter to the group of shields depicted from the side accompany Sts Prokopios and Eustathios on miniatures in the *Theodore Psalter* (*British MS. Add. 19352*, fols. 85v and 130v), and Nestor in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria;[385] such shields are also carried by George in St Barbara's church in the Soandos valley (fig. 41a), Theodore in the church of the Saviour in Megara, and Demetrios in the cathedral in Cefalù on Sicily.[386] It is also possible to identify a group of smaller shields corresponding in size to those recommended for light-armed peltasts in the *Sylloge*. *Peltae* of this type can be seen in a miniature of Nestor's duel with Lyaios illustrating Psalm 93(94) in the *Theodore Psalter* (fol. 125v).[387] Similar shields are held by St Demetrios on a panel in the Museo Archeologico in Venice (fig. 67); on a mosaic in the Cappella Palatina, Palermo; on a icon in the Hermitage; by St Theodore Teron on the south wall of the katholikon of the Kosmosoteira monastery in Bera; and by St Orestes in the church of the Dormition in Episkopi, Eurytania (fig. 38).[388]

After examining the round shields depicted in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, which are mainly carried by Arab warriors, Ada Bruhn Hoffmeyer proposed a theory on the eastern origins of this motif in the manuscript miniatures, although she discounted the possibility that they represented the Mauritanian *adarga* in its early rounded form.[389] Arab

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[384] The shield of Athena Parthenos by Phidias was depicted in this manner, see e.g. A. Furtwängler, "Athene in der Kunst", in *LIMGR*, 1/1:697–9 and fig. on p. 698. For Roman examples of this arrangement see e.g. Volbach 1976, no. 76; Vermeule 1960, figs. 9, 24. The motif of the standing shield viewed side-on also enjoyed great popularity in the iconography of the military saints from the period before Iconoclasm onwards—as can be seen on early examples, e.g. St George on a cross from Emesa, St Philotheos on a writing case from Antinoë, and an unidentified saint on a wooden panel from Egypt (see above, p. 84).

[385] See Der Nersessian 1970, figs. 139, 211; Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 27/1.

[386] See Restle 1967, vol. 3, fig. 436; Borsook 1990, fig. 9; Skawran 1992, fig. 335, Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 10 and 12 on pp. 32–3.

[387] See Der Nersessian 1970, 46, fig. 204.

[388] See e.g. Cutler 1994, fig. 44; Bank 1966, no. 227; Borsook 1990, fig. 35; Skawran 1982, fig. 177; and *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 17. For small round military shields in Georgian art see those carried by Sts George and Theodore on 10th-C. triptychs from Chukuli and Chyhareshi (seen from the side) (Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 46–47).

[389] See Hoffmeyer 1966, 88–90, 124. See also Haldon's opinion (2002, 74) on the similarity of oval and circular Byzantine shields to Central Asian examples. In the *Madrid Skylitzes* small circular shields are depicted on fols. 25r, 39v, 40v, 96r–97v,

influences can also occasionally be discerned in the round shields carried by the military saints. An interesting example is the smallish shield carried by St Theodore on a panel from Bathys Ryax (fig. 47).[390] The large, apparently flattened shield-boss is surrounded by multi-coloured ornament reminiscent of woven textiles, a form similar to the oriental woven shield known as the *kalkan*. This type of shield was adopted by the Byzantine army between the sixth and tenth centuries. Procopius still writes with contempt on the flimsy shields of the Moors, but seventy shields described as σκουτάρια ῥαπτά (literally 'sewn shields'), which might be identified as *kalkans*, are mentioned on a list of equipment for a *dromon* departing for Crete in 949 preserved in *De ceremoniis*.[391] Although round shields had been known in the iconography of the warrior saints since antiquity, one might propose a general theory that their special popularity during the era of the Macedonian dynasty and the Komnenoi was the result of the filtering into the imperial army of a shield-form typical of Byzantium's Muslim neighbours.[392]

99v, 100v, 107v–108r, 110v, 111v, 113v, 135r–v, 136v, 138v, 140v, 142r, 149v–150v, 154v, 156v, 175r, 200v, 202r, 205r, 212r, 213r, 214r (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 46, 83, 86–87, 217–219, 222, 224, 243–244, 252, 254, 260, 324–325, 329, 334, 340, 346, 373, 377–378, 389, 394, 441, 477, 480, 487, 501, 504, 507).

[390] See Bank 1966, no. 190 (= Papamastorakes 1998, fig. 5).

[391] Procopius (1:466[19–22] [IV 11/26–28]) writes of the low-quality shields of the Moors, which failed to protect against blows and were too small; De Cer., 1:669[19] [II 45]; see also Kolias (1988, 94–5) who gives a possible interpretation of the *skoutaria rapta* as a Saracen shield made of wood, leather and textile, but considers that it might designate a shield with a leather rim; he also comments (105, n. 110) on the dominance of the round shield in Western Europe until the 11th century. It is worth noting that in the art of Nubia which remained under Arab cultural influence, the round variety of shield is the only type seen in depictions of warrior saints (see e.g. Jakobielski 1999, fig. 1; Steinborn 1982, figs. 17, 20–22; and Górecki 1980, figs. 2, 13). Of particular interest are the murals from the cathedral in Faras with a saint (Theodore?) holding a figure-of-eight shaped *adarga*, which provides clear evidence of the influence of Arab arms on the iconography of the military saints in Nubia; see Górecki (1980, 211–12, fig. 3) who suggests the *adarga* was also in use in the Nubian army.

[392] Besides the examples mentioned, round shields often appear on miniatures in psalters with marginal decoration, e.g. in the *Khludov Psalter*, fols. 3r, 6r, 26v, 45r, 50r, 50v, 54v, 58r–v, 60r, 67r–v, 78v, 110r, 141v, 148r; the Psalter *Brit. Add. 40731*, fols. 10r, 89r, 93r, 175r; and the *Theodore Psalter, Brit. Add. 19352*, fols. 7r, 12r, 18v, 23r, 32v, 38v, 63v, 69v, 73r, 74v–75r, 77v, 85v, 95v, 98r, 105v, 130v, 145r, 178v, 191r, 199r (Shchepkina 1977, figs. 3, 6, 26, 45, 50, 54, 58, 60, 67, 78, 110, 141, 148; Dufrenne 1966, figs. 48, 52, 57; Der Nersessian 1970, figs. 10, 22, 32, 41, 55, 66, 102, 112, 118, 119, 120, 124, 139, 155, 160, 173, 211, 233, 281, 299, 313); see also the centurion holding a small round shield on a steatite panel in the Hermitage (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 45 =

In the art of the tenth to twelfth centuries military saints are seen more rarely with oval shields shown from the front, similar to those known from the pre-Iconoclast period (figs. 5 and 6).[393] Normally these are small and have clearly defined rims, which allows them to be identified with the medieval variant of the Thracian *parma* mentioned in the *Lexikon* of Hesychios and the *Suda*.[394] One of the earliest representations of a warrior saint with a small oval shield appears on a fresco on the north wall of the chapel of St Panteleimon in Upper Boularioi on the Mani peninsula (fig. 37).[395] St Theodore Stratelates holds a *parma* in his left hand on miniatures in the *Menologion of Basil II* (*Vat. gr. 1613*, fol. 383r), and again in the Moscow menologion *Mosq. gr. 376*, fol. 25v, and also on a mosaic in the narthex of the katholikon of Nea Mone on Chios (fig. 44a).[396] Smallish oval shields with broad rims also appear in the head-and-shoulder portraits of saints on eleventh and twelfth century seals.[397]

In summary, it is possible to conclude that in the tenth century and first half of the eleventh, round shields and oval *parmae* (which had appeared in the military iconography since antiquity) were the only varieties of shield employed in the depictions of the saints, and that they survived as a motif until the Palaiologan era.[398] From the

Glory of Byzantium, no. 105). Cf. also Kolias (1988, 111, 114, 117–18) on the presence after the 11th C. of round shields in art as an expression of traditionalism, which would explain the 'under arm' method of holding the shield (e.g. by St Demetrios on a mosaic in the cathedral of Cefalù) in a manner similar to antique depictions.

[393] See, for example, the shields of St Sisinnios on a mural in Bawit and of St Theodore at Faras (above, p. 77).

[394] See above, nn. 325–326.

[395] See Drandakes 1995, fig. 19 on p. 383.

[396] See Ševčenko 1962, figs. 11–12; Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, fig. 59; Parani 2003, 127, figs. 119, 143.

[397] See e.g. Laurent 1963, vol. 5/1, no. 153 (George, 2nd quarter of 11th C.), 216, 767 (Theodore Stratelates, 11th–12th C.), vol. 5/2, no. 1510 (Prokopios, *c.*1150–80), vol. 2/1, no. 833, 971 (George, 11th C.), 1143 (Teodor, mid-11th C.); Zacos 1972, vol. 1/3, no. 2681 (George on a seal of the *kouropalates* John Komnenos, 1057–67); see also St George's shield on the *tetarteron* minted in the Nicaean Empire (Grierson, 1982, no. 1177). An example of the *parma* in an image of a warrior saint in Georgian art is on a fresco of the Church of the Dormition in Vardzia (neg. in the Dumbarton Oaks photographic archive, Washington).

[398] Among 13th-C. examples see, e.g. the shield above the left shoulder of St Demetrios on a fresco in the church of St Nicholas in Agios Nikolaos near Monemvasia (Drandakes 1979, 57, fig. 19β.). On the round and oval varieties of shield in Bulgarian 14th- and 15th-C. art, see Manova 1969, 209–11, figs. 19/1–2 and 4, 20/2. Manova explains the popularity of the small *pelta* in art by its extensive use among cavalry formations (referring here to archaeological finds from the territory of Rus').

mid-eleventh century, however, the round shield gradually begins to be ousted from the Byzantine military iconography by a new type of shield.

The kite-shaped shield

A new type of shield, shaped like a leaf, almond or tear-drop, rounded at the top and curving down to an acute apex at the bottom, appears in Byzantine military iconography from the eleventh century. The name kite-shaped shield (or more simply 'kite shield') employed by students of arms and armour derives from its supposed similarity to a flying kite, though many European scholars prefer the terms 'leaf-shaped' or 'almond-shaped' shield. In the early literature, shields of this type were also termed 'Norman' as a result of the initial conviction of many scholars of their Viking origins.[399] This idea has now been discarded.

A reference in the *Sylloge tacticorum* to man-high triangular shields designated for hoplites is occasionally quoted as the earliest trace of this type of shield in the Byzantine army.[400] Yet this reference occurs in a section of the treatise that also mentions 'four-cornered shields'—which are not found in other sources and do not appear in Byzantine art;[401] it must therefore be treated with great caution.

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[399] Theories on the kite shield's German, Norman or Spanish origins in the context of depictions in the *Madrid Skylitzes* are given by Hoffmeyer 1966, 84–5. Cf. also Górecki (1980, 209) who believes the kite shield was borrowed by Byzantium from the West in the 12th century.

[400] See above, n. 340; and also Haldon 1975, 34; Kolias 1988, 105; and Dawson 2002, 83.

[401] Large, semi-cylindrical shields that are related in form to the rectangular Roman *scutum* were not depicted in Byzantine art, with a few exceptions that are all debatable. A large scutum-like shield appears on an ivory figure in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence; although dated to the 10th–13th centuries it has many features untypical for the Middle Ages, which suggest close imitation of antique patterns—a closed helmet with crest, and a greave only on the right leg, while the left leg is covered by a gaiter (see above, n. 239)—hence Nicolle (1992, 24) would prefer to redate the object to the 4th–7th centuries. A warrior with a rectangular shield on a ceramic cup dated to the turn of the 12th/13th C. from the Segregatis Collection (now in the Louvre) has incised decoration of an unquestionably Byzantine style (*Byzance*, no. 306), but the work's folk character makes it difficult to determine the time and place of its creation as well as the models followed by the artist. St Theodore's shield on an ivory panel in the Museo Archeologico, Venice can also be interpreted as quadrangular in shape (see e.g. Cutler 1994, fig. 44 = Weitzmann 1976, fig. 36), since the edges of its oval surface are somewhat pointed and approximate a rhombus or diamond.

The kite shield's extensive appearance in eleventh-century art, both Byzantine[402] and Western European,[403] and its presence on objects from Georgia[404] and the Islamic world[405] (even if somewhat problematical) provides evidence of its popularity across a wide range of cultures. Its origins have been linked with Byzantium as well as with the western Latin cultural sphere.[406] As late as the last quarter of the twelfth cen-

[402] For 11th-C. depictions, see e.g.: the *Theodore Psalter* (*Brit. Add. 19352*, fols. 12r, 87v, 190v, 199r); the Octateuch *Vat. gr. 747* (fols. 173r, 221v, 222v, 223r-v, 224r-v, 225r, 243r, 247v); the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos and John of Damascus* with commentaries by Pseudo-Nonnus in the Library of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem (*Cod. Taphou 14*, fol. 398v); and the *Book of Kings*, *Vat. gr. 333*, fol. 32r (Der Nersessian 1970, figs. 22, 298, 142, 313; Lowden 1992, figs. 2, 49, 68, 87, 89, 163, 167, 170, 175 [= Weitzmann 1948, figs. 27, 28, 33, 40, 41]; Weitzmann 1984, fig. 17; Lassus 1973, fig. 59). See also the later, 12th-C., representations in the Octateuchs *Vat. gr. 746*, fols. 447v, 480v, 487r and *Smyrna A.1*, fol. 248v (Lowden 1992, figs. 51, 53, 61–62). A kite shield is also carried by a centurion on a steatite panel with Crucifixion scene in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 44). Examples of the kite shield on Byzantine pottery are commented upon by Armstrong/Sekunda 2006, 17–18.

[403] The earliest depictions of kite shields are identified by Hoffmeyer (1966, 85) and Kolias (1988, 106) on miniatures in a group of illuminated Spanish codices from the 1st half of the 11th C. (e.g. in a Bible from the monastery of Roda near Oviedo); whereas Nickel (2002, 115) points to the painted decoration of the *Farfa Bible* of 1047. Shields of this type are the main variety depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry (Rud, p. 81, figs. on pp. 11, 41–3, 45, 47, 49–53, 55, 63–6, 68–9, 71, 74–89), which undoubtedly led early scholars to link its origins with the Normans.

[404] A large kite shield, with studs arranged in the form of a cross, rests on a spear embedded in the ground beside St George on a silver panel from Bochorma (dated hypothetically to the end of 10th to mid-11th C). However, the isolated nature of this example, the Greek inscription in the medallions identifying the saint: Ο ΑΓΙΟC ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟC Ο ΤΡΟΠΑΙΟΦΟΡΟC, as well as the style which is close to that of Byzantine works indicate that great care is required in attributing it to a Georgian workshop. Unquestionably Georgian are the pre-altar crosses from Becho (12th–13th C.) and Pari (13th C.) which show St George with a kite shield (Tschubinaschvili 1959, 429–48, esp. 439, figs. 162, 462, 473).

[405] See Hillenbrand (1999, 458) who points out the presence of the kite shield as an imperial symbol of the Fatimids. Kite shields are depicted, for example, on the Victory Gate (*Bab al-Nasr*) of 1087 in Cairo (fig. 7.4); see also the later Turkish depictions of *c.*1250 (figs. 7.3, 7.37–7. 38).

[406] Citing Haldon's opinion on the adoption from Western Europe of patterns typical for Byzantine arms and armour in the early Middle Ages, Kolias (1988, 107–8) would like to attribute the kite shield's origins to the Byzantines. He points to Livy's early reference on Samnite shields which had a triangular form that made them easier to carry on the march. But his further arguments (p. 109), interpreting references to *thyreoi* that narrow at their ends as kite shields are unconvincing. Some support for his theory is an early sculpture of a soldier with a kite shield in the Louvre (see Mango [1994, 114–16, fig. 16], who compares the style of sculpting to that on 2nd-C. Anatolian sarcophagi). It should be stressed that the *thorakion* which appears from the end of the 10th C. as an element of the empress's *loros*, although similar in shape to the kite shield (the *thorakion* is described as having an almond form e.g. by Eust.

tury, Al-Tarsusi contrasts the round Arab shield (*turs*) with the gilded and painted *tariqa* and *januwiyyah* used by the Franks and Byzantines, which are rounded at the top but narrow towards a sharp point at the bottom.[407] In view of the lack of clear evidence the origins of this type of shield remain unresolved. Its rapid spread throughout Europe must have been influenced by the adoption of the weapon forms used by the enemy and, in the process, the adapting of one's tactics to the needs of the battlefield; also of importance were diplomatic gifts of weapons from envoys to rulers, which are amply attested in the sources.[408]

Kite shields appear in the warrior saint iconography from the second quarter of the eleventh century. Early examples include a number of steatite panels, showing: St Theodore Stratelates in the Vatican Museum (fig. 34); St George in the Vatopedi monastery on Mt Athos (fig. 33); St Demetrios in the Cherson Museum in Sevastopol; and a small panel fragment currently in the Louvre, on which only the lower part of the saint is visible.[409] Kite shields are also carried by Sts George and Demetrios on a Constantinopolitan cameo, and by George and Theodore on a seal dated to the second quarter of the eleventh century in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.[410] Interesting in view of the profile of its surface is a kite shield with clearly defined vertical axis, on a late twelfth-century alabaster icon from Plovdiv.[411] In the twelfth century kite shields appear on frescoes in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria (accompanying Theodore Teron), and in the church of

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Il., 1:67[8]: ᾧ ἐπίκειται τὸ λεγόμενον θωράκιον, τετράγωνον ὂν καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ), cannot be taken into account in a consideration of the kite shield's origins since, as Rudt de Collenberg has shown (1972, 266–71, 343–46), it developed from the *loros* and has no connection with military equipment, and the name although reminiscent of armour has a symbolic character, referring to the *loros* as spiritual armour.

[407] Al-Tarsusi, p. 114. An English translation of the passage is given by Nicolle 2002, 204.

[408] The Greek envoys to Sviatoslav during his Bulgarian campaign (971) gifted him a sword and other weapons (Nestor, p. 30). On the gold and silver shields and lances which Romanos I Lekapenos (920–44) prepared for the Bulgarian tsar Symeon the Great (893–927) on the occasion of the conclusion of a treaty on 9 November 924, see Theoph. Cont., p. 407[10–16]. Meanwhile, Liudprand (p. 25 [65]) writes about a precious shield, a gift from Otto I, which during his embassy to Constantinople he was to hand to Nikephoros Phokas.

[409] See e.g. Kalvrezou-Maxeiner 1985: nos. 6, 8, 9, 15 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 104).

[410] See *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 132; Laurent 1981, vol. 2/1, no. 1029; and Parani (2003, 127), who on the basis of depictions in art estimates the shield's actual height at 80–100 cm.

[411] Ovcharov 2003, 48, fig. II_2.

St Nicholas tou Kasnitze, where Sts Demetrios, George, Merkourios, Nestor and Theodore Stratelates, are depicted with them. In the katholikon of the monastery of St Panteleimon in Nerezi kite shields fitted with *aorteroi* accompany George, Demetrios and both St Theodores (figs. 30e, 45b, 48a-d).[412] They are also depicted on numerous steatite icons from this period (fig. 40).[413] Kite shields do not appear, however, in miniatures portraying the military saints, which can be explained by the greater iconographic conservatism of this branch of art.

The elongated triangular shield and the Gothic or heater shield

There can be no doubt that the triangular shield was a borrowing from the West, by way of evolution of the kite shield, which was shortened as the warrior's armour improved. It was probably under Crusader influence[414] that the Byzantine army adopted it during the mid-twelfth century. The large shield of the Norman Crusaders, which was long, tapered towards the bottom and was fitted with a shield-boss, was mentioned by Anna Komnene as an item that was still foreign. Kinnamos, meanwhile, writes that Manuel I, in his reforms of the army's weaponry, replaced the traditional round shields that reached down to the feet, and that thanks to this measure as well as additional training, his army quickly outclassed the Germans and Italians in terms of skill.[415]

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[412] See Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985: figs. 12, 13 on pp. 60–1 = Walter 2003a: fig. 4; Pelekanidis 1953: figs. 21/1, 55/1; Maguire 1996: figs. 11 and 12.

[413] e.g. on the icons with three warrior saints (Theodore, George and Demetrios) at the National Preserve of Tauric Chersonesos in Sevastopol, in the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Art (also known as the Museum of Western and Oriental Art) in Kiev, and at the Museum in Veliko Turnovo. St Theodore rests his left hand on a kite shield on an icon in the Moscow Historical Museum, as does St George (depicted together with Demetrios) on a panel found at Cherson, now in the Hermitage, see Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985: nos. 21, 25, 27–28 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 203; Lazarev 1970: fig. on p. 59); and Bank 1966: no. 157.

[414] A curved, triangular shield still with gently rounded corners and a prominent conical boss appears on an equestrian depiction on a seal of Guillaume Comte de Nevers, dated to 1140 (Gamber 1995, fig. 22).

[415] Anna Komnene writes on the elongated shields of participants of the First Crusade (whom she calls Celts): Προσθήκη δὲ τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ ἀσπὶς οὐ περιφερής, ἀλλὰ θυρεὸς ἀπὸ πλατυτάτου ἀρξάμενος καὶ εἰς ὀξὺ καταλήγων, καὶ τἄνδον ἠρέμα ὑποκοιλαινόμενος, λεῖος δὲ καὶ στίλβων κατὰ τὴν ἔξωθεν ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ ἐπ' ὀμφαλῷ χαλκοχύτῳ μαρμαίρων. Βέλος τοίνυν, κἂν σκυθικὸν εἴη, κἂν περσικόν, κἂν ἀπὸ βραχιόνων ἀπορριφείη γιγαντικῶν, ἐκεῖθεν ἀποκρουσθὲν παλινδρομήσειε πρὸς τὸν πέμψαντα ($3{:}114^{26}$–115^{1} [XIII 8/2]). Meanwhile Kinnamos states that Manuel I, when introducing Western methods of combat, replaced the round shield with an elongated version that reached the feet: ὅθεν καὶ ἀσπίδα κυκλοτερέσι φράγνυσθαι εἰθισομέ [...], ὃ δὲ ταύτας μὲν ποδήρεις προβεβλῆσθαι αὐτοὺς ἐδιδάξατο, [...] οὕτω τε

This type of shield first appears in the iconography of the warrior saints in the final quarter of the twelfth century. Early examples include the frescoes on the west wall of the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria where Sts Prokopios and Christopher have large shields that curve visibly inward; and also an icon in St John's monastery on Patmos (fig. 30c, 29), where St Theodore Teron carries on his back a long, ankle-length brown shield apparently constructed from narrow, vertically-aligned planks.[416] The shield of St George on a relief icon from Kastoria in the Byzantine Museum in Athens, which was probably made after 1204 (fig. 68), is of a different form.[417] It is considerably smaller than the previous examples, and its lower sides curve out slightly, reminiscent of thirteenth-century Gothic shields from Western Europe.

The triangular shield became established in images of warrior saints in former Byzantine territories that were occupied by the Crusaders in the thirteenth century,[418] gradually replacing the kite form. It is still present in the art of the Late Byzantine era, both that originating in Constantinople itself, as well as in the Balkans and Russia.[419] Meanwhile

δόρασιν ἐπελαύνοντες αὐτοξύλοις κίνησιν ἐγυμνάζοντο τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. τοίνυν καὶ ἐν βραχεῖ Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ τὴν Γερμανῶν καὶ Ἰταλῶν ὑπερῆρεν αἰχμήν (p. 125[4, 6, 12–14] [III]). See also Bartusis 1992, 329; Parani 2003, 128; Kolias 1988, 114–17; Ovcharov 2003, 47. Cf. Dawson (2002, 90 and n. 75) and Stylianou (1982, 134). A man-high shield carried by a Macedonian, Eustratios, which perhaps can be linked with those described by Komnene and Kinnamos, is mentioned by CHONIATES, (p. 23[97–98], 194[23]): ἀσπὶς αὐτῷ ἐς ἀνδρόμηκες [...] ἀσπὶς ἐς πόδας καθήκουσα. For later source references see also Manova 1969, 210.

[416] See Pelekanidis 1953: fig. 23; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 76. Heath (1995, 44 and caption to fig. on p.14) claims without any justification that the long triangular shield on St Theodore's back is characteristically Byzantine. Bartusis (1992, 327) points out that the large triangular shields must have been made of wood, since the use of metal would have increased their weight excessively. Parani (2003, 128, fig. 146) estimates the height of St Christopher's curved shield on the Kastoria fresco at 1.20–1.30 m.

[417] See e.g. Potamianou 1998, no. 5 (= Tsigaridas 2000: fig. 40). The triangular Gothic shield may have reached Constantinople together with Western knights before the arrival of the Fourth Crusade. A number of shields of this type with fantastical motifs on their surfaces, are depicted on graffiti possibly dating from before 1204 in the Boukoleon Palace (Heath 1995, fig. on p. 7).

[418] See e.g. the curved, triangular shield slung on St George's back on the south wall of the naos of the Church of the Panagia (1280) in Moutoullas on Cyprus (negative no. L.71.864 in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington).

[419] St Theodore Teron is depicted with a triangular shield on his back in the *parekklesion* of the Constantinopolitan Chora (see e.g. Bartusis 1992, fig. 4); this motif also appears on frescoes in the church founded in 1259 by the *sebastokrator* Kaloyan and his wife Desislava in Boyana (Nicolle 1988, no. 241A). On the triangular shield in Bulgarian and Russian painting see Manova 1969, 210–14; Serbian examples from the 14th and 15th centuries are published by Škrivanić 1957: figs. 67, 75/5–7, 78, 79; Greek

in Georgia, Armenia, Egypt and Nubia the triangular shield never became a popular element of the iconography of the military saints and soldiers, and this would seem to confirm its Western European origins.

With the triangular shield, the development of the shield's form in the iconography of the military saints comes to an end. The new variants never completely ousted the older round shield, which continues (albeit less frequently) to be depicted in art. Despite this, it should be concluded that the introduction of the kite and triangular shields into the military saint iconography was a reflection of changes in the actual equipment of the Byzantine army. The question of the shield's form does not bring to a close the issues relating to their depiction in the Byzantine art of the tenth to twelfth centuries, as there are additional questions concerning the decorations and devices that appeared on the shield's surface.

Devices on the shields of the warrior saints

Since the earliest times, the shield's surface has been decorated with various motifs. These might serve to frighten the enemy, such as the previously mentioned *gorgoneion*, which followed the antique tradition in the Early Byzantine iconography of the military saints, albeit in a schematic guise.[420] Shield blazons also played a role as the identification signs of individual formations (fig. 1b),[421] as well as of the shield's

ones by Parani (2003, 129, figs. 125, 133, 137, 148, 149), who notes that the reduction in dimensions of the Gothic shield were linked in the West with the introduction of plate armour.

420 See e.g. Eust. Il., 3:144²²–145¹⁵ (on the *gorgoneion* in Homer as a device for striking fear in the enemy). Evidence for the continued presence of the *gorgoneion* motif in Byzantine art after Iconoclasm is an early 12th-C. enamelled copper panel from Anatolia, currently in the Louvre; and the head of Medusa on the lid of a gilded 9th/10th-C. inkpot in Padua Cathedral (*Glory of Byzantium*, no. 114 and fig. on p. 189). The tradition of depicting Perseus's shield survived into the modern era, gaining popularity especially during periods when antiquity was fashionable; see for example the symbolic shield of Louis XIV with a *gorgoneion* on its surface in the Metropolitan Museum, New York (Żygulski 1984, fig. 4). On the employment of this motif in the early warrior saint iconography see above, pp. 77–78.

421 The custom of using distinct shield blazons (επίσημα) was widely practiced by the various Greek *poleis*. The eagle was the sign of the Epirotes and the Macedonians (who also probably used the so-called Argead Star), the letter M of the Messinians, the trident of the Mantineians, the Pegasus of the Corinthians, and the owl, symbol of the goddess Athena, of the Athenians. The *episema* of ancient Byzantium was the crescent with a star, the symbol of the city's goddess-protector, Artemis. Shield devices that undoubtedly served as identification signs include the letter Λ used on Spartan hoplite

owner himself.[422] They could also have a purely decorative character (fig. 64).[423] All these reasons for decorating the shield's surface

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shields, and the club of Herakles employed by the Thebans, see Eust. Il., 1:453$^{14-18}$ (Ἱστορεῖται δὲ ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι λάμβδα ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀσπίσιν αὐτῶν εἰς παράσημον ἔγραφον ἐκ τοῦ κατάρχοντος στοιχείου χαρακτηρίζοντες ἑαυτούς, [...] Εὔπολις· <<ἐξεπλάγην γὰρ ἰδὼν στίλβοντα τὰ λάμβδα>>, ἤγουν τὰς Λακωνικὰς ἀσπίδας.); and Żygulski 1984, 79. In the Late Roman period Vegetius (p. 94 [II 18]) advised painting various symbols (*digmata*—from the Greek noun δεῖγμα, 'pattern', or from the verb δείκνυμι 'to point out') on the shields of the individual cohorts to prevent them from becoming dispersed in the fever of battle (*Sed ne milites aliquando in tumultu proelii a suis contubernalibus aberrarent, diversis cohortibus diversa in scutis signa pingebant, ut ipsi nominant, digmata, sicut etiam nunc moris est fieri.*). In turn Ammian. (1:174 [16.12.6]) states that during battles between Julian the Apostate's troops and Germanic tribes, the latter were able to identify the legionary formations by their shield blazons (*Alamanni enim scutorum insignia contuentes, norant eos milites permisse paucis suorum latronibus terram*). According to MacMullen (1964, 442) the custom of placing *digmata* on shields was adopted by the Romans either from the barbarian peoples or from the East. He also cites Domaszewski's earlier opinion that legionary shield devices developed from the signs of the zodiac and other constellations, and were intended to commemorate important dates in a legion's history. Examples of legionary shield devices, most of which consist of geometrical motifs, have been preserved in early modern copies of the *Notitia dignitatum*, Ms. *Canon. Misc. 378* in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, and *Ms. lat. 9661* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Not. Dign. pp. XXIII–XXV, 10–11, 15–16, 19–20, 23–4, 27–8, 31, 115–20, 128–9, 144). The *Notitia* devices may be somewhat distorted (Grigg 1983, 137, 140, fig. 10). On the 283 shield patterns shown in the *Notitia* also see Coulston (2002, 10–11 and n. 45), who points out that shield blazons on the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki identify units connected with Diocletian (eagle with lightning bolts) and Maximian (Hercules), while the horned goat heads on shields on the Arch of Constantine in Rome probably belong to the *Cornuti*.

422 Vegetius, p. 94 [II 18] recommends writing the owner's name, and the cohort or century to which he belonged, but as a suitable place for such an inscription he indicates the interior of the shield (*Praeterea in aduerso scuto uniuscuiusque militis litteris erat nomen adscriptum, addito et ex qua esset cohorte quave centuria.*). There are many examples of Roman shields with punched inscriptions, for example in the Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, Munich. We find inscriptions referring to the name of the owner ('Marcus'?) or the century to which he belonged on the rim of a shield from Halmágy (Hübner 1878, 111–15); while Southern/Dixon (1996, fig. 20) publish a shield boss punched with the letters ΛΛΛ RM; and Kaczanowski (1992, 62) mentions a boss from Thorsberg with the name AEL.AELIANOS. See also MacMullen (1964, 441 and n. 30), who cites an example in Dio Cassius. On the Roman cavalry helmet of 'Berkasovo' type inscribed 'STABLESIA VI'—a reference to a unit of *equites stablesiani*, a type of regiment mentioned in the *Notitia Dignitatum*—see Coulston 2002, 11, fig. I–6.

423 The Iliad (3:185^{483}–191^{608}[XVIII]) contains a detailed description of numerous scenes on the concentric bands of the shield forged for Achilles by Hephaistos; see also Kolias 1988, 124; Żygulski 1984, 79 (who gives further descriptions of the shield of Herakles left by Hesiod and the shield of Aeneas penned by Virgil). Meanwhile, Phidias was banished for sacriligeously (to the Athenians) placing a portrait of Pericles among the gods on a shield of Athena. Traces of painted decoration are to be seen on fragments of shields from Masada. Late Roman oval, wooden shields painted

are still present in Byzantium and the custom therefore continued.[424] It can be traced in the various categories of devices and depictions that appear on the shields of the warrior saints.

Ornamental motifs

Shields depicted in Middle Byzantine art are frequently covered by a variety of ornamental motifs. Geometrical forms such as diamonds and spirals arranged evenly across the whole field were popular in the period before Iconoclasm (fig. 69),[425] but were supplanted by other forms of decoration. An echo of these might be the dots covering much of the surface of the shields of Sts George and Theodore, who appear (alongside Demetrios) on an eleventh/twelfth century icon from the state capital's workshops, now in the Hermitage (fig. 70), and also the shield of Theodore Stratelates on p. 383 of the *Menologion of Basil II*.[426]

Among the most common shield decorations seen in Early Byzantine art[427] are segments or radial bands that appear to fan out from the shield boss, and appear exclusively on round shields. These are seen on

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in encaustic technique with scenes from the Trojan War (including on *Amazonomachy*, and the massacre of the Trojans), depictions of deities and military insignia were found in 1935 at Dura-Europos, and more recently four decorated shields from Roman Egypt were rediscovered at the University of Trier, see Roztovtzeff 1935 221, fig. 35 (for further examples of painted Roman shields see n. 79); *Age of Spirituality*, nos. 200–201; James 2004, 163–4, 178, figs. 98, 106, 110, plates 6–10; cf. also Bishop/Coulston 1993, fig. 4 and p. 149, suggesting that the rich decoration of the shields may be considered as evidence of their use exclusively during spectacles and sports competitions. Bronze Roman shield bosses found in 1855 at Halmágy in southern Transylvania and at Mainz (3rd C. AD) are both decorated with reliefs depicting the imperial eagle with wreath in its beak; in the first example this is surrounded by winged *genii* and dolphins, in the second with ornament and panoplies (Hübner 1878, fig. 6; Southern/Dixon 1996, fig. 20).

[424] Shields made from leather painted red are mentioned by Malalas, p. 200[83-4] (see above, n. 318): σκουτάριον κρεμάμενον ἀπὸ δέρματος ῥουσίου ἐντεῦθεν; while black, blue, white, red, purple, gold and yellow shields appear in the 'Dream Book' of Achmet (p. 181[25]–182[4] [228]), although Kolias (1988, 125, n. 193) rightly points out that these shields appear in dreams, where they might take on fantastical colours.

[425] See e.g. the guardsmen's shields on the *missoria* of Valentinian I (or II) and of Theodosius the Great (393; in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid), and also the shield of a warrior standing behind David on a plate from Karavas, Cyprus (now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York), which is covered in small spirals (see e.g. Southern/Dixon 1996, Pl. 14; Hoffmeyer 1966, fig. 1; and Dodd 1961, no. 58a).

[426] See *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 69; Ševčenko 1962, fig. 12.

[427] Shields with ribs rendered in relief in a radial arrangement appear for example on the ceramic icons of Joshua and Caleb, and also of Christopher 'the dog-headed' and George found at Vinica in Macedonia (Balabanov/Krstevski 1993, nos. 46, 54).

the shields of Sts George and Demetrios on a mosaic in the cathedral of Cefalù, and of St George (who appears alongside Theodore) on an eleventh- or twelfth-century Constantinopolitan enkolpion currently at the Cleveland Museum of Art in Ohio.[428] On the shields of the Sts Theodores on the Vatican ivory triptych (figs. 22a,b) the segments are surmounted with palmettes;[429] while on a fresco in the church of Sts Kosmas and Damianos in Kastoria, St George's shield (fig. 30a) has red and blue segments in several shades.[430] Shields made up of segments carried by Arab soldiers in the service of the usurper Bardas Skleros, in a scene showing them murdering Greeks who wished to go over to the emperor's side on fol. 175r of the *Madrid Skylitzes*. Less clear ornament appears on the shields of the Greeks fighting Thomas the Slav's rebels in miniatures on fols. 33v and 34v of the same codex.[431] This form of ornament may be an attempt to represent ribbing which is part of the actual fabric of the shield. If this is the case it may be worth considering whether such circular, corrugated surfaces were characteristic of a specific variant of shield unknown to us from other sources, rather than simply representing painted decoration.[432]

The ornamentation of the almond-shaped shields carried by warrior saints in the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria are of a different character (figs. 48a–d).[433] Using thin black, white and brown lines the painter has covered the shields' single-coloured (white, green and red-brown) central surfaces with scrolling foliage in combination with simple designs reminiscent of medieval western European merchant's marks. The latter take up only a small part of the shield's surface and look more like identification signs than a decorative motif. It is quite possible that the artist working in this church, who stayed

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See also the segments reminiscent of the petals of a flower on Goliath's shield on the silver dish from the Karavas hoard, Cyprus (see above, n. 425).

[428] See Borsook 1990, fig. 9; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 111.

[429] See Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, nos. 32a, b (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 79).

[430] See Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 10, 12 on pp. 32–3.

[431] Tsamakda 2002, figs. 67, 70, 441.

[432] Manova (1969, 211, fig. 19/4) proposes a similar hypothesis in relation to soldiers' shields on a scene showing the Judgement of Pilate in Zemen monastery. The presence of this type of shield in Islamic iconography (see e.g. Hillenbrand 1999, fig. 7/37), and in Georgian iconography (Tschubinaschvili 1959, fig. 188) may indicate an eastern origin.

[433] See Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 12–13 on pp. 60–1. See a similar ornament on a fresco in the Church of Sts Panteleimon and Nicholas (of 1259) in Boyana near Sofia (Manova 1969, fig. 19/1).

faithful to reality in other details of the warrior saints' equipment, painted unit identification marks that he had seen on actual shields in his own day.

Signs (simeia) *for identifying military units*

The Roman tradition of distinguishing battle formations by means of signs on their shields survived in Byzantium.[434] The military treatises speak of the colour of the shield as the main means of identifying the unit to which a soldier carrying it belonged.[435] Besides recommending that each unit should carry shields of an identical colour, the *Sylloge* advises placing a distinguishing blazon (σημεῖον) on the shield 'at the centre, or on the right or left side or elsewhere'.[436] Unfortunately, the text does not specify the form such *simeia* are to take, which might have assisted in identifying them in art. There is nothing in Middle Byzantine art to compare with the shield devices depicted in the *Notitia Dignitatum* which served as recognition signs for the various legions of the Late Roman army. This should not be surprising as the greater part of these formations had not existed for a long time or had undergone complete transformations. Nevertheless, the *Notitia* illustrations make it clear that shield blazons typically were of an uncomplicated, geometric form.[437] Extending this observation to Byzantine shields, and also remembering Maurice's and Leo's recommendations that shields are to be distinguished only by colour, it might be expected that the *simeia* took the form of simple devices, easy to recognize in the fury of battle. With this in mind it may be possible to discern military signs in the

434 On the use of insignia on the shields, helmets and weapons for each *meros* of the army of Heraclius, see SUDA, 4:350$^{6-10}$ [314]: Σημαία· τάξις πολεμική, δι' ἧς τὸ Ἡράκλειον ἥλω ἰδίαν τινὰ ἅλωσιν. ἐχούσης τῆς πόλεως ἐφ' ἑνὸς μέρους ἐπ' ὀλίγον τόπον ταπεινὸν τεῖχος, οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι τρεῖς σημαίας προεχειρίσαντο, καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ποιήσαντες συνέφραξαν, ὥστε τῇ τῶν ὅπλων πυκνότητι κεραμωτῷ καταρρύτῳ γίνεσθαι παραπλήσιον. ἐφεξῆς δὲ ἕτεραι δύο.

435 See Maurice's recommendation in STRAT., p. 420^{2} [XIIB 4]: 'The shields of every *arithmos* and each *tagma* should be of the same colour' (Σκουτάρια ὁμόχροα, ἢ κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἢ κατὰ τάγμα;= LP, p. 77 [XII 6]; LT, 1:115^{1414}–116^{1416} [VI 25]· τὰ δὲ σκουτάρια ὁμόχροα πάντων ἢ κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἢ κατὰ τάγμα); see also Aussaresses 1909, 50; Kolias 1988, 125.

436 See SYLLOGE, p. 59 [XXXVIII 2] (= {LT, vol. B', p. 356 [XXXVIII]}: Ἐχέτωσαν δὲ μέρους ἑκάστου αἱ ἀσπίδες καὶ χρῶμα καὶ σημεῖον ταὐτό, τοῦ μέσου δηλαδή, τοῦ δεξιοῦ, τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.; Kolias (1988, 125–6) believes that such insignia also made it possible to distinguish officers.

437 See Grigg (1983, figs. 3–10), where the dominant forms are rings, rings with a vertical bar, crosses and horns.

decoration of the above-mentioned shields of the saints at Kastoria. The diagonal stripes and plant motif carved on the shield of Theodore Stratelates on a steatite icon in the Vatican collections may have had a similar meaning (fig. 34), although the Byzantine dating of these motifs in this particular case is disputed.[438] An ornamental band on the kite shield belonging to the same saint on an early thirteenth-century icon in the Mt Sinai collections may also be a formation sign.[439] In view of the lack of clearer data both interpretations must remain hypotheses.

Inscriptions

The antique tradition of placing inscriptions on shields was continued in the medieval Mediterranean world,[440] as is evident from the iconography of the warrior saints. An ornament reminiscent of Greek letters arranged horizontally covers the shield of St Merkourios on fol. 2v of the *Menologion of 1056* (*Par. gr. 580*; fig. 62); and also appears on the round *aspis* of Orestes painted in a medallion on the vault of the southern arcade of the church of the Panagia Arakiotissa at Lagoudera, Cyprus.[441] Greek inscriptions on warrior saint's shields are, however, exceptional.[442] More often they are decorated with an ornament reminiscent of Kufic script that runs around the rim of the shield. Such decoration can be seen on the shields of: St Demetrios and St Prokopios on the triptych of *Forty Martyrs of Sebaste* at the Hermitage (fig. 19a–b); St George and St Merkourios in the rock-cut church of St Barbara as well as Demetrios in Karabaş kilise in the Soandos valley (fig. 41a); and also on the rims of the circular *aspis* shields of Demetrios and Merkourios on a mosaic in the Cappella

[438] See *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 104; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, no. 6. Cf. the opinion in both texts that the devices on St Theodore's shield were etched by a later Latin owner of the panel. Only careful analysis of the etching *in situ* will provide a final answer.

[439] See *Sinai*, fig. 40.

[440] Kolias (1988, 125 and n. 197) refers to the custom of signing shields in ancient Rome (mentioned for example in the *Roman history* of Dio Cassius) and to examples of ancient shields preserved at the British Museum when he suggests that this practical custom survived in Byzantium.

[441] See Spatharakis 1981, fig. 118 (= Weitzmann 1984, fig. 120; *Byzance*, no. 269; Miles 1964, fig. 54); and all the interpretation of Kolias 1988, 129; and above, n. 236.

[442] A kite shield covered by a horizontal Greek inscription is held by a soldier in a crucifixion scene at the church of *Evangelistria* in Geraki (Moutsopoulos/Demetrokalles 1981, fig. 211). Decoration resembling a Greek inscription also appears on a shield on fol. 10v of the *Madrid Skylitzes* in a scene depicting Michael I's coronation, and also (fol. 76v) on the kite shield of a guardsman of Bardas Skleros (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 3, 186).

Palatina in Palermo, and St George in the cathedral in Cefalù.[443] In turn, on the panels with Sts George and Orestes that were set into the *Pala d'Oro*, Arabic inscriptions appear on the surfaces of their small circular shields.[444] The presence of Kufic inscriptions on Sicilian mosaics can be easily explained as the influence of Islamic culture, which was still very much alive on the island in the twelfth century; while in the case of the Cappadocian representation of St George the direct influence of Arab patterns cannot be ruled out. However, the saints' shields on the wings of the Saint Petersburg triptych as well as other examples of Kufic inscriptions on shields in twelfth and thirteenth century Byzantine art[445] make it clear that these motifs were already known throughout the Empire.[446]

The Byzantines came into contact with the Arab custom of inscribing their shields at the latest in 838 during the siege of Amorion, ancestral seat of the emperor Theophilos (829–42). The Abbasid caliph Muʿtaşim (833–42), attacked the city in revenge for the Byzantine capture in the previous year of the caliph's home town of Sozopetra. The continuator of Theophanes' chronicle states that before the storm the caliph ordered his army to inscribe their shields and standards with the word 'Amorion'.[447] A number of weapons with Arabic inscriptions originating from European armouries are preserved in modern collections in Europe, the USA and Canada.[448] G.C. Miles speculates that

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[443] Bank 1966, no. 130 (= Marković 1995, fig. 39); Borsook 1990, figs. 9, 35–36; Restle 1967, vol. 3, fig. 436; Walter 2003a, 77; neg. in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington, Acc. No. 00–2465. One cannot however agree with Kolias's interpretation (1988, 129), who also sees Kufic ornament in the shield devices of St Prokopios and St Demetrios on a mosaic at Hosios Loukas in Phokis.

[444] See e.g. Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, figs. 128–29.

[445] Kufic ornament appears in the *Madrid Skylitzes* on the shields of Byzantines, the armies of Thomas the Slav as well as in a duelling scene in the Hippodrome (fols. 12r, 25r, 32v and 154v; Tsamakda 2002, figs. 6, 46, 64–65, 389). It also appears on fol. 369r of Octateuch no. 602 in Vatopedi Monastery on Mt Athos (*Athos*, vol. Δ', fig. 123).

[446] cf. Parani (2003, 149) who regards as exceptional the Kufic inscription on the bowl of Joshua's helmet on a fresco on the external wall of the late-10th-C. Theotokos church in Hosios Loukas.

[447] THEOPH. CONT., p. 125[18, 20–21] [III 30]: θεσπίσαι τε καὶ κηρῦξαι πᾶσαν ἡλικίαν [...] συναθροιζομένην ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀσπίδιν αὐτῶν ἐγγράψαι 'Αμόριον, τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ διάνασιν μετὰ θρασύτητος αἰνιττόμενος; see also VASILIEV, 1:146; Nicolle 1992, 47 and reconstruction on plate H2. Kolias (1988, 129–30) believes a similar custom may have existed in the imperial army. On Theophilos's raid in 837 and the Arabs' revenge campaign see Treadgold 1997, 440–1; and KEDRENOS, 2:132.

[448] Combe/Cosson (1937, 227–46, figs. 1–11) publish the Arabic inscriptions on a group of swords dating from 1367/8 to 1436 (often of Western, e.g. Italian, provenance) from the armoury in Alexandria (now dispersed among European collections

when placing Kufic inscription on shields, Byzantine craftsmen were inspired by actual weaponry imported from Damascus. He also does not rule out a magical or apotropaic function.[449]

Although the function of such inscriptions remains unclear, in the case of a late twelfth-century Cypriot double-sided icon from the church of the Panagia Theoskepaste in Paphos (now in the Bishop's Palace, Paphos) the artist's intention appears obvious. St James the Persian appears on the icon wearing a red Phrygian cap, and holding a sword and a round shield reminiscent of a gilded Persian *sipar* (fig. 71).[450] Running around the centre of this shield is Kufic ornament, which, like the saint's untypical headgear and his swarthy complexion, was undoubtedly intended to underline his Eastern origins.

Religious (and apotropaic) symbols

The replacement of pagan religious and apotropaic symbols[451] by Christian ones was carried out thanks to Constantine the Great. According to Lactantius's account, before the battle with Maximian on the Milvian Bridge, the emperor heard a voice in his dream telling him to mark the shields of his troops with the 'Heavenly sign of God'.[452] He did so and was victorious. Lactantius's information does not specify the form this sign took. Antony of Novgorod mentions the emperor's shield preserved in the church of the Virgin in Pharos, on which the Lamb of God was depicted.[453] It is more probable, though, that the blazon Constantine had placed on the shields was the 'Christogram' (or 'chi-rho'). This motif appears in another account written down by Eusebios of Caesarea, describing the emperor's

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and also in New York and Toronto). They point out that export had evidently not been prevented by Pope Boniface VIII's letter of 12 March 1295 on not supplying the Saracens with arms. According to eyewitness accounts many swords with Arabic inscriptions were removed in 1922 from the Church of God's Peace (Hagia Eirene) in Constantinople, during the liquidation of the armoury there. It is quite possible that some of these dated from the time of the Byzantines.

[449] See Miles 1964, 29; his hypothesis is confirmed by Kufic ornament appearing on depictions of other items of armament, such as Joshua's helmet on a fresco in Hosios Loukas, Phokis (Chatzidakis 1997, fig. 5).

[450] See *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 75. On the Phrygian cap see F. Brein, "Phrygische Mütze" in *BKR*, 196. Parani (2003, 150) states that only St James's olive complexion, Phrygian cap and his ear-ring indicate his Eastern origins.

[451] On Roman apotropaic shield symbols see Kolias 1988, 126 (with further literature).

[452] See LACTANTIUS, p. 44^5.

[453] See ANTONY, col. 32 [93].

vision (perhaps the same one), which mentions that the letters χ and ρ were inscribed on a *labarum* made at the emperor's command. This device, which was probably already known earlier, was worn by Constantine on his helmet. Confirmation of Eusebios's words can be found on a silver medallion from Ticinum (modern Pavia) minted in 315, with an image of the emperor in a plumed helmet, with the Christogram below.[454] The device appears in Early Byzantine art on the large shields of guardsmen accompanying rulers. Examples include a soldier following after Constantine II on the silver *missorium* from Kerch; another guardsman on a relief on the Column of Theodosius in Constantinople; and also bodyguards accompanying Justinian on the mosaic at San Vitale in Ravenna (fig. 72).[455]

The custom of depicting the Christogram on shields did not survive Iconoclasm.[456] The device also does not appear on the shields of the warrior saints. The cross was introduced in its place, and it is this that we find on the saints' shields on murals in the cathedral in Faras, and frescoes in the katholikon of the Virgin-Kosmosoteira in Bera.[457] A fragment of a large gold cross on a red field appears on the large triangular

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[454] Vita Const., pp. 30^{21}–31^{5} [I 31/1–2]: Ἦν δὲ τοιῷδε σχήματι κατεσκευασμένον. ὑψηλὸν δόρυ χρυσῷ κατημφιεσμένον κέρας εἶχεν ἐγκάρσιον σταυροῦ σχήματι πεποιημένον, ἄνω δὲ πρὸς ἄκρῳ τοῦ παντὸς στέφανος ἐκ λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ χρυσοῦ συμπεπλεγμένος κατεστήρικτο, καθ' οὗ τῆς σωτηρίου ἐπηγορίας τὸ σύμβολον δύο στοιχεῖα τὸ Χριστοῦ παραδηλοῦντα ὄνομα διὰ τῶν πρώτων ὑπεσήμαινον χαρακτήρων, χιαζομένου τοῦ ῥῶ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον· ἃ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ κράνους φέρειν εἴωθε κἀν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνοις ὁ βασιλεύς. See also Babuin 2001, 7–8. On the medallion from Ticinum preserved in the Staatliches Münzkabinett, Munich, see Grigg (1977, 17–18), who cites a reference to the Christogram in depictions on shields; and Bruun (1962, *passim*) who believes that the introduction of the Christogram should be linked with Constantine. The earlier origins of the motif visible on the emperor's helmet are pointed out by MacMullen (1968, 87) and Alföldi (1932, *passim*) who admits a possible pre-Christian origin for the symbol. This does not change the fact that Constantine's use of the Christogram symbolized his fight in the name of Christ and in defence of the new faith (Alföldi 1935, 51–3, 61).

[455] See for example: *Age of Spirituality*, nos. 64–65; Bank 1966, no. 1. The same examples are also quoted by Kolias 1988, 127. The relief on the column of Theodosius which was destroyed by Sultan Bayezid at the beginning of the 16th C. is published by Sodini 1994, fig. 5.

[456] See e.g. the undecorated shields of guardsmen accompanying rulers in the Parisian *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos* (Par. gr. 510, fol. 215v) and in the Athonite *Menologion Esphigmenou 14*, fols. 343r, 384r, 389v, 402r, 404r (Der Nersessian 1962, fig. 8; *Athos*, vol. B', figs. 340, 342, 352, 378, 381).

[457] See Górecki 1980, figs. 2, 3, 6, 8; Skawran 1982, fig. 177. A cross also appears on the front of a round shield on an 11th-C. bronze panel with St George in the Benaki Museum in Athens (gift of Jacob Hirsch, no. 11430).

shield of St Prokopios in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria.[458] An increase in the popularity of depictions of shields of the military saints with this motif occurred in the thirteenth century in regions that remained under Crusader influence (fig. 73).[459] A red Crusader cross on a white ground is depicted on the shield of St Sergios on a Syrian icon of *c.*1240–70 in St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai, and also of St George on a later fresco from 1323 in the church dedicated to him in Anydri on Crete.[460] This motif is also present in the iconography of the military saints in the Late Byzantine period.[461]

Górecki interprets the cross on the shields of the military saints as a symbolic element, associated with the passion and death of Christ, being at the same time his victory over death, and expressing the idea of victory over evil by the martyrs who were imitating Christ.[462] The cross motif also appeared on actual shields. In Choniates' description of a duel during the siege of Baka by John II Komnenos in the summer of 1138 between an Armenian named Constantine and Eustratios who was serving in the Macedonian corps of the imperial army, the chronicler states that the former was protected by a white (probably round) shield, incised with a cross.[463]

The cross was not the only religious motif to appear on Byzantine shields. In 863 when the army of Michael III was preparing to depart on a campaign against the Arabs, the continuator of Theophanes' Chronicle states that the *patrikios* Antigonos received advice from a certain monk named John to place the image of St John on the shields

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458 See Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 23/1.

459 E.g. on glass cameos with images of St Demetrios, mass-produced, probably in Venetian workshops, but bearing the Greek inscription: Ο [ΑΓΙΟϹ] ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟϹ, see *Byzantium*, no. 204b; Walter 2003a, 83. This motif evolved in Western Europe independently of Byzantium as is evident from the crosses on warrior's shields depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry (Rud 1983, figs. on pp. 43 and 53).

460 See Hunt 1991, fig. 1; Stylianou 1982, 138, fig. 7. On the Crusading origins of the red cross on white ground in the context of Late Byzantine depictions on the shields of military saints see Škrivanić 1957, 124.

461 For later examples of shields with a red cross in Serbian painting see Škrivanić 1957, figs. 67–68.

462 See Górecki 1980, 211.

463 Choniates, p. 23^{6-8}: ἀσπίδα προβεβλημένος ἴσην πάντοθεν καὶ λευκήν, χάραγμα σταυρικὸν περὶ τὸ μέσον ἔχουσαν. Cf. also Kolias (1988, 127), who without justification sees in this passage a reference to the Christogram as evidence for the continuation of the Early Byzantine tradition (see above, nn. 454–455).

of his troops to ensure God's aid in battle.[464] This type of image is not found on the shields of the military saints. A *clipeus* with two busts on Stilicho's shield on the Late Roman diptych in the cathedral in Monza[465] gives us an idea of how St John's likeness may have been arranged on the shield's surface.

Proto-heraldic devices

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, figural depictions of a secular character begin to appear on military saints' shields. The earliest examples include a lion on the kite shield of St Theodore Teron in the katholikon of St Panteleimon's monastery in Nerezi (fig. 45b).[466] In a later period we also occasionally find a lion standing in heraldic pose, as for example on the shield of St George on a relief on the façade of St George's Cathedral in Yuryev-Polsky (1230–34) and on a centurion's shield on a thirteenth-century Crucifixion scene in the katholikon of St Heraklidios in the monastery of Agios Ioaniis (St John) Lampadistis in Kalopanagiotis, Cyprus. A lion is also presented in a seated pose on a warrior saint's shield in the thirteenth-century Serbian Mateić Monastery.[467]

In the above examples the *rampant* pose of the lion standing on its hind paws, and the lion's divided tail in the Nerezi image, indicates that the artists were borrowing from western heraldry. The Bayeux Tapestry depictions imply that heraldic motifs appear on shields in the West no earlier than the second half of the eleventh century. Shields bearing a winged serpent, the 'Dragon of Wessex', are carried on the Tapestry by King Harold II of England (1022–1066) and his companions, but

[464] See Theoph. Cont., pp. 180^{21}–181^{2} [IV 25]. Kolias (1988, 128) on the basis of references by Theophanes on the seizing by the army of reliquaries and icons of Mary concludes that images of other saints (including warrior saints) appeared on the shields of Byzantine soldiers. We find confirmation in the will of Eustathios Boilas drafted in 1059, where among eight gilded icons he mentions a likeness of St George on a *skoutarion* (Parani/Pitarakis/Spieser 2003, 147^{133}, 158; Belting 1994, 523). For an Arabic reference to a saint's image painted on a Byzantine shield see also Nicolle 1992, 45–6 and the reconstruction on plate H1.

[465] See Volbach 1976, no. 63.

[466] See Maguire 1996, fig. 10 (= Škrivanić 1957, fig. 80).

[467] See e.g. Lazarev 1970, fig. on p. 87 (= Kirpichnikov 1971, tabl. 8); Stylianou 1982, fig. 4; Škrivanić 1957, fig. 77. See also the later image of a lion on St Theodore Stratelates' shield on fol. 1v of the *Evangeliary of Fiodor* (1321–27) which was illuminated in Kiev (currently in the Museum of History and Architecture in Yaroslavl), Popova 1984, fig. 18; Gamber 1995, fig. 8.

also by William the Conqueror (1035–87).[468] Mogens Rud believes that dragon emblems on medieval shields are derived from the dragon-like Roman legionary wind-sock insignia carried by officers called *draconarii*.[469] The presence of the dragon on the shields of both opposing armies is evidence that it was then an apotropaic rather than a distinguishing symbol. From the mid-twelfth century animal symbols, such as dragons, griffins, leopards and lions, were appearing on shields, helmets and other items of knightly attire, as heraldic charges.[470]

There is on the other hand no evidence, as Kolias notes, to suggest the use of coats of arms in eleventh- and twelfth-century Byzantine culture.[471] A reference to a winged eagle on the shield of the Amazon

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[468] See Rud 1983, 44, 81, esp. the dragons depicted on the shields of Anglo-Saxon troops (fig. on p. 43); of Harold meeting William the Conqueror (pp. 11, 47); during the battle of Hastings itself (p. 86); and also carried by William and his page (pp. 45–6).

[469] Rud 1983, 44. On Roman *draconarii* and on the dragon standard as the insignia of individual cohorts see VEGETIUS, p. 76 [II 7]: *Signiferi qui signa portant, quos nunc* ***draconarios*** *vocant*, 84 [II 12] (as the sign of the various cohorts) and on p. 136 [III 5], where he lists them among the 'mute signs' (*signa muta*); AMMIAN., 1:182 [XVI 12/39]: *Quo agnito per purpureum* ***signum draconis*** *summitati hastae longioris aptatum*. On the use of *draco* standards in the Byzantine army see: STRAT., p. 424^{5} [XIIB 7]; DE CER. [VOGT], 1:8^{13-15} [I 1]; DE CER., 1:599^{15-16} [II 16], 717^{6}, 737^{18} 746^{4-5}, 752^{8-9}, 758^{21-22}, 767^{14} [II 52] (= OIKONOMIDES, pp. 113^{3}, 159^{4}, 173^{14}, 181^{29}, 191^{5}, 203^{12}); CHONIATES, p. 397^{12} (on dragons carried on lances); Ps. KODINOS, pp. 196^{8-9}, 206^{21-22} [IV], who uses the term δρακόντειον as a synonym for a standard (φλάμουλον); and also Grosse 1924, 60–4; Solovjev 1935, 129 and n. 50; Mihăescu 1969, 158, where he equates Roman *draconarii* with Byzantine *bandophoroi*; Ravegnani 1988, 38–9; Babuin 2001, 13–15, figs. 5, 10, 88; see also the preserved head from a Roman *draco* standard in the Museum in Koblenz (Southern/Dixon 1996, fig. 19). The dragons depicted on the shield devices of the Roman regiments of *Taifali*, *Citrati iuniores* and *Marcomanni* are linked by Nickel (2002, 115, fig. X–34) with Chinese military symbols; he also reproduces (fig. X–50) an interesting signet ring from the Metropolitan Museum, New York depicting a shielded warrior with a *draco* standard, accompanied by the inscription 'BPATHΛA'. On the various animals employed by the legions as military insignia see Alföldi 1959, 12; and Żygulski 1998, 100–1, fig. 89.

[470] See e.g. Gamber 1995, 20; and Pine (1957, 15–17; with further bibliog.) who indicates that the earliest heraldic depictions on European shields appeared in the years 1135–55, and reproduces (p. 17) an enamel panel from 1136 with four lions, the badge of the Angevin dynasty. The question of the origins of heraldry in Western Europe is a separate problem, too broad to cover in the present study.

[471] Kolias (1988, 128) considers that this state of affairs was an effect of the Church's dominant role in Byzantine culture, as a result of which the custom of placing secular devices on shields was never adopted. We may assume that the heraldic badges on Crusaders' shields had an influence on Byzantine culture, as well as on the Mamluks (Nickel 2002, 117–18). Cf. Rudt von Collenberg (1977) who believes that indications of the creation of heraldic symbols can be found in Byzantium before they appear in Western Europe.

Maximo in *Digenes Akritas*, and the arrow or tree motif on one of the riders' shields on fol. 13v of the *Madrid Skylitzes*,[472] can be easily put down to the frequent contact of the Byzantines with Western knights in the twelfth century.

Numerous Crusader coats of arms with a lion *rampant* have been preserved. The charge appears on a shield of *c.*1200 associated with the Crusaders, currently in the Landesmuseum in Zurich (fig. 74).[473] A twelfth/thirteenth-century enamel panel depicting a lion found at Dzhulyunitsa in Bulgaria is regarded by Nikolai Ovcharov as booty taken by the troops of Tsar Kaloyan 'the Greek-slayer' in 1205 after defeating the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin I of Flanders (1204–5), who bore the lion in his coat of arms.[474] A lion *rampant* also appears on the heraldic shield of the Lusignan dynasty adorning a thirteenth-century keystone in the Folk Art Museum in Nicosia, Cyprus.[475] Although the above examples all date from the thirteenth century, and are later than the Nerezi mural, their widespread appearance allows us to assume that the lion was known to the Byzantines as a shield motif, perhaps from the time of the emperor Manuel I, who was fascinated by Western chivalric culture. Another argument in favour of the Western origins of St Theodore Teron's shield at Nerezi is the lack of earlier examples in the culture of the Eastern Empire.[476]

Probably also under the influence of Western heraldry certain twelfth- and thirteenth-century warrior saints' shields are depicted with heraldic quartering, usually in red and blue arranged checkerwise or 'chequey' (fig. 45b).[477]

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[472] See DIG. AKR. p. 194[738] [VI]: σκουτάριν ἔχον ἀετοῦ πτέρυγας γεγραμμένας; Tsamakda 2002, fig. 11.

[473] Gamber 1995, fig. 27 (this shield is sometimes linked with Conrad, Landgrave of Thuringia), see also Gamber 1995, fig. 24 (miniature in a codex of *c.*1215 in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin, showing horsemen with a *rampant* lion badge on their helmet crests and standards).

[474] See Ovcharov 2000, 62, figs. 4–5 (depiction of a shield with lion on a seal of Baldwin and in an MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, *Ms. fr. 3383*), and also the later panels found in Veliko Turnovo and Vetrenci (figs. 1–3).

[475] See Stylianou 1982, fig. 3.

[476] The identification of the lions on the shields of legionaries on the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki as the emblem of *legio V Macedonica* and *legio XIII Gemina* is rejected by Grigg 1983, 133–4.

[477] Shields decorated in this manner accompany, among others: St Theodore Stratelates on a fresco in Nerezi; St George on an icon in the Byzantine Museum in Athens; and St Prokopios in the Church of St John Chrysostom in Geraki (Maguire 1996, fig. 10; Potamianou 1998, fig. 5 [= Tsigaridas 2000, fig. 40]; Moutsopoulos/

Andreas and Judith Stylianou have suggested that the Byzantines may have attempted to create an independent heraldic tradition to rival the Western symbolism of the Crusaders who were occupying large tracts of the Empire. The concept was based around a combination of a cross or crescent moon surrounded by stars as depicted on the dark red shields of the warrior saints. This was borrowed from designs on the reverses of coins of Anastasius and Justinian I, or more probably from the later, rare *folles* of Constantine IX Monomachos, Constantine X Doukas (1059–67) and Alexios I Komnenos.[478] Their hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that a crescent with star had appeared on the shields of the ancient residents of Byzantium.[479]

A cross standing on a crescent appears on St George's shield on a fresco in the narthex of the church of the Virgin in Asinou on Cyprus (fig. 32).[480] Meanwhile, the cross is replaced by an eight-pointed star on St George's shield on frescoes in the mid-thirteenth-century castle chapel dedicated to him, in the thirteenth/fourteenth-century church of St Athanasios, as well as in the church of St John Chrysostom—all in Geraki which was administered by the Nivelet family.[481]

The attempt to create an alternative Greek heraldry system proved unsuccessful, and by the Palaiologan era the motifs of cross, stars and crescent no longer appear on the shields of warrior saints.[482] The Empire's official emblem was now the two-headed eagle, which had been employed since Roman times as the senior insignia of the legions.[483]

Demetrokalles 1981, fig. 48 and colour pl. 1). Shields with quartering are additionally carried by Herod's soldiers in a scene of the Massacre of the Innocents on the south wall of the early-13th-C. church of St Sozon in Geraki (Moutsopoulos/Demetrokalles 1981, fig. 324); see also the later examples (derived from insular circles) discussed by Stylianou 1982, 135–6.

478 See Stylianou 1982, 139–40, fig. 1, and the *follis* of Constantine X (Grierson 1982, no. 993).

479 See above n. 421.

480 See Stylianou 1982, fig. 1 (= Stylianou 1997, fig. 70).

481 Moutsopoulos/Demetrokalles 1981, fig. 65 and colour figs. 13–14, 80; Stylianou 1982, fig. 11 = Gerstel 2001, figs. 8, 16.

482 One of the last depictions of the cross and crescent on a shield is a miniature in the Vatican codex of the *Manasses Chronicle* (*Vat. slav. 2*, fol. 145) where this motif appears on the shield of a Greek soldier participating in the campaign against the Bulgarian khagan Krum (Duichev 1962, fig. 50).

483 On depictions of the eagle in ancient Rome, e.g. on the coins of Octavian and as a military symbol, see Alföldi 1959, 4–5, figs. 4/5–6, 5/10–11; Żygulski 1998, 101, and fig. 89; Vegetius (p. 70 [II 6], 76, 78 [II 7], 84 [II 13]) mentions *imaginarii* who carry images of the emperor, *signiferi* (*draconarii*) who carrying draco standards, and *Aquiliferi qui aquilam portant*; this eagle was regarded as the highest insignia of

It is seen already in the imperial iconography between the tenth and twelfth centuries.[484] The new imperial arms influenced the heraldry of neighbouring countries Serbia and Bulgaria,[485] and also replaced the thirteenth-century depictions of the cross, stars and crescent moon on the shields of the military saints.[486]

Symbolism and customs related to the shield

Besides protection from the enemy, the shield had other purposes in Late Roman and Byzantine armies, not always connected with combat. In the fourth century soldiers indicated approval by banging their shields with their knees, while anger and desire for combat was signalled by striking them with their spears.[487] An army advancing to battle would raise its spirits in the same way.[488] Maurice mentions the

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the entire legion (*Haec enim suscipit aquilam, quod praecipuum signum in Romano est semper exercitu et* ***totius legionis insigne*** [...] ***Primum signum totius legionis est aquila, quam aquilifer portat.***); he also (p. 136 [III 5]) list eagles among the 'mute signs' (*signa muta*). Maurice's reference to birds of prey (**ὀρνιθόφορας**) may be evidence for the use of eagles in the Byzantine army (STRAT., p. 424[13] [XIIB 7]). Dennis (1982, 52) believes the eagle and dragon disappeared from the repertoire of military insignia in the 6th century. See also Babuin 2001, 15.

[484] On the origins of the two-headed eagle motif, which derived from the ancient Hittites or Chaldeans, and its adoption in Byzantium via ancient Rome see Solovjev (1935, 122–5, 129–35), who notes that it was used as the imperial emblem since the reign of the Komnenoi; see also the 10th–13th-C. illustrations of the two-headed eagle published by him (figs. 4–6), the earliest of which is from a Byzantine textile. However, the pre-Palaiologan employment of the eagle as an imperial symbol is regarded as problematical by A. Cutler, "Eagles" in *ODB*, 1:669.

[485] See Solovjev 1935, 137–45, figs. 10–16; esp p.145 on Moscow's adoption of the imperial eagle as an expression of its taking over of the Byzantine heritage. In turn, in Solovjev's opinion, the two-headed eagle in the emblem of the Sultanate of Ikonium may have derived either from Byzantium or from local traditions that reached back into antiquity.

[486] Among the earliest depictions of the imperial eagle on a warrior saint's shield is one apparently painted on Demetrios's white shield in the Church of the Anastasis (Resurrection) of Christ in Veria, covered by frescoes in 1315 by the master Kalliergis (Stylianou 1982, fig. 8).

[487] AMMIAN. 1:133 [XV 8/15] speaks of the striking of shields with the knee as an expression of the army's approval during the coronation of Julian as emperor on 6 November 355; see also Sander 1963, 157 and n. 83, who indicates that the custom was introduced into the Roman army by barbarians serving in it from the 4th C. AD. On the striking of the shield with the spear as an expression of disapproval see also AMMIAN., 1:175 [XVI 12/13]. BRYENNIOS mentions (p. 123[23–7] [I 20]) the English Varangians among the palace guards flourishing their swords, shouting barbarian warcries and striking their shields; see also DIG. AKR., p. 344[1428].

[488] See AMMIAN., 1:93 [XIV 10/17]. PROCOPIUS mentions that during the wars of 544–552/3 the infantry phalangites of Belisarius and Narses would beat their shields

striking of a shield as signal used by commanders to halt their troops during exercises or on a night march.[489]

The attention of scholars has been concentrated on another barbarian custom connected with the shield, which was adopted by the Roman army and later by the Byzantine one.[490] At coronations from the time of Julian the Apostate[491] the new ruler would be lifted up on a shield by his soldiers as an expression of his acceptance by the army.[492] This custom was also present (at least in certain periods)[493] in Byzantine coronation ritual.[494] It was also readily adopted by pretenders to the throne who had the army's support.[495] In the Palaiologan

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with their spears to scare the horses of the Persians and Totila's Goths (1:99$^{4-6}$ [I 18/48], 2:523^{22}–524^{2} [VIII 8/32], 645$^{25-27}$ [VIII 29/18]). See also McGeer 1995, 278; and Aussaresses 1909, 50.

489 Strat., p. 154$^{12-13}$[III 5]: Εἰ δὲ στῆναι, σημαίνει ἢ τῇ φωνῇ· στα, ἢ τῷ ἤχῳ τοῦ σκουταρίου ἢ τῇ χερὶ νεύειν ἢ τῇ τούβᾳ, καὶ ἵσταται, p. 308$^{36-38}$ [IX 2] (={LT, vol. B', p. 64 [XVII 25]}): ἀλλ' εἰ χρὴ τοῦ μεῖναι τὸν στρατὸν ὡς εἰκὸς ἢ τοῦ κινῆσαι, συρισμῷ ἢ ἁπλῷ ψόφῳ σκουταρίου σημαίνειν ἢ παραγγέλματι.

490 Perhaps the earliest evidence of the barbarian origins of the custom of 'raising on a shield' appears in the *Histories* of Tacitus, referring to the election of a certain Brinno as leader of a rebellious Germanic tribe (Walter 1975, 157–8; Teitler 2002; and also below, n. 493).

491 Ammian., 3:12 [20.4.17]; other sources are analysed by Teitler 2002, 505–07. Cf. also Alföldi's theory (1935, 51) on the Roman origins of the custom of raising on a shield, which is refuted by Ensslin (1942, *passim*). An exhaustive bibliog. of the subject is given by Kolias 1988, 88, n. 2.

492 See Walter 1975, 166.

493 Walter (1975, 165) draws attention to the gap between consecutive references in the chronicles, which may be evidence of the lack of continuity of the custom. Also rather disconcerting is Constantine Porphyrogennetos's account (DAI 1:172$^{51-53}$ [38]) of the raising of Arpad on a *skoutarion* by the Magyars, at the moment he was chosen as their ruler, a custom he derives from the Khazars without reference to the Byzantine tradition; see also Ostrogorsky 1955, 252–6. Meanwhile, Teitler (2002, 512) argues for the continuity of the custom.

494 Peter Patrikios mentions the raising on a *skoutarion* ceremonies during the imperial coronations of Anastasius and Justin I (De Cer., 1:423$^{6-15}$ [I 92], 427^{17} [I 93]); see also Walter (1975, *passim*) on other raising ceremonies, e.g. of Justin II and Late Byzantine emperors, and his analysis of coronations described in ChPasch., p. 165; see also Ostrogorsky 1955, *passim*.

495 Peter Patrikios mentions the raising on a shield of the tribune John by the guard of *Exkoubitores* in 518 (De Cer., 1:429^{3} [I 93]). During the usurpation of Hypatios in the Nika revolt in January 532 a shield-raising was also performed at the Hippodrome (Zonaras, 3:155^{11}). Theophanes (1:260$^{23-5}$, 287$^{7-8}$) mentions the raising on a shield of the general Germanos in 586, and also of Phokas in 602. Psellos (1:77$^{21-4}$ [IV 40]) also describes the ceremony taking place at the coronation of Dolianos as emperor during a Bulgar rebellion in 1041 (καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀσπίδος ἄραντες τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ ἐγχειρίζουσι· κἀντεῦθεν τὰς μελετωμένας γνώμας δημοσιεύσαντες περιγράφουσιν ἑαυτούς), and also at the coronation of the pretender Leo Toronikios on 14 September 1047 in Adrianople (Psellos, 2:18$^{2-5}$ [VI 104]: βασιλεύειν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς αἱροῦνται

period the custom was completely detached from its military roots, as is evident from Pseudo-Kodinos's description of the coronation of Andronikos III in 1325. During this ceremony the shield was held up not by soldiers, but by the patriarch, members of the royal family and courtiers.[496] Depictions of raising on a shield (shown always as round) also appear in Byzantine book illumination, as illustrations of biblical events and emperors' coronations.[497] However, as Walter has proved, there is no connection between the illustrations and the accompanying text, and in the majority of cases one can speak of the miniaturist copying an older model and not of direct inspiration from an actual ceremony.[498]

Often the symbolism of the shield is related to meanings given to other items of armour. As mentioned earlier, a shield and body armour were hung on the Chalke gate as a signal that an expedition was being prepared. The religious aspect of the symbolism of the shield, as with the 'armour of justice' and the 'sword of the Holy Spirit', is related to St Paul's letter to the Ephesians, where he compares faith to a shield

τὸν Λέοντα, καὶ ὁπόσα δὴ αὐτοῖς ὁ καιρὸς ἐδίδου ἐπὶ τῇ ἀναρρήσει πλασάμενοι, διαπρεπεῖ ἐσθῆτι κοσμήσαντες αἴρουσιν ἐπ' ἀσπίδος); see also Walter 1975, 160–1; Teitler 2002, 511, fig. 4.

[496] Ps. Kodinos, pp. 255[20]–256[17] [VII]; Walter 1975, 166; and 1975a, 455; Teitler 2002, 509; on the Palaiologan coronation ritual see also Ostrogorsky (1955, 246–56) who believes that the growth in popularity of the custom of raising on a shield during coronations took place in the 13th C. at the court in Nicaea under Crusader influence.

[497] Scenes of David's coronation appear in the following psalters: *Par. gr. 139*, fol. 6v; *Vatopedi 761 (609)*, fol. 14r (which dates to *c.*1088); *Brit. Add. 36928*, fol. 45v; Trinity College library, Oxford no. *78*, fol. 4v; *Khludov Psalter*, fol. 18v; *Barberini Psalter, Vat. gr. 372*, fol. 30v; *Theodore Psalter, Brit. Add. 19352*, fol. 21r; *Hamilton Psalter* in the Kupferstichkabinett of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin no. 78 9A, fol. 68r; *Kiev Psalter* in the Saint Petersburg Public Library, *cod. 1252 F VI*, fol. 193r; Hezekiah in the Bristol Psalter, *Brit. Add. 40731*, fol. 33r; *Vat. gr. 752*, fol. 82r; and *Vat. gr. 1927*, fol. 32r; and also successive biblical kings David, Samuel, Roboam and Abias in the *Book of Kings*, *Vat. gr. 333*, fols. 15v, 44r, 89v, 95r; and illustrations in the following chronicles: the *Madrid Skylitzes*, fols. 10v, 230r; the 13th-C. *Chronicle of George Hamartolos* in the National Library in Moscow, *no. 100*, fol. 38v; and the *Manasses Vat. slav. 2* (fol. 32v) described in detail by Walter 1975, 135–57, drawings 1–2, figs. 1–7 (with further bibliographic references); Walter 1975a, n. 18, figs. 1, 4. See also Lassus 1973, fig. 99; Tsamakda 2002, figs. 3, 544; Dufrenne 1966, fig. 49; De Nersessian 1970, fig. 37; Shchepkina 1977, fig. 18; and Duichev 1962, fig. 15.

[498] See Weitzmann 1947, 178–80; Walter 1975a, 454–55; Walter 1975, *passim* (see esp. the stemma of interdependencies of miniatures in the various manuscripts on p. 174).

quenching the missiles of Evil.[499] As the 'shield of faith' (θυρεὸς τῆς πίστεως) it made up part of the 'Panoply of Christian virtues'.[500] John of Damascus in his *An Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* speaks of the cross and faith in Christ, that they are the shield, weapons and a *tropaion* against the devil.[501] The motif of the 'shield of faith' protecting Christians in the fight against non-believers, was also made use of in the context of historical events. Sebeos, speaking of the Vardan 'the Red' of the Mamikonean house and his companions, defenders of Christianity, who in 450 rose up against the Persian king Yazdgird II (or Yazkert, 438–457), styles them as soldier-martyrs. He writes that they took up the 'shield of faith', and their zeal for the divine *Logos* covered them with 'armour of security'. To create a fuller picture he adds that above the heads of the warriors it was possible to see a radiance reminiscent of a halo.[502] To Sebeos these signs were doubtless intended to foretell their martyr's death at the hands of the Persians in the battle of Avarayr (25 May 451).

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[499] Eph. 6,16. See also John Chrysostom's exegesis in his *In Epistulam ad Ephesios*, MPG, 62:169–71: Ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἀναλαβόντες τὸν θυρεὸν τῆς πίστεως. Πίστιν ἐνταῦθα, οὐ τὴν γνῶσίν φησιν, οὐ γὰρ ἂν αὐτὴν ὑστέραν ἔταξεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν χάριν, δι' ἧς τὰ σημεῖα γίνεται. Καὶ εἰκότως τὴν πίστιν ὀνομάζει θυρεόν· καθάπερ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος προβέβληται τοῦ παντὸς σώματος, ὥσπερ τεῖχος ὤν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἡ πίστις· πάντα γὰρ αὐτῇ εἴκει. Ἐν ᾧ δυνήσεσθε, φησὶ, πάντα τὰ βέλη τοῦ Πονηροῦ τὰ πεπυρωμένα σβέσαι. Οὐδὲν γὰρ δύναται τοῦτον τὸν θυρεὸν διακόψαι. [...] Βέλη δὲ τοῦ Πονηροῦ καὶ τοὺς πειρασμούς φησι, καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας τὰς ἀτόπους. Καλῶς δὲ προσέθηκεν, τὰ πεπυρωμένα. Τοιαῦται γάρ εἰσιν αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι. Εἰ δὲ δαίμοσιν ἐπέταξεν ἡ πίστις, πολλῷ μᾶλλον καὶ τοῖς πάθεσι τῆς ψυχῆς. Καὶ τὴν περικεφαλαίαν, φησὶ, τοῦ σωτηρίου δέξασθε· τουτέστι, τῆς σωτηρίας ὑμῶν. Περιφράττει γὰρ αὐτοὺς, ὡς εἰς πόλεμον ἐξάγων. [...] καὶ τὴν πίστιν, οὕτω καὶ ἐπιμείνατε. Θυρεός ἐστιν ἡ πίστις, πρῶτος δεχόμενος τὰς τῶν ἐναντίων προσβολὰς, καὶ τὰ ὅπλα τηρῶν ἄτρωτα. Ἐὰν οὖν πίστις ὀρθὴ ᾖ καὶ βίος ὀρθὸς, τὰ ὅπλα ἄτρωτα μένει. [...] Ἡ πίστις θυρεός ἐστι σκέπων τοὺς ἀπεριέργως πιστεύοντας· ἐὰν δὲ σοφίσματα ᾖ καὶ λογισμοὶ καὶ εὐθῦναι, οὐκ ἔτι ἐστὶ θυρεὸς, ἀλλὰ συμποδίζει ἡμᾶς. Τοιαύτη ἔστω ἡ πίστις, ὥστε συγκαλύπτειν καὶ συσκιάζειν τὸ πᾶν. Μὴ τοίνυν ἔστω βραχεῖα, ὥστε γυμνοὺς τοὺς πόδας, ἢ ἄλλο τι μέρος ἐᾷν, ἀλλ' ἔστω σύμμετρος ὁ θυρεός. John also mentions the 'shield of faith' which protects against the missiles of Evil in his homily, *In Genesim* (MPG, 53:38).

[500] See e.g. references in the writings of Gregory of Nyssa, CAVARNOS 6:298[15] (*In Canticum Canticorum*), 8/1:62[11] (*De instituto Christiano*); Gregory of Nazianzos in the homilies *Ad Gregorium Nyssenum*, MPG, 35:837 and *In sanctum baptisma*, MPG, 36:380; and John Chrysostom's, *De patientia et de consummatione huius saeculi*, MPG, 63:939; and also other Church Fathers above, p. 181 and nn. 215, 217.

[501] KOTTER, 2:188[40–2]: Οὗτος ἡμῖν σημεῖον δέδοται ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου, ὃν τρόπον τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ἡ περιτομή· δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ οἱ πιστοὶ τῶν ἀπίστων ἀποδιιστάμεθά τε καὶ γνωριζόμεθα. Οὗτος **θυρεὸς καὶ ὅπλον καὶ τρόπαιον κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου**.

[502] See SEBEOS, p. 2 [VII].

For the symbolic understanding of the shield as a defence against Evil references in the Old Testament were a deciding factor. In the *Book of Genesis*, God tells Abraham not to be afraid, since He is his shield. The image of God as shield (ὑπερασπιστὴς) of the chosen people also appears in the Psalms.[503] In the minds of the Empire's inhabitants, who identified themselves as a people chosen by God to carry out his Plan of Salvation, the motif of the shield of the Lord protecting them from enemies was a reference to themselves. This is expressed by Choniates, who when listing the conquests of the Seljuks in Asia Minor, horrified by their extent, asks the Creator reproachfully how long He intends to gaze passively upon the extermination of His holy people, the Romaioi, and in the words of Psalm 34, raises a plea for Him to take up weapon and shield and come to their aid.[504]

Summing up, we can state that, in the culture of the Empire, the shield was on the one hand strongly associated with the army and its political significance at the court, and on the other hand with the vision of faith and Divine protection against the blows of Evil.

THE CLOAK (MANDYAS)

As important as the armour and shield in the 'uniform' of warrior saints is the military cloak, which constitutes an inseparable attribute for them. We can identify two types of cloak according to how they were worn by the military saints: the officer's mantle called the χλαμύς (also χλαῖνα, χλανίς), and the cloak worn by ordinary soldiers and junior officers, known as the σαγίον (Lat. *sagum*). Both types were also civilian garments known since antiquity; they were taken over from legionary tradition[505] and continued to be used in the Byzantine army.

[503] Gen. 15:1; e.g. Pss. 17(18):3, 31 and 36; 27(28):7; 32(33):20; 113(115):17–19 (9–11). The use in the Psalms of the adjectival form undoubtedly results from the reluctance of the authors of the Septuagint to directly personify God or to link him with images from the terrestrial world.

[504] See Ps. 34(35):2; CHONIATES, p. 117[92].

[505] On the use of and types of *chlamys* and *sagion* in antiquity see W. Amelung, "Χλαμύδα, Χλαῖνα, Χλανίς" in *PR*, 3:2335–46, esp. 2344 on the *chlamys* as the dress of horsemen, soldiers and hunters (on the equivalence of all three terms to describe the chlamys see also OIKONOMIDES, n. 143 on p. 166); O. Fiebiger, "Sagum" in

The chlamys *or officer's cloak*

The *chlamys* was a long cloak that opened at the wearer's right side and was fastened on the shoulder by a fibula. Introduced in the time of Alexander the Great, the garment was known in ancient Rome as the *paludamentum*, and was worn by emperors and senior officers, especially commanders of the *Praetorium*. No later than the second century AD, the first of these wore chlamydes of a purple colour, the last in red.[506] Also adopted in Roman times was the custom of depicting this category of dignitaries and gods in military uniform with a chlamys thrown over their shoulder (fig. 17a,b).[507]

PR, 2/2:1754–5; K. Czerwenka-Papadopoulos, "Chlamys" in *BKR*, 52–3; H. Aigner, "Sagum" in *BKR*, 214; Rankov 1994, 56–9.

Among the Byzantine sources that mention the ancient origins of the *chlamys* see Lydos (below, nn. 506 and 535); and Malalas (p. 24^{2}–25^{15} [II 8]) who, citing Suetonius, writes that it was introduced in the time of Numa Pompilius. The state attached special importance to this part of the uniform as can be inferred from the right enacted in 396 granting the bravest soldiers stationed in Illyria a donative of a *solidus* for the purchase of chlamydes (see Ravegnani 1988, 41, on the basis of the *Codex of Theodosius*, Cic XII 39/3).

[506] Lydos, p. 88^{19-20} [II 2/4] (on the purple chlamys worn by the emperor in the Senate) and p. 102^{20-27} [II 4/13] (on the knee-length cloak of the eparch of the *Praetorium* dyed with a red dyestuff from the island of Kos and called a *chlamys*) στοιχεῖον διαζωγραφοῦσι χρυσῷ τὸν χιτῶνα· ἐν δὲ τῇ βουλῇ χλαμύσι, πορφυραῖς μέν (πῶς γὰρ οὐχί;) [...] μανδύην μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἔπαρχος περιεβάλλετο Κῷον (ἐπ' ἐκείνης γὰρ τῆς νήσου καὶ μόνης ἡ βαθυτέρα βαφὴ τοῦ φοινικοῦ χρώματος τὸ πρὶν ἐπῃνεῖτο κατασκευαζομένη· <ἡ> γὰρ ἠρέμα πως ἐπὶ τὸ φλόγινον καὶ οὐ σφόδρα βαθὺ ἀναπτομένη πρὸς Παρθυαίων ἐξηύρηται· ὅθεν καὶ Παρθικὰ τὰ φλογοβαφῆ δέρματα συμβαίνει καλεῖσθαι)· ὁ δὲ μανδύης χλαμύδος εἶδός ἐστι τὸ παρὰ τῷ πλήθει μαντίον λεγόμενον, μὴ πλέον ἄχρι γονάτων. See also Rankov (1994, 56–7), who cites Pliny the Elder speaking of the *paludamentum* of commanders coloured with the scarlet dye from the Polish cochineal beetle (*porphyrophora*), and a reconstruction of the original polychromy on Trajan's column as purple in the case of the emperor's cape and red in the parts depicting officers); see also below, n. 535. Piltz (1989, 47) derives the chlamys of Alexander of Macedon from a combination of royal Macedonian, Greek and Iranian cloaks. On the chlamys as an element of imperial costume in Rome see Delbrueck (1932, 4–7, 9, 13) who believes that the custom was a reference to Alexander's attire and was intended to commemorate his Universalist political ideas. Depicted in a purple chlamys with a gold *tablion* is for example Justinian on a mosaic in San Vitale in Ravenna (see e.g. *Age of Spirituality*, no. 65; Grabar 1936, fig. 20/1; Leader 2000, 417, fig. 12). For more on fibulae and the *tablion* see below, pp. 271–276, 281–284. The Perso-Hellenistic origins of the chlamys are mentioned by Piltz (1989, 47, 51). See also Koukoules, 2/2:75–6.

[507] Images of chlamydes worn by Roman legionaries are published by Gamber (1978, figs. 361, 395, 396 [= Robinson 1975, fig. 461]), although he incorrectly connects them with the *sagion* (cf. p. 420); see also the statue of Mithridates from Delos (102–101 BC); the commemorative relief in Ravenna; the portrait of Augustus from the Roman Villa Albani; the statues (of Trajan?) from Olympia; and a commander from the same period in the Museum in Leiden; a sculpture of Hadrian trampling a

Byzantium adopted the chlamys as an element of official imperial attire, which was worn during various festivals in the capital, and also during military exercises.[508] *De ceremoniis* additionally informs us that during coronations, the emperor removed his *sagion*, and the patriarch, after reciting a prayer, placed a chlamys over his lower garment, the *divetesion* (διβητήσιον), which points to the function of the chlamys as an element of coronation attire. This custom disappeared only after the recovery of Constantinople from the Crusaders by Michael VIII.[509]

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prisoner in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul and his likeness from Olympia; a portrait of Marcus Aurelius from the Archaeological Museum in Olympia (AD 160) and in the Roman Villa Borghese; Septimius Severus from Alexandria (in the British Museum); and other anonymous examples published by Vermeule 1960, figs. 5, 19, 28, 35, 37, 39–40, 46–47, 57, 59, 62–63, 65–66, 70; and also a sculpture depicting a caesar in a chlamys in the Senatorial Palace, Rome (Robinson 1975 fig. 429); 5th-century diptychs of Probus and Stilicho in the cathedrals of Aosta and Monza (Volbach 1976, nos. 1, 63); and finally images of 'military' Palmyrene gods also wearing chlamydes (e.g. Morehart 1958, figs. 11–18, 28; Teixidor 1979, figs. 21/2, 22, 29/2, 24, 25/2). Depictions of the chlamys on the 4th-C. painted decoration of graves from Silistra are discussed by Piltz (1989, 51, fig. 73).

508 The chlamys is an element of ceremonial imperial attire according to GEORGE THE MONK (2:562$^{10-11}$) and in MPG, 100:1064; PSELLOS, 1:14^{7} [I 22]; DE. CER. [VOGT], 1:7^{1}, 14^{1}, 16^{27} [I 1], 59^{26} [I 9] (worn on the feast of the Pentecost), 115^{18} [I 30], 127^{9} 128$^{6, 14}$[I 33] (during processions on the feastdays of St Demetrios and St Basil), 148^{2} [I 37] (during the so-called 'Great entrance'), 175$^{18-19}$ 176^{33} [I 46], 176 (as a term referring to various imperial garments), 2:35$^{1-2}$ [I 53], 37$^{3-4}$ [I 54], 40^{5}, and also 42^{19} [I 55], 63$^{2-3}$ [I 59], 67^{5} [I 60] (during promotions performed by the emperor), 84^{5} [I 69] (during burial ceremonies), 101^{12} [I 72]; DE CER., 1:414^{9} [I 91] (according to Peter Patrikios: on Leo I appearing in a white *divetesion* and purple chlamys during his coronation), 532^{21}–533^{1} [II 6], 537^{16} [II 7], 543^{10} [II 9], 567$^{11-17}$, 580^{20} (of the emperor and the *augustus*), 587^{21} [II 15], 608^{5} [II 19], 629$^{2-3}$ [II 28] (mentioning Heraclius and his son, Constantine), 636^{5} [II 40] (the emperor hands over his chlamys to a newly chosen patriarch); see also Fauro 1995, 486. Meanwhile, CHONIATES (p. 108^{60}–109^{62}) when describing the tournament organized by Manuel I in Antioch to celebrate Easter (12 April 1159), states that the emperor himself took part in it, wielding a lance and wearing a chlamys fastened elegantly on his right shoulder thanks to which this remained uncovered (τὸ δόρυ μετεωρίζων, **χλαμύδα** ἠσθημένος ἀστειοτέραν περὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον περονουμένην καὶ ἀφιεῖσαν ἐλευθέραν τὴν χεῖρα κατὰ τὸ πόρπημα). Meanwhile the Latin prince of Antioch, Reginald of Châtillon (1153–60) appeared in a snow-white cloak that opened at the front, which CHONIATES calls a chiton (p. 109$^{68-9}$):'Εξῆλθε δὲ καὶ ὁ πρίγκιψ Γεράλδος λευκοτέρῳ χιόνος ἔποχος ἵππῳ, ἀμπισχόμενος **χιτῶνα** διάσχιστον ποδηνεκῆ.). The changing out of military clothing for a long chlamys with gold borders and a *divetesion* during the triumphal processions of Basil I is mentioned in PORPH., p. 144$^{782-3}$ [C]: (ἐκβαλόντες τὰ στρατηγικὰ, ἐφόρεσαν διβητήσια τριβλάτια καὶ χλαμύδας χρυσοϋφάντους); McCormick 1986, 156. ACHMET states (p. 116$^{1-7}$) that if an emperor dreams of a dishevelled and dirty chlamys, it foretells the loss of his authority, while if a woman dreams of a new chlamys, she will give birth to a son.

509 In a description of the imperial coronation in the first phase the chlamys is worn by the patriarch, and then passed on to the emperor—see DE CER. [VOGT] 2:2^{5}–3^{11} [I 47], 11$^{3-4, 22}$ [I 49], 16^{17}, 17$^{4, 10-12}$ [I 50]; and also Peter Patrikios's account in DE CER,

The royal family were entitled to wear a chlamys adorned with eagles.[510] Similar rights were extended to numerous imperial offices, each being permitted to wear a specified colour of chlamys. Those entitled to wear the garment included the following: the caesar—a purple chlamys; the *nobelissimoi*—a red or green one with gold *tablion* and borders; *kouropalates*—red or green; members of the circus factions—red (but not purple like the caesar); *proedroi, kandidatoi, kometes* (including those managing granaries) and the *Noumeroi* guards under their command—white; *praipositoi* and decurions of the imperial army—brown; *patrikioi*—chlamydes with gold *tablia*; and many other court officials besides these.[511]

1:418^{7} [I 92], 440^{10} [I 96]. See also De Cer. [Vogt], 1:90^{9} [I 25], 138^{4} [I 36], 176$^{10, 29–30}$, 177$^{7–10, 17–20, 29–31}$, 178$^{1–4, 10–14, 21–32}$ [I 46]; see also Piltz 1997, 41; Fauro 1995, 493. Meanwhile, according to George the Monk (MPG, 110:1064), Basil I during his coronation put on the imperial shoes and the *divetesion*. On a *divetesion* reminiscent in cut to a dalmatic see also 2:26$^{18–19}$ [I 52] (worn by the caesar), 44^{14} [I 56], and De Cer., 1:423^{2} [I 92] (mentioning the purple imperial *divetesion*); Theoph. Cont., p. 833$^{1–2}$; George the Monk in MPG, 110:1064 (on the coronation of Basil I by Michael III); and also N.P. Ševčenko, "Divetesion" in *ODB*, 1:639. On the chlamys as an item of imperial attire in both Rome and Byzantium (including coronation attire) see K. Wessel, "Insignien" in *RbK*, 3:424–8 (who also discusses depictions of emperors in the chlamys from late antiquity until 1261); Walter 1975, 455 and n. 10 (where he points to a depiction of this custom in a scene of Pharaoh offering a purple coat with a gold *tablion* to Joseph occupying the lower area of fol. 69v of the Paris *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos* (*Par. gr. 510*); see also Der Nersessian (1962) 223, fig. 18 (= Brubaker 1999, 325–6, fig. 12).

[510] On this and other aspects of the *chlamys*'s use in Byzantium see: A. Kazhdan & N.P. Ševčenko, "Chlamys", *ODB*, 1:424.

[511] See De Cer. [Vogt], 2:29^{25}, 31$^{17–24}$ [I 52]; Piltz 1989, 14; Piltz 1997, 44, and above, n. 506—on the chlamys with fibula as an element of the dress of a caesar during his coronation; on the chlamydes of *nobelissimoi* during their promotions see De Cer. [Vogt], 2:33$^{16–18}$, 34$^{16–18}$ [I 53]: φοροῦντες τὰ διβητήσια καὶ τὰς **χλαμύς** ἔστιν **πράσινος** ἔχουσα **ῥόδα** χρυσᾶ καὶ ταβλία χλαμύδας καὶ τὰ στέμματα [...] Ἡ μὲν χλαμύς ἐστιν **πράσινος** ἔχουσα **ῥόδα** χρυσᾶ καὶ ταβλία χρυσᾶ, meanwhile on the gold trimming see Oikonomides, p. 97^{13} and n. 51 (compares the earlier sources from the aspect of the colour πρασινοκόκκινος [green-red] which is not clearly defined in De Cer., 1:711^{20} [II 52]). On the chlamys of the *kouropalates* see Attaleiates, p. 215^{6}; Oikonomides, p. 97^{8} and n. 49 (= De Cer., 1:711^{15} [II 52]). A white chlamys is listed as the insignia of the *kandidatos* (see below, n. 668), *proedros* and *komes* in De Cer., 1:391$^{14–15}$ [I 86], 440^{16} [I 97], 699$^{10–12}$, 701^{1} [II 51] (see also Rankov 1994, 22); while on the chlamys of *praipositoi* and decurions see De Cer. [Vogt], 1:7$^{17–18}$ [I 1], and also De Cer., 1:389^{5}, 390^{20} [I 86]: (φορῶν ἀτραβατικὸν χλανίδιν). On the differing colours of the chlamydes of the caesar and those worn by the *demoi* see De Cer. [Vogt], 2:36$^{5–7}$ [I 53]: καίσαρος, ὁμοίως καὶ αἱ ἀκτολογίαι τῶν δήμων, ἡ δὲ χλαμὺς ἡ τούτῳ περιτιθεμένη οὐκ ἔστιν πορφυρᾶ, οἵα τοῦ καίσαρος, ἀλλὰ κόκκινος·, meanwhile on the chlamydes of *patrikioi*—2:37^{22} (on their *tablia* see De Cer., 1:574^{9}, 575$^{3–4}$ [II 15]: χρυσόταβλα χλανίδια), *patrikioi* and *anthypatoi*—1:19$^{12–15}$ [I 1], 63^{28} [I 9], *patrikioi* and *archontes* in white chlamydes 1:65$^{5–6}$ [I 10], *primicerii* and *ostiarioi*—1:18$^{2, 9}$

The great popularity of the chlamys in the Early Byzantine iconography of the warrior saints should therefore come as no surprise.[512] Walter notices that already in fifth-century art the chlamys distinguishes military saints (even those shown in civilian costume) from other martyrs.[513] The wide variety of chlamydes worn at court is reflected in the representation of military saints in cloaks that are red, blue, green, white and even black (figs. 25c–d, 48c);[514] though, as should be stressed, they were very rarely shown in purple (figs. 25a,b), which were reserved for the emperor and certain civil officials.[515] Usually the cloth from which the chlamys was made is painted as a single colour, and only infrequently do embroidered ornamental motifs appear on it, such as rosettes or heraldic lilies (fig. 37).[516]

[I 1], and 2:38² [I 54] (and also De Cer., 1:574¹⁴, ²⁰ [II 15]). The *Kletorologion* mentions the cloaks of *magistroi*, *anthypatoi*, *strategoi*, *offikialioi*, *protospatharioi*, *asekretai*, the *skeptrophoros* (carrying the sceptre), *chartoularioi*, *hypatoi*, eparchs, senators and *archontes* of the *tagmata* who were all seated by the imperial table at the feast of the Epiphany, see Oikonomides, pp. 185¹⁵⁻¹⁸, 189¹⁶⁻²³ (= De Cer., 1:741¹⁹, 742⁷ [II 52]); see also Piltz (1989, 22); whereas on 2 February and during Easter they sat without chlamydes, pp. 191²¹, 203¹⁻³ (= De Cer., 1:758²³, 759¹⁷ [II 52]). The association of the chlamys with an official function is attested also by Anna Komnene's reference (3:119¹² [XIII 9/4]) to Bohemund's demand to be able to appear before the emperor 'together with two chlamydes', i.e. bodyguards (μετὰ δύο χλαμύδων τὴν εἴσοδον).

[512] For examples of military saints wearing the chlamys (including George, Menas and Theodore) see Marković 1995, figs. 20, 26, 31; and also above, pp. 86–91.

[513] Walter (2003a, 270, 274–5 and n. 29, fig. 35) as an example mentions mosaics in the Rotunda of St George in Thessaloniki.

[514] St Nestor appears in black cloaks (in shades varying from greyish to brownish) on frescoes on the arch of the south-west chapel of the katholikon of Hosios Loukas monastery, and on the south wall of the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze, Kastoria (Chatzidakis 1997, fig. 66; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 13 on p. 61).

[515] The coats of a number of saints are painted purple: Prokopios on an enamel panel from the Venetian *Pala d'Oro*; Merkourios and Theodore Teron on a mosaic from the katholikon of Hosios Loukas monastery; and Teron again (wearing a *sagion*) on a fresco in Nerezi (Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, fig. 127; Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 47–48). Cf. Górecki (1980, 202) who wrongly assumes that military cloaks should be exclusively purple, irrespective of the regulation reserving this colour for the clothing for the imperial family—see above, n. 2 on p. 1), and explains the different colours on the Faras murals as down to inconsistency on the part of the artists who were separated geographically from imperial models.

[516] White lilies are visible e.g. on the cloak of a warrior saint (Theodore?) in the chapel of St Panteleimon (991/992) in Upper Boularioi on the Mani; cloaks adorned with rosettes are worn on Sinaian icons by Merkourios, George and Theodore who are depicted mounted; and also by Theodore Stratelates on a fresco in the katholikon of the monastery of Vrondamos on the Peloponnese (Drandakes 1995, fig. 19 on p. 383; Weitzmann 1976, nos. B43–44, B49 [= *Sinai*, fig. 11]; Drandakes 1988, fig. 85). Textiles of various hues are mentioned in the Book of the Eparch (p. 35²¹–36⁶ [VIII

Although the choice of colour often seems to be a question of chance, there appears to be a certain regularity in the images of the most popular *megalomartyrs*. As a rule St George is depicted in a red chlamys (figs. 24, 27, 30a,f, 31–32, 35a, 41a, 42, 45a, 46c, 48b, 56, 68, 70);[517] Demetrios in a light-blue or blue one, perhaps intended to represent white (figs. 24, 30a, 45a, 46b, 48a, 70);[518] while Theodore is shown in dark or navy blue (figs. 24, 29, 30d, 37, 39, 44a, 45b, 46a, 47, 70).[519] The red colour of George's cloak can be explained by the painters

1]) in a description of the legal regulations concerning purple. On Byzantine garment colours also see Koukoules, 2/2:33–41.

[517] E.g. on a wooden relief icon in the National Museum in Kiev; on fol. 151v of the *Evangelistarion Dionysiou 587*; on a mosaic in the cathedral in Cefalù; frescoes in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria (twice); on icons in the Hermitage (two group scenes with other warrior saints); in the Byzantine Museum in Veria (2nd half of 12th C.); a Cypro-Palestinian icon in the British Museum showing George saving a boy from Saracen captivity; and also on an enamel reliquary-enkolpion of St Demetrios in the same museum; an *enkolpion* from the Cleveland Museum of Art (accompanied by St Theodore); a panel from the *Pala d'Oro* (Borsook 1990, fig. 9; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 12 on p. 33; Bank 1966, no. 228; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 69–70, 111, 116, 202, 261; Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, figs. 128, 142; Athos, vol. B', fig. 265).

The custom of representing George in a red cloak was also adopted in Georgia as is evident, for example, from a mosaic icon from Matskhvarishi; frescoes in the churches in Adishi (11th–12th C.), Phavnisi (1158–84), and painted by Master Theodore in Kala (12th C.); and also on a 12th-C. enamel panel in the Georgian State Art Museum in Tbilisi (Alibegashvili 1979, figs. 69–70; Privalova 1963, 213–16; and 1977, 78, 86; Novello/Beridze/Dosogne 1980, figs. 115–116; *Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 341).

[518] Demetrios is depicted in a light-blue chlamys of a shade bordering on white, e.g. on a miniature in the *Evangelistarion Dionysiou 587* (fol. 123r); on a fresco in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria; on the south wall of the cathedral in Cefalù, and also on the following later representations: an early-13th-C. icon showing him with St Theodore Stratelates (wearing a dark blue chlamys) from St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai; and on a 13th–14th-C. enamel reliquary-enkolpion in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington (*Athos*, vol. B', fig. 241; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 12 on p. 33; Borsook 1990, fig. 9; *Sinai*, fig. 40; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 117). It cannot be ruled out that the light-brown cloak of Demetrios on an icon in the Hermitage (*Glory of Byzantium*, no. 69), was originally white. Demetrios appears in a blue chlamys, e.g. on a mosaic from St Michael's monastery in Kiev (*Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 283).

[519] See for example the chlamys of St Theodore Teron on a panel from Bathys Ryax and on a fresco on the south wall in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria; St Theodore not further identified in the inscription on a miniature on fol. 41v of the *Evangelistarion Dionysiou 587*; and initials on fol. 103v of an 11th–12th C. *Evangelistarion* in the National Library in Athens (*cod. 190*); on an icon with George and Demetrios in the Hermitage; on a Constantinopolitan enkolpion in the Cleveland Museum of Art; and on a mosaic in the cathedral in Cefalù; and also the chlamys of Stratelates on a mosaic in the narthex dome of the katholikon of Nea Mone, Chios; on a miniature (fol. 383) in the *Menologion of Basil II*; and on a fresco from Nerezi (Bank 1966, no. 190; Maguire 1996, figs. 10–11; *Athos*, vol. B', fig. 216; Chatzenikolaou/Paschou 1978,

referring to the custom of commanders of the *Praetorium* wearing red chlamydes and also to the red colour of the cavalry *sagion*;[520] with Demetrios there is a tradition of depicting him from the sixth century in a white officer's chlamys, which is even reflected in early descriptions of miracles;[521] with Theodore, however, there are no clear indications why his cloak is usually blue.

There is, however, indirect evidence allowing us to propose an alternative explanation for the cloak colours of the various warriors.

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no. 36, fig. 352; *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 69, 111; Borsook 1990, fig. 9; and Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, fig. 59). Theodore's *sagion* on an icon in the Hermitage is also dark blue (Bank 1966, no. 228). Traces of dark blue pigment are visible on an icon from the Patmos Monastery, (*Glory of Byzantium*, no. 76).

A Late Byzantine depiction of Theodore in a blue chlamys is a mosaic icon with a bust of Stratelates from the former Basilevsky collection, now in the Hermitage, Saint Petersburg (Bank 1966, no. 250).

[520] See above, n. 506. The red cavalry *sagia* borrowed by *silentiarioi* are mentioned by De Cer. [Vogt], 2:47[32]–48[1] [I 66]: Καὶ οἱ σιλεντιάριοι φοροῦντες σαγία ῥοῆς καβαλλάριοι. Warriors are depicted in red cloaks e.g. in the *Joshua Roll*, *Vat. Pal. gr. 431* (colour reproductions of leaves X–XII in *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 162).

[521] Of the early depictions of Demetrios in a long white chlamys with *tablion*, among the most famous are the 6th-C. mosaics adorning his basilica in Thessaloniki, which was partly damaged by fire in 1917 (see e.g. Cormack 1985, figs. 29–30, 32–34, 36, 42; Hahn 1997, fig. 8) and also the slightly later (*c*.620) depictions of the bishop and prefect of the city in the company of St Demetrios (e.g. Cormack 1985, fig. 40 = Hahn 1997, fig. 6). On the links between early depictions of Demetrios and his descriptions in collections of *Miracles*, see Brenk 1994; Brenk 1996 (with examples from figs. 1–4).

Initially, Demetrios is still described as a martyr in the civilian chlamys of a consul in Bishop John's account (concerning a miracle during the plague that afflicted Thessaloniki in July 586; Mir. Dem., 1:80[20–34] [I 3/42]), but he is mentioned in a white chlamys in the first collection of *Miracles*, as a rider terrifying enemies (Mir Dem, 1:157, C. [17–20] [I 14/161]: Καὶ εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπεκρίθη· << Ἄνδρα πυρράκη καὶ λαμπρὸν ἵππῳ λευκῷ ἐφεζόμενον καὶ ἱμάτιον φοροῦντα λευκόν—ἰδοὺ τοιοῦτον>>, καὶ ἐπεδείκνυε κρατήσας ἑνὸς τῶν παρεστώτων ὑπατικιανῶν ταξεωτῶν χλαμύδα ἠμφιεσμένου); he is described in the same way in the slightly later, second, anonymous collection, where twice during sieges of Thessaloniki by the Slavs (c.615 and 676–7) he appeared on the walls in a white cloak, supporting the defenders with weapons and miracles (Mir. Dem., 1:177[30]–178[2] [II 1/188], 216[6–13] [II 4/260]: Τότε δὴ προφανῶς παρὰ πλείστων τεθέαται ὁ ὑπέρμαχος οὗτος καὶ φιλόπατρις ὄντως Δημήτριος ὁ πανένδοξος μάρτυς **χλαμύδα λευκὴν φορῶν**, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τεῖχος διατρέχων, εἶτα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάττης ὡς ἐπὶ ἐδάφους δρομαίως περιπατῶν. [...] Καὶ οὕτω τῶν λεχθέντων βαρβάρων τὴν πρώτην ἡμέραν μετὰ τὴν περίοδον τῶν τειχῶν καταπαυσάντων, ὁ λυτρωτὴς καὶ ὑπέρμαχος ἡμῶν καὶ πολύμοχθος τοῦ θεοῦ μάρτυς φαίνεται, οὐ κατ' ὄναρ ἀλλὰ καθ' ὕπαρ, ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τῇ λεγομένῃ Ἄρκτῳ τοῦ μονοτείχου, ἔνθα παραπύλιον ὑπάρχει μικρόν, πεζοδρόμος, τὴν χλαμύδα ἄνω διαναβαλλόμενος, καὶ ῥάβδον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἐπιφερόμενος, καὶ ὡς ἐκεῖσε δὴ ἐκ τοῦ λεχθέντος παραπυλίου τοὺς Σκλάβους τῇ πόλει εἰσβαλόντας, τούτους ἐκδιώκειν καὶ τῇ ῥάβδῳ μαστίζειν λέγοντα· ¨<<Κακῶς ὁ θεὸς ἤγαγεν αὐτοῦ· λοιπὸν ἐγὼ τί ποιῶ ὧδε; >>·).

The colour of the everyday uniform of *tagmata* units stationed in Constantinople was white; this colour had been worn since the time of Justinian the Great, by the *scholai* which eventually became part of the *tagma*.[522] There is, however, reason to believe that in the tenth century on special occasions the *tagmata* wore cloaks in the colours of the four circus factions: blue, green, red and white. In Harun ibn Yahya's account of his captivity in Constantinople he describes a procession to the Hagia Sofia, in which 10,000 'elders' marched in red cloaks, along with equally large groups of youths on foot in white cloaks (perhaps *kandidatoi*), boys in green cloaks, and servants with gilded axes in 'sky blue' cloaks. In turn, according to *De ceremoniis*, during the visit of Arab ambassadors to the capital in 946, the following officers attended ceremonies in their honour: the *domestikos ton Noumeron* wearing a blue chlamys; the *domestikos ton scholon*, the commander of the units guarding the walls in the green chlamys of the *domestikos ton Exkoubiton*, and also representatives of the circus factions and the militias formed by them. In another place in the same text it is stated that on 11 May (the foundation date of Constantinople) in a procession heading towards the church of St Mokios,[523] walking before the emperor were the *domestikos ton scholon* with the *deme* of the Blues, along with the guards for the walls which were recruited from among them wearing blue chlamydes adorned with gold; while the *deme* of

[522] De Cer., 1:571[11], 590[2–3] [II 15]: τὰ λευκὰ χλανίδια τῶν ταγματικῶν. [...] τὰ λευκὰ χλανίδια τῶν δ' ταγμάτων. When Justinian entered the capital on 11 August 559 he was met by the *domestikoi* of the *protiktores*, and the seven *Scholae* together with their tribunes and *kometes*, all dressed in white chlamydes (Porph., p. 138[712–14] [C]: ὑπήντησαν δομέστικοι πρωτίκτωρες, αἱ ἑπτὰ σχολαὶ καὶ μετ' αὐτοὺς τριβοῦνοι καὶ κόμητες, πάντες μετὰ λευκῶν χλανιδίων; and Haldon 1984, 322 and nn. 186, 987).

For issues connected with the formation during the reign of Constantine V (741–775) of a professional corps of imperial guards, the *tagmata* (made up of various regiments: *Schola*, *Exkoubitores*, *Vigla* and *Hikanatoi*, and also the *Noumeroi* and militias guarding the city walls—who were of lesser importance and exclusively connected with Constantinople) from the older units of palace guards, *Schola*, *Vigla* and *Exkoubitores*, and also its disappearance in the 11th C. see e.g. Haldon 1984, 228–337; 1999, 117–18; Treadgold 1995, 28–32 (and also tables showing the officers' ranks and the strength of the various units which Treadgold (1991, 147–8) estimates at 4000 each; Cameron 1976, 105–25 (on the relationship between the *tagmata* and the *demoi*); and also A. Kazhdan, "Domestikos ton Exkoubiton", "Domestikos ton Hikanaton", "Domestikos ton Noumeron", "Domestikos ton Scholon", and "Tagma" in *ODB*, 1:646–8 and 3:2007.

[523] For the feastday of St Mokios, his connections with the foundation of the city, and the processions conducted to the church dedicated to him (precise location not established) see A. Kazhdan, "Mokios" in *ODB*, 2:1389–90.

the Greens with the *domestikos* of the *tagma* of *Exkoubitores* and the guards for garrisoning the walls who were raised from members of this faction were dressed in green *chlamydes*.[524] It is therefore possible to conjecture that the popularity of the four 'factional' colours among the depictions of the warrior saints was no coincidence.

The links between the warrior saints and the *tagmata* are clearly confirmed by an image of St Theodore on an eighth- or ninth-century seal in the former Gustave Schlumberger collection (fig. 75a);[525] the reverse bears the inscription: ΝΟΥ/ΜΕΡΟΝ [Τ]ΟΝ ΒΕΝΙ/ΤΟΝ +. The presence of this particular saint on a seal of the unit of *Noumeroi*,

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[524] See Vasiliev, 2/2:390; De Cer. p. 588^{18}–589^{9} [II 15]: Εἰς τὸν δῆμον τοῦ Βενέτου ἔστη ὁ νούμερος ἀντὶ τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν, φορῶν τὸ χρυσοῦν βένετον χλανίδιον τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν σχολῶν· εἰς τὸν δῆμον τοῦ Πρασίνου ἔστη ὁ δομέστικος τοῦ τείχους, φορῶν τὸ χρυσοῦν πράσινον χλανίδιον τοῦ δομεστίκου τῶν ἐξσκουβίτων. εἰς τὸν δῆμον τοῦ Λευκοῦ ἔστη ὁ δήμαρχος τῶν Βενέτων· εἰς τὸν δῆμον τοῦ Ῥουσίου ἔστη ὁ δήμαρχος τῶν Πρασίνων. εἰς δὲ τοῦ Βενέτου τὸν δῆμον καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Πρασίνου ἐκρεμάσθησαν τὰ ἀπὸ σημέντων διακοπτῶν ἠμφιεσμένα διρόδινα βῆλα, κατὰ δῆμον ἀνὰ τριῶν. εἰς δὲ τὸν τοῦ Λευκοῦ δῆμον καὶ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Ῥουσίου δῆμον ἐκρεμάσθησαν τὰ ὀξέα βῆλα τοῦ χρυσοτρικλίνου.; De Cer. [Vogt], 1:97^{32}–98^{16} [I 26]: ὁ δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν μετὰ τοῦ περατικοῦ δήμου τῶν Βενέτων, ἐπιδίδωσι δὲ λιβελλάριον τῷ βασιλεῖ, φορῶν χλανίδιον βένετον χρυσοὔφαντον, καὶ διασώζει τὸν βασιλέα τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος μέχρι τοῦ Ἐξακιονίου. Ὁ δὲ δομέστικος τῶν ἐκσκουβίτων μετὰ τοῦ περατικοῦ δήμου τῶν Πρασίνων δέχονται τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῷ Ἐξακιονίῳ, καὶ ἐπιδιδόντος τοῦ δημοκράτου λιβελλάριον, διασώζουσιν αὐτὸν μέχρι τῆς Μονήτας· φορεῖ δὲ καὶ ὁ δημοκράτης χλανίδα πράσινον χρυσοὔφαντον κατὰ τὴν ἀναλογίαν τοῦ μέρους αὐτοῦ. Καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς τὸ μέρος τῶν Πρασίνων δέχονται τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῇ Μονήτῃ, καὶ ἐπιδίδωσιν ὁ δήμαρχος τῷ βασιλεῖ λιβελλάριον καὶ διασώζει τὸν βασιλέα τὸ αὐτὸ μέρος μέχρι τῆς πρώτης καμάρας τοῦ Ξηρολόφου, φοροῦντος τοῦ δημάρχου χλανίδα πράσινον. Καὶ τῆς πολιτικῆς τὸ μέρος τῶν Βενέτων δέχονται τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῇ καμάρᾳ τοῦ Ξηρολόφου, φοροῦντος τοῦ δημάρχου χλανίδα βένετον[.] There are also references elsewhere to the four colours of the uniforms of the *tagmata*—De Cer., 1:575^{21-23}, 577^{6-7}, [II 15]: τὰ κρατούμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλατῶν τοῦ πρώτου δρομονίου. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ ἐλάται ἐφόρεσαν τῶν ταγματικῶν τὰ φουνδάτα ἀλλάξιμα. [...] φορούντων αὐτῶν τῶν ἐλατῶν τῶν ταγματικῶν τῶν δ΄ χροιῶν τὰ ἀλλάξιμα. In Haldon's opinion (1984, 322 and n. 985) various groups of officers in the four *tagmata* and in each of the units wore their own distinctive uniforms at least for court ceremony. It is therefore possible to assume that the four colours were derived from the circus factions as Reiske suggests in his commentary (see De Cer., 2:677). On the use of blue and green chlamydes during the promotion of *demarchoi* of the respectively coloured factions see Piltz 1997, 49. A hypothesis linking the four colours of court costume with the *demoi* is also proposed by Fauro 1995, 508.

[525] See Marković (1995, fig. 25, p. 576 and n. 64) who incorrectly, however, links the seal with the Blues circus faction and assumes a date that is too early in the view of the presence of the *Noumeroi*, who are not yet attested among the formations on guard duty during the Sixth Ecumenical Council in Constantinople in 680–81 (Haldon 1984, 261–2). Walter (2003a, 124 and n. 97) also opposes an early dating of the object, and proposes an 11th-C. origin.

who were connected with the Blues faction,[526] may be evidence of Theodore's patronal role in relation to this unit in the period before Iconoclasm and thereby explain the popularity of the blue cloak in his iconography. A similar conclusion as to the patronal role of St George in relation to the circus factions can be drawn from another seal in the Schlumberger collection belonging to the *protodemarchos* John, which dates to before the mid-eighth century.[527] Depicted on its obverse (fig. 75b) is St George, holding a lance and a shield, as is the case with Theodore. Unfortunately, the lack of source references to a John serving as *demarchos* of the Reds contemporary with this seal,[528] does not permit us to establish whether the colour of George's cloak is the result of any protective role he had over the *demos*.

Although certain regularities in matching the colour of the chlamys to the image of a specific saint can be demonstrated, this cannot (as with Mavrodinova's proposed differentiation of physiognomic types of the saint Theodores into Alexandrian and Anatolian)[529] be used as a criterion for identifying the various saints, since there are too many exceptions. One can assume that the rule applied mainly in the environment of the capital, where the palace guard's custom of wearing chlamydes in the circus faction colours was widely known; but the collapse of the *tagmata* structure in the eleventh century hindered the further spread of this custom.[530] The links between the Hippodrome

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[526] On the guard of *Noumeroi* who were transformed from another unit based in the capital, the *Prandiarii*, probably during the reign of Michael III (842–67), and its links with the tagma of *Exkoubitoroi* and the militias guarding the city walls (which appear in the sources from 718/19), see Haldon (1984, 257–75), who believes (259, 270) that the individual units, both the *Noumeroi* as well as the militias defending the walls, were derived from the Blues and Greens factions and were recruited from their members; see also Cameron (1976, 107–8) who rules out linking the *tagmata* with the *demoi* in the case of the remaining formations; see also his addendum (p. 346) on the mentioned seal. Assuming that the cult of St Theodore was also adopted by the militias defending the walls (who were probably derived from the *demos* of Blues), one can assume that links existed between the units guarding the walls, and the erection in their vicinity of a sanctuary of this saint in Bathys Ryax (see above, n. 102).

[527] See Marković 1995, 579 and n. 84, fig. 29. The post of *demarchos* first appears in 602, which may provide a *post quem* date for the seal, see Cameron 1976, 258.

[528] There are only three Johns among the *demarchoi* known in 7th- to 9th-C. sources: John Crucis *demarch* of the Greens; John *hypathos* and *komes* (PBE, Ioannes 383 from the 8th C.); and John *protospatharios* and *demarchos* of the Blues (PBE, Ioannes 427 from the 9th C.); the last two are known from their surviving seals (Zacos 1972, vol. 1/3, nos. 2017, 2047).

[529] See above, n. 110 on p. 90.

[530] Ball (2005, 93–4) is opposed to the linking the red garments of the palace servants who took part in ceremonies at the Hippodrome (described by Maravazi in the late 11th C.) with the faction colours.

factions and imperial guard units on the one hand and the warrior saints (perhaps acting as their patrons) on the other, requires further research, which may bring interesting results.

In view of their cut we can distinguish two types of chlamys, known (from their place of origin) as Gallic and Thessalian; the latter in its more decorative guise with a fibula was also known as the *allika*.[531] Characteristic of the Thessalian chlamys were its two pointed corners known as feathers.[532] The chlamydes of the warrior saints are normally depicted as a simple cloak draped over the back and do not possess any additional decorations. It would be wrong to identify as Thessalian chlamydes the cloaks of St Theodore Stratelates in Nerezi (fig. 45b) and St Prokopios on a Sinaian icon of *c.*1230–40, with their sharply pointed left side,[533] since when lifted by the saints' raised hands they quite naturally take on a pointed, wedge-like form. Nevertheless, on the first of these images we can see a certain innovation in how the chlamys was depicted, introduced towards the end of the Middle Byzantine era.

Until the eleventh century only the outer side of the chlamys was shown in the art, but in the second half of the twelfth century a new motif appears in the cloak's depiction in the Macedonian artistic milieu. This is a decorative, patterned lining visible on the part-exposed underside of the left side of the cloak, which is thrown over the back. Chlamydes arranged in this manner are worn by Theodore Teron who accompanies Stratelates at Nerezi, St George on frescoes the south wall of the church dedicated to him in Kurbinovo, and also in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria, where he is accompanied by Demetrios, who also has a turned-back chlamys (figs. 45b, 31, 30a).[534]

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[531] See HESYCHIOS, vol. 1 [p. 127] ἄλλικα· χλαμύδα. ἐμπόρπημα. οἱ δὲ πορπίδα χλαμύδος ἀλληλοχείρου ἄλλικα· χλαμύδα, πορφύραν; SUDA, 1:112$^{12-13}$ [1224] Αλλικα· χλαμύδα κατὰ Θεσσαλούς· ἄλλικα χρυσείῃσιν ἐεργομένην ἐνέτῃσιν. οἱ ἰδιῶται γάλλικά φασι ταύτην. An imperial chlamys with eight corners (sic!) is referred to in DE CER. (1:583$^{17-18}$ [II 15]), which also mentions a chlamys with a purple *tablion*, popularly known as the *Tyrea* (p. 641$^{16-17}$ [II 41]).

[532] EUST. IL. 1:517$^{3-5}$ the Thessalian chlamys had two pointed sections known as 'Thessalian wings' that hung down over the legs: καὶ Θετταλικὰ πτερὰ διὰ τὸ πτέρυγάς φησιν ἔχειν τὰς Θετταλικὰς χλαμύδας, ἃς ἕτερος ῥήτωρ Θετταλικὰ γέρα λέγει διὰ τὸ ἔπαθλον ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ ἀγῶσιν αὐτὰς κεῖσθαι, ὃς λέγει καί, ὅτι Θετταλικοὶ δίφροι διάφοροι, τουτέστι διαφέροντες; see also HESYCHIOS, vol. 2 [p. 312] (= SUDA, 2:712$^{1-3}$ [290]): Θετταλικαὶ πτέρυγες· τοῦτο εἴρηται διὰ τὸ πτερύγιον ἔχειν τὰς Θετταλικὰς χλαμύδας, ἅπερ εἰσὶν αἱ ἑκατέρωθεν γωνίαι, διὰ τὸ ἐοικέναι πτέρυξιν.

[533] Maguire 1996, fig. 10 (= Cutler/Spieser 1996, fig. 240); *Sinai*, fig. 47.

[534] See e.g. Maguire 1996, fig. 10; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 12 on p. 33.

Chlamydes sewn from two layers of cloth (διπλοΐδα) are mentioned for the first time in Diocletian's Price Edict, and later by John Lydos in his description of the imperial military *paludamentum*, which he describes as a doubled red silk cloak that was fastened on the shoulder by a fibula. Also described as doubled is another type of cloak, the *sagion*, the thickness of which was mainly utilitarian, since it could be used to make temporary shelters for the troops.[535]

Cloaks of junior officers and ordinary soldiers (the sagion*)*

Besides the chlamys, which was fastened on the right side, another type of cloak appears in the iconography of the military saints, which differs in the manner it was worn. Occasionally, the cloak is fastened or even tied at the front under the neck. This is the case with the cloaks of St Theodore on a steatite panel in the collection of the Barber Institute in Birmingham, Theodore Stratelates on a Constantinopolitan icon in the Hermitage, the same saint on a fresco at Nerezi, and Sts Nestor and Merkourios on mosaics in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo (figs. 39, 45b).[536]

The cloaks on these representations should be identified with the short Roman woollen military cape or *sagum* (known in Byzantium as the σαγίον),[537] which appears already on a relief adorning the shaft of

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[535] On the reference in Diocletian's Edict see A. Kazhdan and N.P. Ševčenko, "Chlamys" in *ODB*, 1:424; O. Fiebiger, "Sagum" in *PR*, II/2:1754. Lydos, p. 30[11–13] [I 7/17] (on the calf-length doubled red-brown chlamydes of patrikioi), 88[8–11] [II 2/4] (on the doubled red imperial chlamys made from silk): Επίσημα δὲ τοῖς πατράσιν, ἤ τοι πατρικίοις, ἣν δίπλακες μὲν ἤ τοι χλαμύδες ἄχρι κνημῶν ἐξ ὤμων διήκουσαι, περόναις χρυσαῖς ἀνεσταλμέναι, τὸ χρῶμα ξηραμπέλινοι, [...] ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν πολέμων παλουδαμέντοις· αἱ δέ εἰσι δίπλακες ἀπὸ κόκκου, πρωτείας μετάξης κλωστῆς, χρυσῇ περόνῃ λιθοκολλήτῳ ἀναρπαζόμεναι τοῖς ὤμοις. See also on those wearing this type of chlamys: Hesychios, vol. 1, [p. 520]: διπλοΐδα· διπλουμένην χλανίδα ἐν τῷ φορεῖσθαι. Among equipment that Maurice (Strat., p. 212[2–5] [V 4]) recommends should be taken on campaign is a small tent or a pair of doubled cloaks (σαγία διπλᾶ); soldiers could either wear the latter or build a tent from them.

[536] See Maguire 1996, fig. 10 (= Cutler/Spieser 1996, fig. 240); Borsook 1990, figs. 35–36; Longuet 1961, fig. 24; Bank 1966, no. 228.

[537] See Koukoules, 4:289–90; De Cer., 2:30; A. Kazhdan, "Sagion" in *ODB*, 3:1827–8; Oikonomides, n. 154; and also Haldon's commentary to text [C] of Porph., p. 260. The identification of the cloak that fastened at the neck as a variant of the *sagion* is corroborated by comparison of a reference in the *The Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschos (MPG, 87/3:2908 [LI]), who speaks of the *sagion* as an item of hermits' attire, with the numerous depictions of monks wearing a bulky, brown *paenula* that fastened under the neck, e.g. holy stylites on leaves of the *Menologion of 1056* (*Bodl. Barocci 230*, fol. 3v; *Par. gr. 580*, fol. 2v), monks climbing the *Heavenly ladder* of John Klimakos (*Vat.*

the column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome.[538] This type of garment was still being worn in Byzantium, as is confirmed in depictions in art and textual references. The *sagion* was known in the Byzantine army and at the imperial court. Besides the chlamys a red *sagion*, and occasionally an even more precious purple one, was the ceremonial attire of various court officials (including *archontes* of the *cubiculum*, the *Domestikos* of the *Noumeroi* and of the *spatharokandidatoi*, *patrikioi*, *praipositoi*, the *droungarios of the Vigla*, and also *demarchs* and *magistroi* donned by them during promotions).[539] Meanwhile the purple *sagion* or one interwoven with gold (the so-called 'imperial sagion')[540] became an element of imperial costume, perhaps in imitation of a cloak of this type found among the regalia of Constantine the Great laid up in the Hagia Sophia.[541]

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gr. 394, fol. 12r); and other monks (Menas, Symeon of Blachernai, the stylite Nestor, Panteleimon) in the *Menologion of Basil II*, *Vat. gr. 1613*, fols. 73r, 145r, 208r, 371r (Spatharakis 1981, figs. 113, 118; Mango 1963, figs. 11, 19–20; Ševčenko 1962, figs. 3, 6, 18 19). Cf. also Southern/Dixon (1996, 123) who equate the term *sagum* with the military chlamys. In turn Fauro (1995, 490, fig. 8) believes that the *sagion* had no fixed cut or colour, and sees it as a short cloak made of two square sections, tied at the neck or on the shoulder.

538 See e.g. Bivar 1972, fig. 8.

539 See De Cer. [Vogt], 1:72^{23} [I 10], 101^{23} [I 27], 116$^{9-10}$ [I 31], 145$^{16-17}$ [I 47], 149^{9}, 155$^{18-19}$ [I 48] (on *patrikioi* wearing *sagia* with a *skaramangion*), 157$^{9-10}$ [I 50], 2:43^{24} [I 55], 47^{30}, 49$^{13, 21}$, 50^{8} [I 66], 66$^{6-7}$ [I 71] (red *sagion* of *praipositoi*), 76$^{1-3}$, 76$^{15-16}$, 77$^{24-6}$ (cloaks that are red on both sides), 78$^{10-11}$ [I 63]; De Cer., 1:575^{10}, 587$^{18-19}$ [II 15]; and also in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, pp. 706^{3}, 745$^{3, 15}$, 746^{15}, 750^{12}, 753^{14}, 770^{2} [II 52] (= Oikonomides, pp. 87^{6}, 171^{19}, 173$^{2, 25, 31}$, 179^{17}, 183^{21}, 207^{1}); Porph., pp. 136^{671}(on the red *sagion* of the tribune of the *scholae*) and 142^{762} (on the *sagion* of demarchs). See also De Cer., 1:575$^{11-12}$ [II 15] on the purple *sagion* of the secretary of the *chartoularios* and notaries. An example of a depiction of imperial officials (*proedroi* and *protoproedroi*) is provided by the donor miniature of Nikephoros Botaneiates (commissioned already by Michael VII Doukas, 1071–78) in a codex of the *Homilies of John Chrysostom*, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, *MS Coislin 79*, fol. 2r (e.g. *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 143 = *Byzance*, no. 271). The emperor himself is depicted in a blue chlamys. See also Piltz 1997, 45, fig. 14. Basil II appears in a red *sagion* on a miniature in a psalter funded by himself, *Ven. Marcianus gr. 17*, fol. 111r (see e.g. Ševčenko 1962, fig. 17; *Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 186).

540 De Cer, 1:581^{8} [II 15] τὸ χρυσοῦν σαγίον τὸ λεγόμενον καισαρίκιον.

541 The imperial *sagion* interwoven with gold is mentioned many times in De Cer. [Vogt], 1:4^{31}–5^{1}, 16^{29} [I 1], 63^{18} [I 9], 65^{16} [I 10], 128^{4}, 129^{21} [I 43], 175^{6}, 178^{24} [I 56], 2:21^{10} [I 60], 112^{22} [I 77], 175$^{10-11}$ [I 87]; De Cer., 1:521^{10}–522^{18} [II 1], 552$^{2-3}$ [II 12], 558^{13}, 561^{9}, 563^{7} [II 13], 564^{20} [II 14], 567^{2}, 570^{6} [II 15], 608^{1} [II 19], 632$^{9-10}$, 633$^{7-8}$ [II 33], 635^{17} [II 38]. On the purple imperial *sagion* see e.g. De Cer. [Vogt], 2:1^{8} [I 57]; De Cer., 1:538$^{2, 8}$[II 8], 634$^{14-15}$ [II 37] (on the purple-gold *sagion* set with pearls). DAI, 1:66^{41} [13] mentions the acheiropoietic *sagion* of Constantine the Great preserved in the Hagia Sophia as an insignia of authority handed down to the emperors by God.

Besides the numerous categories of officials wearing the *sagion*, *De ceremoniis* also lists *strategoi*, and even ordinary soldiers.[542] In the thirteenth century it is possible to note a growth in the popularity of a type of *sagion* that fastens under the neck, which was probably an expression of this garment supplanting the ceremonial chlamys at the imperial court (figs. 32, 63).[543] Even so, the military manuals do not recommend that troops wear the chlamys or *sagion*, while Maurice even advises against the Bulgar *sagion*, ordering in its place the use of the knee-length coats with split sides know as ἀρμελαύσια.[544] The *Strategikon*, and after it Leo's *Taktika*, recommends the wearing of bulky hooded mantles, made from felt or leather, under which the cuirass and weapons could be hidden from the enemy while on guard duty, and also to protect the wearer against rain and damp; they could also provide extra protection against enemy missiles.[545]

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542 De Cer. [Vogt], 2:48^{21-8} [I 66], $86^{12, 21}$ [I 70]; De Cer., 1:524^{15} [II 1]; Oikonomides, p. 183^{19}; Piltz 1997, 45, 49.

543 Mounted warrior saints depicted wearing the *sagion* include: St George on a fresco in the narthex of the church in Asinou, Cyprus; Sts Sergios and Bakchos on an icon in St Catherine's Monastery, Mt Sinai (4th quarter of 13th C.); St George in the church of St John Chrysostom in Geraki on the Peloponnese (early 14th C.); and also the gallery of armed saints in the church of St Nicholas at Agios Nikolaos near Monemvasia (Stylianou 1997, fig. 70; *Sinai*, fig. 66; Moutsopoulos/Demetrokalles 1981, fig. 65 and colour pl. 13; and Drandakes 1979, fig. 19β). Although Pseudo-Kodinos does not use the term *sagion* in his treatise, we can assume that the purple or gold imperial cloak (*mandyas*) that he refers to many times was in fact a *sagion*, see Ps. Kodinos, pp. 261^{1-3}, 264^{3-4}, 267^{3-4} [VIII], and Appendix VI, describing etiquette at the court of Manuel II (358^{12-14} and n. 1 on p. 359); Piltz 1989, 52, 78. K. Wessel ("Insignien" in *RbK*, 3:450) polemizes with the hypothesis linking the cloaks mentioned by Pseudo-Kodinos with the *sagion*.

544 Strat., pp. 418^{1-2}, 420^{8-10} [XII B 1]: εἴτε **ἀρμελαύσια** ἔχουσι κονδά, μέχρι τῶν γονάτων αὐτῶν δεῖ φορεῖν αὐτούς. [...] Ζωνάρια δὲ λιτὰ καὶ οὐ **Βουλγαρικὰ σαγία.** De Cer. 1:670^{18} [II 45] lists *armelausia* among the equipment of a dromon prepared for the landings on Crete in 949.

545 Strat., p. 80^{50-8} [I 2]: Χρὴ φορεῖν **γουννία ἤγουν νοβερονίκια ἀπὸ κεντούκλων** πλατέα πάνυ, ἔχοντα μανίκια φαρδέα, ἐπινοῆσαι αὐτούς, ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὁπλισθῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ φορεῖν τὰς ζάβας καὶ τὰ τοξάρια, ἐὰν ὡς εἰκὸς συμβῇ βροχὴν γίνεσθαι ἢ ὑγρότερον ἐκ τῆς δρόσου τὸν ἀέρα, φοροῦντες ταῦτα ἐπάνω τῶν ζαβῶν καὶ τῶν τοξαρίων φυλάττουσι τὸ ἄρμα αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐμποδίζονται, εἴτε τοῖς τόξοις εἴτε τοῖς κονταρίοις αὐτῶν βουληθῶσι χρήσασθαι. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως πως ἀναγκαῖα ἐν ταῖς σκούλκαις· οὐ διαφαίνονται γὰρ μήκοθεν τοῖς πολεμίοις αἱ ζάβαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν σκεπόμεναι, ἀντέχουσι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς βολὰς τῶν σαγιττῶν. (≈ LT, 1:107^{1331}–108^{1342} [VI 13]: Χρὴ δὲ καὶ **κέντουκλα** ἔχειν πλατέα πάνυ, ἔχοντα μανίκια πλατέα, ἵνα ἐν τῷ ὁπλισθῆναι αὐτοὺς καὶ φορεῖν τὰς ζάβας καὶ τὰ τοξάρια, ἐάν, ὡς εἰκός, σομβῇ βροχὴν γενέσθαι ἢ ὑγρότερον τὸν ἀέρα ἐκ τῆς δρόσου, φοροῦντες αὐτὰ ἐπάνω τῶν ζαβῶν καὶ τῶν τοξαρίων φυλάττωσι τὸ ἄρμα αὐτῶν καὶ οὐκ ἐμποδίζωνται, εἴτε τοῖς τοξαρίοις, εἴτε τοῖς κονταρίοις αὐτῶν βουληθῶσι χρήσασθαι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλως πως ἀναγκαῖα τὰ κέντουκλα ἐν ταῖς σκούλκαις ἤγουν ταῖς βίγλαις· οὐ διαφαίνονται γὰρ μήκοθεν

From the eleventh century the warrior saints are often depicted with rolled up cloaks, usually red in colour, slung diagonally over the right shoulder and tied on the chest, which might correspond to the cloaks mentioned in the manuals. It is not possible, however, to corroborate this method of wearing the *sagion*, the *armelausia*, and even perhaps the *epilorikion*.[546] Among the earliest depictions of this type of cloak in the warrior-saint iconography are: the murals in the rock-cut churches of St Barbara (Tahtali Kilise) in the Soandos valley; of St John in Korama depicting St Niketas (fig. 41b);[547] and the medallions with the busts of Theodore and Demetrios with blue cloaks; and St George with a red one accompanying the emperor on a donor miniature in the *Psalter of Basil II* (*Ven. Marcianus gr. 17*, fol. 3r; fig. 24);[548] frescoes with a depiction of St Marinos on the south-east pier of the cathedral of St Sophia in Kiev; St George on an ivory panel in the Museo Archeologico in Venice (fig. 67); an unidentified saint (Prokopios?) on the south-east pier of the late-tenth century church of St Stephanos in Kastoria (fig. 43); and also an image of Theodore Stratelates in the katholikon of Hosios Loukas (fig. 25c).[549] The cloak of the last figure is painted in green, and is of similar colour to the short sleeves of the under-tunic visible below the *manikia*, and has a second section, rolled in an untypical manner, that passes around the saint's right side, and is secured with a knot at right angles to the main roll of the cape.

τοῖς πολεμίοις αἱ ζάβαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν σκεπόμεναι, ἀντέχουσι δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς βολὰς τῶν σαγιττῶν.) On Maurice's expression—γουννία ἤγουν νοβερονίκια ἀπὸ κεντούκλων—see Vári's commentary to his edition of LT (1:107, n. 1) where he equates the νοβερονίκια with a *zupan* or Hungarian *gunya*, a long male undercoat that opens down the front, with long narrow sleeves (on the basis of differences in the Ambrosiana redaction of the *Stategikon*), and compares it with the *epilorikion* mentioned in the PRAECEPTA (see above, n. 196), and also Kolias 1988, 58 and nn. 158–60 (with a list of philological works touching on the subject), who assumes that in Leo's treatise the term κέντουκλα was transferred to the garment from the material used to make it.

546 Babuin (2002, 98, fig. IX-5) interprets the cloth worn diagonally from right to left on St Theodore Teron's chest in the church of the Anargyroi, Kastoria as a coat rather than an officer's sash, and believes it was worn in this manner at the owner's whim and not as a designation of military rank. Vári equates the garments mentioned in the military treatises with the *epilorikion* (see above, n. 545).

547 See Restle (1967) vol. 2, fig. 30, vol. 3, fig. 436.

548 See e.g. Ševčenko (1962) fig. 17.

549 See Logwyn 1971, fig. 123 (who incorrectly identifies the saint as Demetrios); Chatzidakis 1997, fig. 57 (see also Joshua's cloak which is arranged in the same manner, fig. 5); Cutler 1994, fig. 44. Blue-green *armelausia* are mentioned by DE CER. [VOGT], 2:153$^{19-20}$ [80]: φορούντων αὐτῶν τῶν κομβινογράφων ἀρμελαύσια βένετον καὶ λευκὸν...

Whereas in the eleventh century military saints are painted with mantles draped diagonally across the torso in combination with the chlamys, in the late Komnenian period (second half of the twelfth century) rolled up mantles are the only item of outer wear, for example in murals in the Macedonian churches of the Anargyroi in Kastoria (Theodore Teron, Prokopios and Nestor; figs. 30b–c, e) and St Panteleimon in Nerezi (Prokopios; fig. 45b), and also on a panel with St Theodore from the Venetian *Pala d'Oro*.[550] A common motif when showing the (by this time compulsory reddish-brown) mantle is the depiction of its small folds thrown over the right upper arm.

Especially common in the Palaiologan era in the iconography of the military saints are cloaks that are furled and tied diagonally over the right shoulder,[551] which might indicate the late reception of this motif. On the other hand, the furled cloak is already shown as an item of military attire in the *Joshua Roll* (*Vat. Pal. gr. 431*, sheets I–III, VII–XI),[552] and is worn by David in late-tenth-century scenes of the duel with Goliath in the *Paris Psalter* (*Par. gr. 139*, fol. 4v); and on Goliath's chest on page 4v of the *Psalter of Basil II* (*Ven. Marcianus gr. Z 17*).[553] Its presence in these miniatures, which are strongly linked with antique tradition, is evidence that it was already known in the second half of the tenth century and followed earlier, Classical tradition.

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The paucity of information on military cloaks in the military treatises, and an analysis of the miniatures in the *Madrid Skylitzes* and the Athonite *Menologion Esphigmenou 14*, in which troops only occasionally

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[550] See Pelekanidis (1953) figs. 21/2, 23/1, 27/2; Maguire 1996, fig. 10 = Cutler/Spieser 1996, fig. 240; Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, fig. 139.

[551] Rolled up cloaks slung over the right shoulder are carried e.g. by St Theodore Teron on a fresco (of 1321) in the katholikon of the Chora monastery (currently Kariye mosque) in Constantinople, and both Theodores, Alexander, Trophimos, Demetrios and Eustathios in Dečani, see Bartusis 1992, fig. 5; Marković 1995, figs. 8–9, 12–13 (= Heath 1995, figs. on pp. 22–3, 34); and also Walter 2003a, 245, on Alexander. The increased popularity of the rolled cloak in art may be a natural consequence of the disappearance in the Late Byzantine period of the chlamys fastened by a fibula.

[552] See e.g. Lowden 1992, figs. 146, 160, 172 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 162). Interestingly, Joshua's diagonally draped cloak was replicated in a series of later Octateuchs: *Smyrna A. 1*, fol. 226r; *Vat. gr. 746*, fol. 449v; and *Vatopedi 602*, fol. 353r (Lowden 1992, figs. 59, 88, 168).

[553] See e.g. Heath 1979, figs. on pp. 33, 37; although Heath incorrectly describes the *Psalter of Basil II* as his menologion (= *Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 188).

appear in *chlamydes*, and in battle always without over-garments,[554] coupled with the numerous references to their use in court ceremonies allows one to assume that in Byzantium they were not worn in battle. The *chlamys* and *sagion* would have hindered movement and especially swordplay and therefore had to be removed before combat.[555] It is evident therefore that this obligatory item of military saints' attire—though undoubtedly adopted from antique compositional formulas—was associated by the beholders mostly with camp or parade uniform known from the many march-pasts and processions that took place in the capital every year. It should be stressed here that even in the images of mounted military saints depicted slaying a dragon or killing a Christian-persecuting ruler, there appear to be no deviations from the principle of showing them in the *chlamys* or the *sagion* (figs. 5, 8, 30f, 41a, 42, 56, 58, 60, 63, 77, 84, 86).[556] The artistic nature of this

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[554] The rare depictions of soldiers in chlamydes in the *Madrid Skylitzes* include: the cohort commander Michael Travlos introducing emissaries to the emperor (fol. 13r); a soldier accompanying the emperor Basil I in pursuit of a deer (fol. 86r); the bodyguards of Leo VI (fols. 114r–v); *droungarios* of the fleet Stephanos and soldiers surrounding the captured Maniakes (fol. 213v). Also worth mentioning are groups of cavalrymen in long, sleeved tunics accompanying the emperor (fols. 56r, 87v; Tsamakda 2002, figs. 9, 133, 210, 215, 261, 263, 505). In the *Menologion Esphigmenou 14*, long cloaks are worn by St Eustathios (fol. 52r), and also by: shield-bearers guarding the throne of Cyrus or Herod (fols. 389v, 402r, 403r, 404r); a Christian ruler negotiating the surrender of Negran (modern Najran) with Homeritae Jews (fol. 136v); and Herod's troops (fols. 408v, 410r; *Athos*, vol. B', figs. 333, 352, 378–379, 381, 389, 391); while warriors appear without cloaks in scenes of battle between the Levites and the tribe of Benjamin (fols. 416v–418r; *Athos*, vol. B', figs. 404–407). A similar phenomenon can be observed in the *Khludov Psalter* miniatures, where military commanders and the emperor Constantine are shown in cloaks (fols. 58r-v), while soldiers in battle and on watch at Christ's tomb are without them (e.g. fols. 6r, 26v, 44v, 50r, 58r, 60r, 67v, 78v, 141v, 148r; Shchepkina 1977, figs. 6, 26, 44, 50, 58–60, 67, 78, 109, 141, 148).

[555] STRAT., p. 258[15–16] [VII 15] instructs troops to cover their *zabai* before battle commenced (καὶ τὰς σκαπλίδας τῶν ζαβῶν ὄπιθεν κατὰ τῶν ὠμοπλατῶν φέρειν ἕως καιροῦ·), which suggests that this garment was cast off when advancing to combat. See also Hoffmeyer 1966, 51, who believes that cloaks were secured to the saddle for battle.

[556] See e.g. the pair of mounted saints (George and Theodore) slaying dragons in the Cappodocian churches of the Snake (Yilanli Kilise), St Basil (no. 18), St Barbara (no. 20), and also George with the dragon in chapel 21 in Korama; George and Theodore in Yusuf Koç Kilise in Avçilar (Maçan); and George in the church of St Barbara (Tahtali Kilise) in the Soandos valley (Soğanli Dere). Among the later examples one can mention the frescoes of St George on horseback in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria, and of St Theodore in the church of Hagioi Theodoroi near Kaphiona on the Mani peninsula. As a rule St Eustathios is also depicted with a wind-blown cloak in the scene of his conversion while hunting in the *Menologion Esphigmenou 14*, fol. 52; and in the following psalters: *Khludov Psalter no. 129d*, fol. 97; *Par. gr. 20*, fol. 5v; *Pantokrator 61*, fol. 138; *British Add. 19352*, fol. 130v; and *Barberini Vat. gr. 972*, fol.

unrealistic combination is readily apparent in the *Madrid Skylitzes* miniatures, where horsemen in combat are seldom depicted in cloaks.

Insignia

The desire to imbue the warrior saints with greater pomp and splendour, as well as the strong dependence on Classical models, is also apparent in the form of the officers' and official's insignia that artists introduced into the iconography of their attire. Some of these were quite common, and like other elements of military costume were freely ascribed to a wider group of saints, whereas when they appear only on the images of specified saints, they thereby become a type of attribute for them.

Fibula (kornoukopion, porpe)

The fibula was a natural complement to the chlamys and, like it, was connected with imperial and court dress. Known since the Bronze Age, in ancient Greece the fibula was divided according to function, into the πόρπη which fastened at the front, and the περόνη (lit. 'pin') which served to secure the cloak on to the back.[557] The fibula worn together with the toga or military cloak initially had no symbolic significance.[558] This was first given to it in Rome, when a circular fibula with

136r (Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 246–247; photographs at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, DO L.75.1387(AE), 830A, T3-22, L.75.1174(AE); Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 21 on p. 41; Drandakes 1995, fig. 21 on p. 94; *Athos*, vol. Γ', fig. 265, Shchepkina 1977; Dufrenne 1966, figs. 21, 35; Velmans 1985, fig. 24; and Der Nersessian 1970, fig. 211). This compositional formula was also taken up in Georgia, for example on the frescoes by Master Theodore in Nakipari, Lagurka and Ipari with Theodore and George on horseback slaying both the dragon and Diocletian (Aladashvili/Alibegashvili/Volskaya 1966, figs. 18–19, 33–34, 50–51; and Tschubinaschvili 1959, *passim*; esp. the common images of George killing Diocletian).

[557] See e.g. Iliad, 2:88[133] [X] (Nestor's purple chlamys fastened with a fibula), 3:46[180] [XIV] (cloak with fibula worn by Hera—evidence that it was already an element of dress, both male and female, in Homer's day); Hesychios, 3:362: πόρπη· [ὁ ἀνοχεὺς τῆς ἀσπίδος, εἰς ὃ ὁ πῆχυς ἀνίεται,] ἡ φίβλα. καὶ τῆς χλανίδος ἡ περόνη. See also K. Czerwenka-Papadopoulos, "Porpe" in *BKR*, 202. The distinction between the two terms depending on the place of fastening clothing is introduced by Belyaev 1929, 56–7 and n. 43 (who, however, without grounds links the *perone* with the crossbow fibula, cf. p. 80) A. v. Netoliczka, "Fibel" in *PR*, Supplement, 3:491–5 (discusses the Greek terminology), 501–2 (on fibulae in archaic Greece).

[558] On Greco-Roman fibulae see H. Leclerq, "Fibules" in *DACL*, 5/2:1478–9, with examples on 1486–9; A. v. Netoliczka, "Fibel", *PR*, Supplement, 3:491–522;

a rim encrusted with pearls and precious stones became the imperial insignia (fig. 72).[559] Until the end of the fourth century inscribed gold brooches were handed out on state occasions by rulers as awards.[560] Until the sixth century, besides serving as an insignia the fibula also had a purely utilitarian purpose, both in male and female costume.[561] With the spread of clothes that closed by means of buttons, and tailored kaftans, it then lost its meaning as an essential item of attire, and remained only an item of imperial or royal regalia and official insignia.[562] The lack of references in Byzantine sources written after

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E. Pochmarski, "Fibula", *BKR*, 78. The numerous fibulae found throughout Europe and the Mediterranean basin and their interpretation are a separate archaeological problem beyond the scope of the present study.

[559] Alföldi 1935, 65; F. Leclerq, "Fibules (imperialés)", *DACL*, 5/2:1489–90, fig. 4358.

[560] S.D. Campbell & A. Kazhdan, "Fibula" in *ODB*, 2:784–5. On Constantine the Great's granting to the Chersonites the privilege of wearing the imperial chlamys with fibula and gold crowns in recognition for their services in their fight against the 'Scythians', see DAI, 1:264$^{142-43}$ [53] (χλαμύδος βασιλικῆς καὶ φιβλατούρας καὶ στέφανον χρυσοῦν). Examples of crossbow brooches with the inscriptions VTERE FELIX ('wear for luck'), VIVAS, IVLIANE VIVAS, ROMANUS [I]MP[ERATOR], ACCIPE DVLCIS ANNIS ('accept [the wish of] many sweet years'), Θ[EO]Y XAPIC ('God's fortune') see Belyaev 1929, 87–9, 92–3, 94, tabl. XV/7, 9, 10; while other inscriptions referring to the emperors of the Tetrarchy (CONSTANTINE CAES VIVAS and HERCVLI CAES VINCAS) are published by F. Leclerq, "Fibules" in *DACL*, 5/2:1489, fig. 4358, nos. 4 and 5). The word *fibulatorium* is interpreted as a variant of the fibula or as a fibula together with the clothing fastened by it in the commentaries to De Cer. (2:827–8); Belyaev (1929, 56–7); and Oikonomides (n. 31).

[561] On the fibula as an element of female costume in Greece see above, n. 557; and in Rome see Belyaev (1929, 58, 64, 80, figs. 2, 10–11), who concludes on the basis of a fresco in Lesnovo that the fibula was still being worn by court ladies in the 11th C., although its function was by then entirely decorative.

[562] The investiture by Justin I in 522 of Tzatios, ruler of the Laz people who was seeking his aid against the Persians, with imperial chlamys with purple tablion and fibula is commented upon by: Agathias, p. 172$^{4-9}$ [III 15]; ChPasch, 1:613^{18}–614^{4}, Theophanes, 1:174$^{20-21}$ (fibula with likeness of the emperor); whereas Procopius, 3/2:85$^{12-15}$ [III 1/21] states that Justinian presented as insignia of authority gold chlamydes to five Armenian satraps together with fibulae with precious stones in the middle and three sapphires hung on gold chains (περόνη χρυσῆ τῇ χλαμύδι ἐπέκειτο, λίθον ἐπὶ μέσης περιφράττουσά τινα ἔντιμον, ἀφ' οὗ δὴ ὑάκινθοι τρεῖς χρυσαῖς τε καὶ χαλαραῖς ταῖς ἁλύσεσιν ἀπεκρέμαντο). For other examples of investiture with insignia of authority mentioned by Procopius in his *Wars*, performed by emperors in relation to barbarian leaders, see McCormick 1986, 336, n. 29. In the light of this information of special significance would appear to be another reference by Procopius (1:87$^{1-2}$ [I 17/28]), stating that Kabades confiscated a *perone* that was pinned in the hair of a defeated patrician, since in Persia such an object could be worn only by the king.

On the fibula and chlamys donned by the emperor during coronation ceremonies see De Cer. [Vogt], 2:17$^{11-13}$ [I 50], 27$^{4-5, 15-17}$ [I 52]; Belyaev 1929, 60–61, 66 (with numerous depictions of round fibulae on imperial portraits). The fibula is mentioned

the tenth century indicates that the fibula fell out use along with the chlamys,[563] and in imperial ceremonial attire their places were taken by the *loros*, which gained popularity in the eleventh century.[564]

In Byzantine sources the terms used to describe the fibula are the Classical Greek πόρπη and the Latinized φίβλα/φίβουλα; John Lydos meanwhile states that its imperial variant was known by palace residents as κορνουκόπιον (Lat. *cornus copium*, 'horn of plenty').[565] In Early Byzantine art the fibula as an element of imperial attire was depicted usually in the form common in ancient Greece and Rome—a round plate with a rim filled with pearls and precious stones.[566] From the fourth to the eighth century it is additionally decorated with three rows of pendants, occasionally terminating with small tassels (fig. 18).[567]

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as an element of the uniform of the eparch of the *Pretorium* by Lydos (see above, n. 506). During the granting of the titles of caesar, *nobelissimos* and *kouropalates* these officials received a fibula and a chlamys from the hands of the emperor (De Cer. [Vogt] 2:27$^{15-17}$ [I 52], 34^{16} [I 53], 38^{4} [I 54]); while the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, p. 89^{18} (= De Cer., 1:708^{13} [II 52])) states that the *fibulatorium* was worn by *vestiatoroi* as their insignia. Aside from their use by these officials, Belyaev (1929, 60–1) recognizes the fibula as element of the empress's costume.

[563] On the presence of the fibula in official and imperial costume in the 6th C., followed by its disappearance, see S.D. Campbell & A. Kazhdan, "Fibula" in *ODB*, 2:784; Belyaev 1929, 57, 62, although his opinion (p. 80) on the popularity of fibulae in the Late Byzantine iconography of the military saints is not corroborated in the artistic material (see above, n. 551).

[564] On the *loros* and methods of wearing it see Rudt de Collenberg 1972, 268–71, fig. 1.; on its chronology see N.P. Ševčenko, "Loros" in *ODB*, 2:1251–2; its courtly functions are discussed by Piltz 1997, 43–4, figs. 6, 10. See also K. Wessel, "Insignien", in *RbK*, 3:428–44, 480–3, who also gives numerous examples of depictions of the *loros* in art.

[565] The Byzantine terminology is discussed by Belyaev 1929, 55–7, 63 and nn. 25–27 (with source literature). See also the references in Eust. Il., 2:345^{20}, 3:30$^{19-20}$, 609^{18}; Eust. Od., 2:180$^{19, 33}$, 200^{39}. In the diminutive form περόνια it is mentioned alongside other imperial garments in De Cer., 1:672^{8} [II 45]; see also Koukoules, 2/2:56–7 and above, n. 531. The imperial *kornoukopion* is described by Lydos, p. 58$^{11-14}$ [II 2/4] <ἣν> ἡμεῖς μὲν φίβουλαν ὡς Ἰταλοὶ καλοῦμεν, κορνουκόπιον δὲ ἰδίᾳ πως ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἔτι καὶ νῦν λέγουσιν·

[566] On the Greco-Roman origins of the round fibula see Belyaev (1929, 63–5, figs. 1–6), and the Late Roman oval, onyx fibula found at Ostroviany in Slovakia, which is currently in Venice (plate XI 4). He also regards (p. 69) the round fibula as the basic type of Byzantine brooch and systemizes the group of brooches of this shape found at Akhmim in Egypt, in Switzerland, Italy and Hungary, including enamelled examples and those inset with imperial coins (p. 70–5, fig. 17, tabl. XIV, 1–2). On fibulae with round plates set with pearls see also A. v. Netoliczka, "Fibel" in *PR*, Supplement, 3:504. See also Bishop/Coulston 1993, fig. 101/2.

[567] See Belyaev (1929, 67, 69, 76–9 and n. 212) who assumes that this element reached Byzantium from India by way of Persia, and notices its disappearance from the iconography of the imperial Macedonian dynasty (see e.g. the circular fibula with

It appears in this form on a portrait of Theodosius I on his *missorium* (fig. 69) commissioned to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary in 393 of his coming to power (currently in the Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid); and also on the mosaic with Justinian in the basilica of San Vitale in Ravenna (*c*.546). Meanwhile, the dignitaries accompanying Justinian's wife, Theodora, on a mosaic on the opposite wall of the apse,[568] wear cloaks secured by crossbow fibulae (fig. 72) of a type known also as 'Roman-provincial' (with an elongated arched bow and a transverse bar containing the pin-hinge, and occasionally a small ornamental pelta-shaped plate).[569]

Ruth Leader believes that the wide variety of fibulae attributed to persons of different social status is evidence that certain shapes were associated with rank—round forms being reserved for the emperor, crossbow forms for junior officials.[570] Apparently confirming her hypothesis is the fact that until the fourth century the crossbow fibula was the predominant type among archaeological discoveries connected with the Goths and Germanics, who were one of the chief sources of mercenaries in imperial service, while the absence of circular imperial fibulae from such findsites, and their presence in the fifth and sixth centuries may be explained by the copying of Byzantine models, which reached barbarian territory as gifts, booty or together with prisoners.[571]

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pearled rim on Basil II's portrait in his *Psalter, Ven. Marcianus gr. 17*, fol. 3r [e.g. Ševčenko 1962, fig. 17]); and also Procopius's reference in his *On Buildings* (see above, n. 562). This type of fibula is also worn by Christ on a mosaic above the doors of the Bishop's Chapel in Ravenna (fig. 18); see above, n. 138 on p. 98. A preserved fibula with three pendants from Benevento is published by Garam 1993, fig. 13/1.

[568] See e.g. Age *of Spirituality*, nos. 64–66 = Hoffmeyer 1966, fig. 1. Round fibulae also appear on imperial portraits, e.g. on *solidi* of Theodosius II and Anastasius, a medallion of Justinian I, and the emperor on horseback on the *Barberini Panel* in the Louvre (*Byzance*, nos. 20, 108, 113; Grierson 1982, no. 82).

[569] In the present work I have not distinguished the various types of crossbow fibula since these had little influence on the warrior saint iconography, and the variety of forms would require a separate study. For the construction of the basic variants of crossbow fibulae see Belyaev (1929, 83–6, and his proposed classification according to form and ornament, 86–96); see also Coulston 2002, 8.

[570] Leader 2000, 415, 419, figs. 11–12, 18; as an example of the Late Roman circular fibula she also cites the portrait of Honorius on the consular diptych of Probus in the cathedral in Aosta.

[571] For examples of crossbow and circular fibulae from Germany (Germanic and Lombardic), France and England (mostly imitating Roman models) see H. Leclerq, "Fibules" in *DACL*, 5/2:1501–86 and figs. 4396–4454; *Germanen, passim*; Belyaev 1929, 87 (two fibulae connected with Alaric who died *c*.410), 92–93 (group of fibulae of Childeric, died 481); Kovačević 1964, 187–9, 192, fig. 1 (Gothic fibulae from the Balkans dated to the time of Theodoric the Great, 494–526, which the work's author

On the other hand, the crossbow fibula appeared in the Empire only in the time of Maximian, initially in provincial circles outside the capital.[572] Furthermore, the gold fibula-brooches called καρταμέρα (after the Celtic), which were adorned with bunches of grapes, and which fastened the dark purple tunic and belt of the eparch of the *Praetorium*, can be recognized as crossbow fibulae, thanks to Lydos's detailed description.[573]

In light of the above, the popularity in images of the military saints of circular fibulae, which were usually surrounded by a ring of pearls, should come as no surprise (figs. 22–23, 25b,d, 30a,d,f, 31–32, 35a, 37, 39, 44a–b, 45a, 46c, 49, 70).[574] It is worth noting that although fibulae

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links with mercenary units of *Foederati*). The barbarian origins of the crossbow fibula are also confirmed in the iconography (see e.g. the portrait dating from *c.*400 AD of the Vandal commander in Roman service Stilicho on the diptych from Monza cathedral [Volbach 1976, nos. 1, 63]). See also Southern/Dixon 1996, 124–5, fig. 58 (with further examples and bibliog.). On brooches/fibulae found in burials on the territory of the former Avar Khaganate that had formerly belonged to Byzantine prisoners taken in the 6th and 7th C. see Garam 1993, 127–31, figs. 1–5, 6/1, 6/5 (and also the Avar fibulae based on them: figs. 7–9). It should be remembered that the Huns and Avars employed fibulae only to a very limited extent.

572 See Belyaev 1929, 80–2, on the basis of bust now in the Cairo Museum linked with this ruler by Strzygowski; bas-reliefs adorning the base of the obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople; and 3rd- to 4th-C. fibulae found at Akhmim in Egypt, as well as in northern Africa, Syria and the Balkans.

573 LYDOS, p. 104^{8-18} [II 4/13]: καὶ σεληνίσκον μὲν ἔχων τινὰ ἐξ εὐωνύμων, χρυσῷ πεποιημένον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἑτέρας γλωσσίδα τινὰ ἤ γ' οὖν διάβλημα, χρυσοτελὲς καὶ αὐτό, εἰς βότρυος σχῆμα πεποιημένον, δι' ἣν ἐν τῇ Περὶ Μηνῶν συγγραφῇ ἀποδεδώκαμεν αἰτίαν· ὅπερ διάβλημα ἀπὸ δεξιᾶς φερόμενον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν σεληνίσκον βαλλόμενον διαζώννυσι τὸν περιτιθέμενον ἀσφαλῶς, περόνης καὶ αὐτῆς χρυσῆς ἐνδακνούσης τὸν ἱμάντα καὶ συναπτούσης τὸν βότρυν τῷ σεληνίσκῳ· **φίβουλαν** αὐτὴν πατρίως οἱ 'Ρωμαῖοι [...] λέγουσιν, τὴν δὲ ὅλην κατασκευὴν τοῦ περιζώματος οἱ Γάλλοι **καρταμέραν**, ἣν τὸ πλῆθος **καρτάλαμον** ἐξ ἰδιωτείας ὀνομάζει. (Note that the opening passage appears to be slightly corrupt).

574 In warrior saint depictions it is possible to distinguish local variants of round fibulae decoration which were dominant in various periods and regions: in Cappadocian painting they are often adorned with five pearls that form a cross—as in the church of the Snake and the chapel of St John in Korama, and Direkli Kilise in Ihlara (Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 21, 246–247, 250); while e.g. St Orestes in chapel 33 in Korama wears a fibula ringed with pearls (Restle 1967, vol. 2, fig. 288). In Macedonian churches (Kastoria, Kurbinovo, Nerezi) fibulae are painted as relatively large discs surrounded by a wreath of pearls (e.g. Maguire 1996, figs. 10–11; Pelekanidis 1953, figs. 21, 23/2, 32/1, 55/1). Often, as on Sicilian mosaics and at Nea Mone on Chios, both types appear alongside one another (Borsook 1990, figs. 9, 35–36; Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, figs. 59, 61). Both forms of fibula also appear in works connected with the capital's workshops (*Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 69, 79, 80; Bank 1966, no. 227–228; Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 47–48). Of special interest is the warrior saint's fibula in St Panteleimon's

were associated with officer status, Theodore Teron 'the Recruit' is also occasionally shown wearing one, for example on an enamel panel from Bathys Ryax (fig. 47).[575] It is quite possible that round fibulae were not taken over from the imperial iconography directly, but rather by way of the antique pictorial tradition. The antique gods in military attire are often depicted in this manner, especially in the Empire's eastern provinces (figs. 17a,b).[576] The process of adopting the imperial fibula and chlamys by the military saints must therefore have already taken place in late antiquity.

Arguing against such an interpretation, however, is the limited appearance of fibulae in the iconography of the warrior saints in the Palaiologan era when the actual element of attire went out of use. Such a parallel between the fibula's appearance in art and its popularity in everyday dress indicates rather that artists were looking to contemporary models of costume.

Departures from the principle of depicting cloak pins in the form of a circular fibula are rare, and appear exclusively in provincial circles. They include two tenth-century depictions of the military saints in the cathedral in Faras. Their fibulae are of a shield form in a quatrefoil shape. As an analogy Górecki points to a silver fibula with cabochons found near the River Kama, described as a Persian import.[577] The cross-like shape also prompts comparison with a group of fibulae with decoration of this form attached to the bow.[578] The exceptional nature

chapel at Upper Boularioi on the Mani peninsula, which the artist has painted with a cross inscribed within a circle (Drandakes 1995, fig. 19 on p. 383).

The round fibula motif also commonly appears as an element of warrior saints' uniform in other regions influenced by Byzantine culture, such as Rus' (see e.g. Sidorenko 2000, figs. 1–3) and Georgia (see e.g. Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 36–39, 42–47, 151–53, 156, 162, 164, 180–84, 188, 190, 194, 195–196, 284, 409, 411, 470); of particular interest is a late 10th/early 11th C. repoussé icon of St George from Bochorma, Georgia (figs. 162, 164 and pp. 429–30), where the fibula (worn exceptionally on the left shoulder) is filled with a real cabochon, the contrast of stone against metal making the whole brooch appear real.

[575] See Bank 1966, no. 190 = Papamastorakes 1998, fig. 5. Theodore Teron is depicted in a similar manner on ivory triptychs (Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, nos. 32, 33, 38; Bank 1966, nos 126, 130).

[576] See e.g. the relief images of Palmyrene gods published by Morehart 1959, figs. 11–13, 15, 17; Teixidor 1979, figs. 22, 24; and Belyaev 1929, figs. 1–3.

[577] See Górecki 1980, 200–1, figs. 2–3, 6–9, 11a–c.

[578] H. Leclerq, "Fibules" in *DACL*, 5/2:1490–2, figs. 4363–4364; Belyaev 1929, 95–6, figs. 26–27; Kovačević 1964, 190, fig. 3.

of the Faras depictions, and the site's remoteness from Byzantine artistic centres leads one to assume that here the artist was making use of local models.

The officer's sash (diadema, zone stratiotike)

While the fibula's appearance in the iconography of the military saints can be explained not so much by its character as an insignia, but more by its utilitarian function closely related to the cloak, the officer's sash served exclusively as an emblem of the owner's rank. Like the *chlamys*, *sagion* and fibula, the sash was derived from ancient Rome, where a linen band was the insignia of a legionary officer.[579] Worn at chest height or even on the stomach, such sashes were made from a narrow band of cloth tied at the front in a flat bow, the so-called 'knot of Herakles' (the fringed ends are first turned upwards, and then tucked under the belt). The officer's band was known in Rome as the *zona militaris*, and appears in the Roman iconography, especially sculpture, in the Imperial period, alongside the muscled cuirass as a formal

[579] See Alföldi 1935, 64; Rankov 1994, 53, 56. The initial purpose of the officer's bands may have been to secure phalerae to the chest. These circular badges made of metal or glass had the character of insignia and of a *tropaion*, usually in the form of the head of a Medusa or lion, see H. Aigner, "Phalerae" in *BKR*, 195; Mouriki 1981a, 315–16, fig. 88d (Roman *exedra* of Herodes Atticus in Olympia with *gorgoneion* on the chest). This is confirmed especially in funerary depictions, see e.g. Robinson 1975, figs. 442–444 (stele of the centurion Sertorius Festus of *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis* in the Verona Museum); Gamber 1978, fig. 386 (gravestone of Marcus Caelius, 1st C. AD, in the Landesmuseum, Bonn); see also the reconstruction of a lamellar cuirass with *phalerae* in the form of Medusa and lion heads, elements of which were discovered in the *tumulus* at Goljama near Duvanlij in Bulgaria (Ognenova-Marinova 2000, 16, fig. 4). The function of phalerae as insignia may with time have transferred to the band that held them in place. After the Early and Middle Byzantine period, when the band was depicted without phalerae, we observe a revival of this motif in Palaiologan art (e.g. on frescoes with St Demetrios in the late-13th-C. funerary chapel of David Narin Bagratid in Gelati Monastery, Georgia; (a mask—*gorgoneion*?) and a lion's head in the katholikon of the monastery of the Peribleptos in Mistra (end of 14th C.); and also on the belt of the archangel Michael in the church of St Achilleios in Arilje of *c.*1296 (Mouriki 1980, 310–11, 323, 326, 336, figs. 91d, 93d), which may have been related to the reintroduction of this element into imperial ceremonial attire (see below, n. 590). With time the chest-band motif became barbarized and distorted; it was often depicted as a metal band—evidence that its original form was misunderstood, see e.g. the early 14th-C. icon of St George from Tyana in Cappadocia in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (Potamianou 1998, no. 11).

element of the costume of the emperor,[580] of higher officers,[581] and also military gods (figs. 4, 17a).[582] It was taken over into Early Byzantine imperial iconography, for example on the statue known as the Colossus of Barletta.[583]

The sashes wrapped around the breastplates of military saints in Middle Byzantine art are of different colours. The dominant hue is white (figs. 25a,b, 26, 36a,b, 45a),[584] probably indicating the undyed

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580 See e.g. statues of Julius Caesar in the Pallazo Senatorio sul Campidoglio in Rome, and Drusus the Younger from Sulcis in the Cagliari Museum (Robinson 1975, figs. 429, 431); and also Mithridates from Delos (102–101 BC); Nero from Tralles in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul; Trajan Divinus from Ephesus in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Antoninus Pius in the Dresden State Art Collections; Marcus Aurelius (160 AD) in the Museum in Alexandria and in the Villa Borghese in Rome; Antoninus Pius from the Via Imperiale in Rome; Septimius Severus from Alexandria in the British Museum; the Tetrarchs on the wall of the Basilica of San Marco in Venice; and Constantine the Great in the Roman Campidoglio (Vermeule 1960, figs. 5, 23, 52, 60–63, 66, 72, 74).

581 E.g. on a funerary stele in the Archaeological Museum in Rhodes; on a sarcophagus in the Campo Santo in Pisa; and on the so-called sarcophagus of Balbinus in the Museum of the Catacombs of Pretextatus in Rome (Vermeule 1960, figs. 6, 65, 70; and also the unidentified statues figs. 17 [with *gorgoneion* in its upper part], 18, 44, 50, 54–58, 78). D'Amato (2005, 22) cites John of Ephesus (VI 2) on the degradation, by cutting the belt, of Marcianus, *Magister Militum per Orientem*, who was relieved of his command during the siege of Nisibis in 573.

582 See e.g. relief with image of Mars on the so-called 'Altar of Ahenobarbus' in the Louvre (Vermeule 1960, fig. 9); trinity of Palmyrene gods Aglibol, Baal and Yarhibol on a relief of the 1st C. AD in the Louvre (Robinson 1975, fig. 456 = Morehart 1959, fig. 11); fresco from the temple of Baal in Palmyra and a cult relief from Dura-Europos (Teixidor 1979, figs. 23–24).

583 See e.g. Vermeule 1960, fig. 79 (= Hoffmeyer 1966, fig. 2; Marković 1995, fig. 44).

584 Roman officer's bands are known mainly from sculpture, and we do not know their colour; the polychrome decorations on the sculptures—if they ever had such—have not been preserved (Rankov 1994, 56). White military bands are worn e.g. by Sts Niketas and Orestes(?) in St John's Church (chapel 2A) in Korama; by the bulk of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in the Great Pigeon House in Çavuşin; a warrior in the church of St Merkourios on Kerkyra; Theodore within the apse of Hagioi Theodoroi near Kaphiona on the Mani; Demetrios on a mosaic from the monastery of the Archangel Michael in Kiev; Merkourios, Prokopios and Theodore Teron (sic!) in the katholikon of the monastery of Hosios Loukas in Phokis; George, Nestor and Theodore (in the last case light grey) on a mosaic on the south wall of the presbytery of the cathedral in Cefalù; Theodore Teron (again!) and Merkourios in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo; Theodore in the cathedral in Monreale; Theodore Stratelates on fol. 383 of the *Menologion of Basil II* (*Vat. gr. 1613*) and fol. 25v of the *Menologion Mosqu. gr. 376*; Prokopios on fol. 72v of the *Menologion Mosqu. gr. 382*; Sts George and Merkourios in Direkli Kilise in the Ihlara valley; and St George in Nerezi and on the relief icon in the Byzantine Museum, Athens. For illustrations see Restle (1967, vol. 2, figs. 30, 44, vol. 3, fig. 310); Skawran (1982, fig. 119); Drandakes (1995, fig. 9 on p. 81 and colour figs. 13–14); *Glory of Byzantium*, (fig. on p. 283); Chatzidakis (1997,

cloth from which this type of insignia was undoubtedly made. They are sometimes blue (figs. 27, 30a, 39, 62), and occasionally green, red, purple or black (figs. 28, 30d, 35a, 44a).[585] It is not possible to identify any individual saint who wears the sash as an attribute distinguishing him from other military saints. Sashes are worn both by *megalomartyrs* with officer backgrounds: George, Theodore Stratelates, Demetrios and Prokopios, as well as by the less popular saints such as Merkourios, Eustathios, Orestes, Nestor and Lupus.[586] They are also worn by a

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figs. 47–48); Marković (1995, figs. 40–41); Borsook 1990, figs. 9, 36–37, 95; Ševčenko 1962, figs. 11–12; Spatharakis 1981, fig. 142; Thierry (1963, 187, fig. 89c); Potamianou (1998, no. 5) = Tsigaridas (2000, fig. 40).

585 The sashes worn by St George on the relief icon from Mariupol (in the National Museum, Kiev) and St Merkourios in the *Menologion Par. gr. 580*, leaf 2v, are light blue; St Demetrios wears a dark blue one on a fresco in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria; while the sashes of the military saints in the church of the Hagioi Strategoi in Upper Boularioi on Mani, St Theodore on a Constantinopolitan icon in the Hermitage, and George and Orestes on enamel panels from the Venetian *Pala d'Oro* are an intense blue colour (*Glory of Byzantium*, no. 202; *Byzance*, no. 269; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 11–12 on pp. 32–3; Drandakes 1995, fig. 33 on p. 419 [monochrome reproduction]; Bank 1966, nos. 227–228; and Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, figs. 128–129). A green sash is worn by St George in the Church of Lilies (Sümbüllü Kilise) in the Ihlara valley (Thierry 1963, 176; Parani 2003, fig. 117—monochrome). St Theodore has a dark red sash on a mosaic in the katholikon narthex of Nea Mone; and on a fresco in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria; as is St Demetrios in the church of St Nicholas in Agios Nikolaos near Monemvasia; accompanying Demetrios at Agios Nikolaos is Merkourios wearing a grey band with white rosettes. A purple band is worn by George *Tropaiophoros* ('the victorious') on a panel in the Venetian *Pala d'Oro*. Meanwhile, St George appears on an icon at the British Museum in a blue-grey chest band fitted with vertical straps (Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, fig. 59; Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 21/2 [= Maguire 1996, fig. 11]; Drandakes 1979, 57, fig. 19β; Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, fig. 142; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 261).

586 Aside from those mentioned above (nn. 584–585) a number of saints are shown with military sashes with clearly defined knots:—St George, on steatite icons from Cherson in the National Preserve of Tauric Chersonesos in Sevastopol, the Historical Museum in Moscow, and Vatopedi Monastery on Mt Athos; and also on bronze panels in the Kanellopoulos Museum (Inv. no. 1071) and the Byzantine Museum (Inv. no 475) both in Athens; as well as on a wooden icon from Omorphoklisias near Kastoria;—St Demetrios, on an ivory panel in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and on a lost steatite icon from the Karagiorgios collection;—St Theodore, on a fragment of a steatite panel in the Museum in Veliko Turnovo, on a steatite icon in the Barber Collection in Birmingham; on an ivory panel in the Museo Archeologico in Venice, and on a gilded panel in the British Museum;—and St Lupus, on a reliquary of St Demetrios in the collections of the Moscow Kremlin (*Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 36, 81, 203 [= Marković 1995, fig. 47; Cutler 1994, fig. 126]; Tsigaridas 2000, fig. 39; *Byzantium* no. 160; Longuet 1961, fig. 24/2; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, nos. 8, 10, 21, 24a, 28; Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, no. 20; Cutler 1994, figs. 44, 126). St Eustathios appears with a sash e.g. on an ivory triptych in the Vatican Museum and on the *Harbaville Triptych* in the Louvre (see below, n. 588).

group of warrior saints on a mural in the Great Pigeon House church in Çavuşin (fig. 59).[587] St Theodore Teron appears wearing the *zone stratiotike* on the *Forty Martyrs Triptych* in the Hermitage, on an ivory triptych in the Vatican Museum, and on the *Harbaville Triptych* in the Louvre (figs. 19a, 20a, 22a).[588] The fact that it is worn by Teron, who was an ordinary soldier, indicates the original function of the officer's band had been forgotten or was seen by artists as irrelevant.[589] The actual form of the sash is often simplified, and it sometimes appears as a narrow band without a knot on the chest.

Neither in the military manuals, nor in any Byzantine sources is there information on textile sashes worn by soldiers on their chests. It is only Pseudo-Kodinos in his *Book of Ceremony*, when elucidating the etymology of the word 'crown' (στέμμα), who explains that this object was once known as a διάδημα, a term now used for the article of attire formerly known as the ζώνη στρατιωτικὴ (military sash). He also refers to the martyrs of Christ who wear it together with a mail corselet (or a στρεπτόν 'pectoral').[590] This may indicate that Pseudo-

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[587] See Restle 1967, vol. 3, fig. 310.

[588] Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, nos 32a, 33a; Bank 1966, nos 126–130 = Cutler 1994, figs. 28, 169–170); see also Teron on the mosaics at Hosios Loukas, and in the northern bay of the Cappella Palatina (above, n. 584).

[589] The archaic nature of the military sash in Middle Byzantine art is also apparent in that it is not present in the *Madrid Skylitzes* miniatures. Meanwhile, broad bands (usually together with vertical straps, forming what might be interpreted as a type of chest harness keeping the body armour in place) are a standard element of soldier's attire in the classicizing *Joshua Roll* (*Vat. gr 431*, sheets I, III, V, VI–XI, XIV), and in the following Octateuchs: *Vat. gr. 747*, fols. 165v, 173r, 219r–v, 221v–223v, 224v–225r, 226r, 230r, 243r, 246v, 247v; *Vat. gr. 746*, fols. 351r, 411v, 443v–444r, 447v–448r, 451r, 453v, 455v, 459v, 469v, 480v, 486v–487r, 449r-v; *Smyrna A. 1*, fols. 223r-v, 226r-v, 233r, 239v, 245r, 248v; *Topkapi p. gr. 8*, fols. 179v, 360v, 477v, 478v, 499v; *Vatopedi 602*, fols. 169r, 347r, 353r-v, 379v, 402r, 421v, 433r (Lowden 1992, figs. 2–5, 9–10, 16–20, 49–55, 58–63, 68, 87–90, 98, 100–101, 118, 135, 146–155, 160–172, 175, 178; Lassus 1973, figs. 115, 123, 126). The drowning pharaoh also wears a cloth sash around his torso on fol. 419v of the *Paris Psalter, Par. gr. 139* and on fols. 41v, 48r, 50r of the *Book of Kings*, *Vat. gr. 333* (Lowden 1992, fig. 137; Lassus 1973, figs. 79, 89, 91).

[590] Ps. Kodinos, pp. $199^{3-20\ (esp.\ 13-15)}$, 201^{4-10} [IV]: Δεῖ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι ὅπερ καλεῖται νῦν στέμμα ὠνομάζετο πάλαι διάδημα. Τοῦτο δὲ ἦν βλάτιον μετὰ λίθων καί μαργάρων, κατὰ τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως μέτωπον κείμενον μέν, δεδεμένον δ' ὄπισθεν περὶ τὸν ἐγκέφαλον, διὸ καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο διάδημα· ὅπερ ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀμειφθὲν ἐγένετο, οἷον ὁρᾶται τὴν σήμερον, καὶ ὀνομάζεται στέμμα. **Ὃ δὲ νῦν καλεῖται διάδημα, ἐλέγετο πάλαι ζώνη στρατιωτικὴ δηλοῦσα τιμήν**· ὅθεν καὶ οἱ τύραννοι πρῶτον ἀφῄρουν τῆς ζώνης καὶ τοῦ στρεπτοῦ τοὺς τῶν μαρτύρων ἐντίμους τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμολογοῦντας, ἔπειτα παρεδίδουν τούτους βασανισταῖς [and further, in a description of imperial attire] Καὶ τὸν μὲν σταυρὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς φέρων δι' αὐτοῦ δείκνυσι τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ἑαυτοῦ πίστιν, διὰ τοῦ στέμματος τὴν τιμήν, διὰ τῆς ζώνης, ἣ νῦν, ὡς εἴρηται, καλεῖται διάδημα, τὸ

Kodinos associated the military sash only with images of the warrior saints.[591]

Since in Middle Byzantine sources the term *diadema* is still used almost exclusively to describe a diadem in the sense of a band worn on the head,[592] we must assume the meaning recorded by Pseudo-Kodinos resulted from a return to the original sense of the verb διαδέω ('to tie', 'to belt'), and that this change took place comparatively late, probably in his own day.

Tablion

Depicted far less often than the *zone stratiotike* in the iconography of the warrior saints is the *tablion* (Gk. ταβλίον). To some extent this can be explained by how it was worn, always in conjunction with the cloak. A pair of *tablia*[593] in the form of diamond-shaped textile patches made in a contrasting colour to the chlamys (usually purple or gold)[594]

στρατιώτην εἶναι αὐτόν[.] Verpreaux translates the word στρεπτόν as *le collier*. It seems more likely that by mentioning the two terms together the treatise's author intended both the belt and the corselet on which it was worn, but it cannot be ruled out that by using στρεπτόν he was thinking of a type of torque/*manikion*, since in Medieval Greek the word is more often used in this sense. See also Koukoules, 2/2:51.

[591] See above, n. 579. It is not clear whether fragments of a silk sash (now in the Hermitage and the Regional Museum in Stavropol) discovered in a grave at Moshchevaya Balka near the Kuban river bearing on it an inscription referring to a certain *protospatharios* Ivan (Ιβαννης) can be interpreted as military belt. If so, it would prove that the *zone stratiotike* was still in use in the 8th–9th C. On the find see Jeroussalimskaja (2000, 125–28, figs. 1a–b), who suggests that the inscription confirms the belt's ceremonial character.

[592] Among the definitions in the lexicon of Hesychios (vol. 2 [p. 255, 3:113]) the diadem appears both as a synonym for an overgarment, the *zeire*, as well as the *mitra* (also in the meaning of an element of armour protecting the groin, as well as an item of headwear, see above, n. 145): ζείρη· μίτρα. ταινία. διάδημα. πέρα, ἤγουν ποδεᾶ [...] *μίτρα· ἡ χαλκῆ λεπίς. διάδημα. ζώνη. θώραξ. ταινία [...] *μίτρα χρυσᾶ· ὡς λεπὶς χρυσᾶ, ἢ τῷ μετώπῳ φορεῖται. (See also Suda, 3:402[21–2], [1136]: Μίτρα· διάδημα, ἢ ζώνη. αἱ μίτραι τό θ' ἁλουργὲς ὑπένδυμα τοί τε Λάκωνες πέπλοι. πάνθ' ἅμα Νικονόη συνεπέκπιε. 4:445[8–14] [Σ 1221]). For references to the diadem as an insignia worn on the head see below, n. 614.

[593] The two gilded *tablia* (ταβλίων δύο χρυσοπάστων) of the *proedros* who chaired the Senate are mentioned in De Cer., 1:440[17] [I 97]. See also Kondakov 1924, 34; Parani 2003, 53, and 95 in reference to depictions of martyrs.

[594] On the colours of the *tablion* see Malalas (p. 24[5–9] [II 8]), who states that *presbeutes* (ambassadors) of the Pelasgians and from the land of Isauria were in ancient times entitled to rose-coloured *tablia*, gold ones were worn in Rome on a purple imperial chlamys, while purple *tablia* were reserved for members of the senate and *strategoi* (i.e. members of the class of *patrikioi*—on this class see Oikonomides, p. 94, n. 43); see also Koukoules 2/2:47–8.

were sewn into the sides of the cloak, at its both edges. In the iconography of the warrior saints these sides are often depicted thrown back over the shoulder, and even when the left side hangs to the front only a single *tablion* is normally visible.

The absence of the *tablion* in Classical art and the lack of references to it in written works indicate that it made its appearance at the imperial court only in the fourth century.[595] Paradoxically, in the Middle Byzantine period, besides the imperial couple who were entitled to wear a gold *tablion*,[596] this insignia was reserved for civil officials—presbyters, *praipositoi*, senators, notaries of the *asekretis* and *asekretai*, and above all *patrikioi*.[597] The *Kletorologion* even quotes the cost to purchase the right to wear the tablion—24 *nomismata*.[598] The civil character of the tablion is confirmed by its popularity in depictions of holy martyrs (not only military ones) who were represented in chlamydes but without indications of their military function and who were

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595 Piltz (1989, 11, 46) indicates that the Greek term *tablion* derives from the Latin *tabula*, which suggests the fashion for wearing them appeared while Latin was still dominant in the Empire (see also below, n. 601). Cf. also K. Czerwenka-Papadopoulos, "Tablion" in *BKR*, 259, dating its appearance to the 5th C.

596 See e.g. the reference in MALALAS (p. 340^{69-70} [XVII 9]) who contrasts the gold imperial *tablion*, with the purple (καὶ χλαμύδα ἄσπρον ὁλοσήρικον, ἔχον ἀντὶ πορφυροῦ ταβλίου χρυσοῦν βασιλικὸν ταβλίον); DE CER. [VOGT], $1{:}4^{16}$ [I 1] (on prefects of the *cubiculum* carrying the imperial *tablion* during the Christmas procession), $2{:}33^{17}$ [I 53]. Piltz 1989, 18, fig. 53; K. Czerwenka-Papadopoulos, "Tablion" in *BKR*, 259; N.P. Ševčenko ("Tablion" in *ODB*, 3:2004) points out that the empress was the only woman entitled to wear a *tablion* (see also her comments on the methods of wearing this insignia and the evolution of its form).

597 On the pointed (or light red) *tablia* (ὀξέα ταβλία) of notaries of the *asekretis* and *asekretai* see DE. CER. $1{:}575^{12-14}$ [II 15], and also $1{:}641^{14-17}$ [II 41] (on the *tablion* of officials of the imperial chancery, and chlamydes with red *tablia* that were popularly termed 'Tyrea'); meanwhile on the gilded *tablia* of *patrikioi* see DE CER. [VOGT], $1{:}132^{223}$ [I 34], 151^{9-11} [I 39]. See also Piltz 1997, 44 (on gold *tablia* embroidered with lion motifs), 49. On the term ὀξέα see Popović 2007.

The initial presence of the *tablion* in military attire is attested by LYDOS's reference (p. 104^{2} [II 4/13]) to it as an element of uniform of the eparch of the *Praetorium*; while the *Kletorologion* (OIKONOMIDES, p. 95^{14-17} = DE CER., $1{:}710^{19}$–711^{1} [II 52]) mentions a gold *tablion* among the insignia of the *illustris magistroi* (a 9th-C. title still probably associated with army rank) received from the hands of the emperor during promotions in the *Konsistorion* (one of the throne rooms in the Great Palace [see Kalavrezou 1997, 73] where the *Consistorium* council convened), besides a white chiton with gold decorations, and a red leather belt—βαλτίδιν (an item reserved also for the eparch of the *Praetorium* according to LYDOS, p. 104^{16} [II 4/13]).

598 See OIKONOMIDES, p. 95^{7} (= DE. CER., $1{:}710^{13}$ [II 52])...καὶ εἰς τὰ ταβλία τοῦ χλανιδίου νομίσματα κδ΄.

also unassociated with the army by way of their *Lives*.[599] It is also likely that the *tablion* entered the iconography of the warrior saints as a borrowing from their 'civilian' images,[600] which would also explain the sporadic nature of this motif's appearance on military cloaks.

In Early Byzantine iconography the *tablion* is usually depicted as a large diamond shape affixed to the sides of the chlamys (normally visible on the left side). Initially it was attached at knee-height; but from the sixth century it appears at chest height, on the left side of the chlamys (figs. 69, 72).[601] After Iconoclasm its form gradually changes. On twelfth-century images of warrior saints the *tablion* appears as a narrow, elongated rectangle embroidered in gold and encrusted with

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[599] See e.g. the depiction of Auxentios in the north-west chapel of the katholikon of Hosias Loukas monastery, Phokis, and painted *clipei* with busts of martyrs (Aniketas, Vincent, Photius, Arethas, Eustathios, Merkourios, Niketas, Nestor and others) in chlamydes with gold *tablia* on the crypt ceiling; images of Auxentios and Eugenius in the narthex dome of the katholikon of Nea Mone, Chios (and the archangel Michael in a side apse); frescoes with Eugenius and Orestes on the south wall of the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria; and George, Theodore, Demetrios, Mardarios, Auxentios, Probus, Eugenius and Akindius on enamel tondos adorning the Venetian *Pala d'Oro* (Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 56, 69, 77, 86–90; Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, figs. 2, 63–64; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 5 on p. 54; Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, figs. 113–18, 121, 131–34).

[600] This may equally have occurred under the influence of early depictions from the pre-Iconclast era (e.g. mosaics of St Demetrios in a white chlamys with purple *tablion* in the basilica dedicated to him in Thessaloniki [see above, n. 521], and a 6th-C. Sinaian icon showing Mary enthroned with Child surrounded by angels and Sts Theodore and George in chlamydes with *tablia* [Weitzmann 1976, no. B3 = *Age of Spirituality*, no. 478]), and also as a result of repetition of the *tablion* motif present in matyrdom cycles of the military saints that are contemporary with the 10–12th-C. military representations. In these cycles they are usually shown in 'civilian attire' (see e.g. Mark-Weiner 1977, *passim*; Drandakes 1995, fig. 26 on p. 173 and colour fig. 45). The civilian nature of the *tablion* is stressed by Ball 2005, 30. Cf. Babuin (2002, 95–6) who incorrectly states its introduction into the warrior saint iconography was intended to underline their officer status.

[601] See e.g. the depictions on the Madrid *missorium* of Theodosius, and Justinian on mosaics in San Vitale, Ravenna; in the latter Justinian wears a purple chlamys with gold *tablion*, while his courtiers (and officials accompanying Theodore on the opposite wall) have white chlamydes with purple *tablia* (Piltz 1989, 47, figs. 4–5, 25; above, n. 506). Middle Byzantine depictions of emperors in the purple chlamys with gold *tablia* include miniatures with scenes from the life of Basil the Great, the Judgement of Solomon, the Council of Constantinople in 381, and Theodosius conversing with Gregory on fols. 215v 355r and 239r in the Parisian *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos*, *Par. gr. 510* (Brubaker 1999, figs. 17, 25, 27, 36 = Der Nersessian 1962, figs. 8, 12, 16). They can also be found in the royal attire of David standing among the personifications of Wisdom and Prophecy on a miniature in the *Paris Psalter* (*Par. gr. 139*, fol. 7r), and of Job on leaf 461v of the *Bible of Leo VI*, *Vat. reg. gr. 1* (Cutler/Spieser 1996, fig. 114; Brubaker 1999, fig. 155).

precious stones, sewn along the side of the chlamys at chest height or even under the neck (figs. 29, 30a,d, 45a,b, 80, 82a,b).[602] Occasionally, both *tablia* are visible, as with Theodore Teron on a fresco in the church of St Panteleimon in Nerezi, here on a purple cloak (fig. 45b).[603] An unusual semi-oval *tablion* appears on St George's cloak painted on the *templon* of the late twelfth-century church of Our Lady of the Annunciation (*Evangelistria*) in Geraki.[604] The gradual disappearance of the *tablion* from the iconography of the military saints can be explained by its falling out of fashion at the Palaiologan court along with the chlamys and fibula.

Symbolic insignia—diadem and tiara

In Early and Middle Byzantine art, the warrior saints are depicted without helmets, even though these were worn universally in the imperial army.[605] For obvious reasons they also do not wear scarves wrapped around their heads (such as the one depicted on the centurion piercing the side of Christ in a Crucifixion scene) since this element, borrowed from depictions of Jews wearing the prayer shawl known as the *tallit*,

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602 *Tablia* similar in shape to the large Early Byzantine form are still worn by St Merkourios on a fresco in the church of the Virgin (Odalar mosque) in Constantinople; Sts Theodore and Eustathios on the wings of the *Harbaville Triptych*; and St Prokopios in the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria (see above, n. 28; Weitzmann/Goldschmidt 1979, vol. 2, no. 33; Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 54/2). The *tablion* on Theodore Stratelates' cloak on an icon in the New Treasury of St John's monastery on Patmos is rhomboidal in shape (*Glory of Byzantium*, no. 76). Meanwhile, *tablia* of elongated rectangular form are worn by Sts George and Demetrios in Nerezi; St George in the Church of the Hagioi Strategoi in Upper Boularioi on the Mani; St Theodore Stratelates in the Church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria; and Stratelates again in the katholikon of Vrondamos Monastery (Drandakes 1995, fig. 8 on p. 397; Maguire 1996, fig. 11 = Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 21/1; Drandakes 1988, fig. 85).

603 See Maguire 1996, fig. 10. A *tablion* on the more visible right side of the cloak can be discerned on a fresco with St Theodore Teron in the narthex of the katholikon of Hosios Loukas (Chatzidakis 1997, fig. 47).

604 See Moutsopoulos/Demetrokalles 1981, fig. 148.

605 On Spangenhelm helmets (περικεφαλαία, κράνος, κόρυς and the Latin-derived term κάσσις see Mihăescu 1968, 487); on closed helmets (κόρυθες τέλειαι) and also the felt kolpaks used in their place (καμελαύκιον, πῖλος, σκιάδιον) see Kolias 1988, 75–88; Haldon 1999, 134; or Parani (2003, 123–5) who proposes her own typology. For the helmets depicted in the *Madrid Skylitzes* see Hoffmeyer 1966, 71–83, figs. 9–13; and Lowe 1994. For Late Byzantine depictions of warriors in helmets see e.g. Gabelić 2005, 542, figs. 10–11.

pejoratively characterized the owner as an enemy of Christians, and would be inappropriate when worn by a 'soldier of Christ'.[606]

Diadem

The diadem began to appear on the heads of warrior saints from the seventh century, initially in Coptic and Nubian circles (figs. 8, 77–78);[607] it was only from the twelfth century, that it also seen in the art of the

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606 On the iconography of the *tallit* in Byzantine art, as one of the shaming distinguishing marks of the Jews, see Revel-Neher 1992, 72–5, 99, 101, figs. 30–37, 60, 62; and also the depictions of a centurion, figs. 38–39. The author of the work also proposes a theory (p. 75–6) on the pejorative linking of the image of the soldier-murderer of Christ and the Jewish liturgical vestments, which is favourably received by Heath 1979, 26; and Smorąg Różycka 2003, 149–53, figs. 111–18.

On the other hand the white turban tipped with a black circle surrounded by smaller dots which can be seen e.g. on the head of a centurion in a scene of the Crucifixion in Nea Mone on Chios (Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, figs. 38–39) may relate to a certain degree to the cloth head-binding or turban, described by the term φακιόλιον in the PRAECEPTA (p. 14[24] [I 3]), especially in the light of references in PORPH. to a spotted *phakiolion* worn during the triumph of Basil I by his son Constantine (p. 142[755] [C] [= DE CER., 1:500[13]; Appendix]; see also the commentaries to PORPH., p. 279 and DE CER., 2:584–6; Dawson 2002, 81–2, 88; and Kolias [1988, 86–7], who proposes that it was a kerchief placed over the helmet and tied under the chin to secure it). The *phakiolion* itself would seem to have eastern origins—probably Indian or Persian (see MALALAS, p. 384[6] [XVIII 56], who describes it as the headgear of the king of India; DIG. AKR. (p. 58[260] [III]) mentions the *phakiolion* of Digenes' father, an emir, noting however that it was part of his 'Roman attire'; SUDA, 3:115[9–11] [1588]: Κίδαρις· περίθεμα κεφαλῆς ἢ ἐκ τῆς τριχὸς ὕφασμα, ἤτοι εἶδος καμηλαυκίου, ὃ καὶ τιάρα νοεῖται· τινὲς δὲ κίδαριν λέγουσι περικράνιον πιλίον ἢ στέφανον ἢ φακιόλιον ἢ πῖλον βασιλικὸν Περσῶν·, 4:693[3–4] [27]: Θάκελλος· τὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς φόρεμα. **ὃ καὶ φακιόλιον λέγεται.** λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ δεσμὸς τῶν καλάμων.; see also Kolias (1988, 86) on the turban on the helmet of Darius of Persia); one can therefore surmise that both types of headgear—the first appearing in the iconography of the centurion, the other in court attire—were adopted in Byzantium independently, and brought different messages with them· A *phakiolion* that forms part of court ceremonial attire can be seen on the turbaned head of a donor depicted in the *Adrianople Bible* in the Library of San Lazzaro monastery, Venice, no. *887/116*, fol. 8r (*Glory of Byzantium*, no. 239; Nersessian 2001, no. 110). On the *phakiolion* in general as the headgear of officials and the military see K. Czerwenka-Papadopoulos & T. Kolias, "Phakeolion" in *BKR*, 194–5.

607 A wreath made from a single string of pearls appears on the head of an equestrian St Merkourios on an 8th-C. Coptic icon from the monastery on Mt Sinai, while in the upper corner the *Manus Dei* emerges holding a red wreath (Weitzmann 1976, no. 49B); next it appears on the head of St Theodore Stratelates on horseback, on a drawing on fol. 210v of a late-10th-C. *Pentateuch*, *Vat. copt.* 66 (Grüneisen 1922, 101, fig. 46 = Górecki 1980, fig. 36, whose sketch is, however, inaccurate and omits the diadem).

The depictions of military saints in a wide diadem tipped with a cross in Nubian art include a mural showing St Epimachos on horseback from the 10th-C. church in Abdallah Nirqi; the monastery on Kom H near Old Dongola; and also later (13th–14th C.) murals depicting a group of saints on horseback in the church in Abd el-Qadir,

Empire. Occasionally, it takes on the form of a simple band adorned with pearls, as with the diadems worn by St George on mosaics in the cathedral of Cefalù; on a fresco adorning the *templon* of the church of Evangelistria in Geraki (here with a larger cabochon on the forehead); on a thirteenth-century icon in the British Museum (fig. 56); and in the church dedicated to him in Kurbinovo (fig. 31). The votive crown of Leo VI from the treasury of San Marco in Venice has a similar form (fig. 76).[608] More often, however, the diadem has a small semi-oval plate above the saint's forehead inset with a cabochon, as on the frescoes in the katholikon of the monastery of the Virgin-Kosmosoteira in Bera in Thrace (Merkourios, Prokopios, Theodore Stratelates), in Asinou on Cyprus (George, fig. 32), in the Oxford *Homilies of John Chrysostomos* (*Magdalen College gr.* 3, Demetrios on fol. 166r); and the palace chapel in Palermo (Demetrios).[609] In the thirteenth century this plate is replaced by a bow linking the band from the top, front and back (fig. 63), and is related in form to the closed imperial crown.[610]

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including George in a diadem topped with no less than three crosses (Jakobielski 1999, fig. 1, Steinborn 1982, 327–34, figs. 17, 19, 21–22).

[608] See Borsook 1990, fig. 9; Moutsopoulos/Demetrokalles 1981, fig. 148; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 261 (= *Byzantium*, no. 191); Walter 1978, fig. 13 (= Cutler/Spieser 1996, fig. 144). See also the diadem of St Theodore Stratelates on a fresco in Hagioi Theodoroi near Kaphiona on the Mani (Drandakes 1995, fig. 21 on p. 94).

The symbolic meaning of the pearls and precious stones set in the imperial diadem on an image of Leo VI sculpted on his ivory sceptre-head in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin is discussed by Arnulf (1990, 82–4) in the light of the emperor's own writings, the elegy on his death in the Madrid *Skylitzes* manuscript, and references in Psalm 20(21):4.

[609] See Sinos 1985, figs. 121, 123–124 (see also frescoes depicting Theodore Teron, who wears a diadem without such a plate, fig. 122); Stylianou 1997, fig. 70; Velmans 1974, fig. 22; Borsook 1990, fig. 35. A variant diadem with a hemispherical plate can also be found on Sinaian icons depicting St Prokopios (full figure; fig. 80) and George (bust only), and also on a fresco of St George in the Cypriot church in Asinou (*Sinai*, figs. 47, 57; Stylianou 1997, fig. 70). The strictly Byzantine origins of this motif may indicate the lack of early depictions of this type in Georgian and Armenian art, whereas the earliest Russian image of St George in a diadem can be regarded as a fresco of *c.*1180 in Staraya Ladoga (see e.g. Lazarev 1970, fig. on p. 85).

[610] Sergios and Bakchos are painted in closed diadems on an icon from St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai, as is St George, twice, on horseback and standing in a donor scene, in the 13th/14th C. rock-cut church dedicated to him (Kirk dam alti Kilise) in the Ihlara valley (*Sinai*, fig. 66; Thierry 1963, 207, text illustration 49 and fig. 94). The form of diadem with a vertically standing bow is a reference to the imperial crown; see e.g. the crown of Michael VII Doukas gifted to Geza I of Hungary (the so called Crown of St Stephen; currently in the National Museum in Budapest), although crossed bows (*Corona Latina*) were added to the Byzantine diadem (*Corona Graeca*) in Hungary to reshape it into a form appropriate for an independent monarch (Cut-

The introduction of the diadem into the iconography of the military saints remains closely linked with the symbolism of the wreath-crown. It is therefore necessary to survey, if only cursorily, the relationship between these varieties of insignia and the changes taking place in the customs relating to them. In ancient Rome during the Tetrarchy a metal band set with precious stones called a diadem (διάδημα) was adopted on the model of Eastern (Assyrian and Persian) Hellenistic monarchies as an imperial *regalium*.[611] Meanwhile, the Latin term *corona* (Gr. στέφανος) designated a wreath awarded, according to Greek custom, to victors in sports competitions as well as to military men in recognition for their services and gallantry on campaign (*donum militare*).[612] Apparently, the word στέμμα was initially used

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ler/Spieser 1996, fig. 267 = *Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 187). On the Hungarian crown see also A. Kazhdan, "Surviving Examples of Byz. Crowns" in *ODB*, 1:554–5.

[611] In general on the diadem as imperial regalia in Rome see e.g. Alföldi 1935, 149, fig. 10/9; K. Wessel, "Insignien" in *RbK*, 3:373–82; G. Mau, "Diadema" in *PR*, 5:303–5 (on origins, see esp. col. 305). On the diadem adopted from eastern rulers by Alexander of Macedon as an expression of his sovreignty over this part of the world, see Delbrueck 1932, 8, fig. 6 (relief of a crowned ruler, from Nimrud), and *passim* (on Roman customs connected with the diadem); Ritter 1965, 125–7 (with discussion of sources); B. Scholz, "Diadem" in *BKR*, 64–5 (derives the insignia from the kings of Assyria); F. Brein, "Diadema" in *BKR*, 65; B. Scholz, "Kronen" in *BKR*, 149. The diadem survived in Persia as regalia until the Byzantine period, see e.g. SIMOCATTA, p. 145^{8-11}, [III 17/1], 148^{5-7} [III 18/8], 163^{18-19} [IV 7/9], 165^{7-9} [IV 8/7–8], 172^{8-9} [IV 12/6]; PROCOPIUS (2:535^{9-11} [VIII 11/6]) also writes about two Persian notables wearing golden diadems.

Alföldi 1935, 40; M. McCormick ("Crown" in *ODB*, 1:554; on the basis of coin portraits) considers that the diadem was only introduced as an element of regalia by Constantine the Great. (On Constantine's wreath preserved in the Hagia Sophia see ANTONY, col. 20 [73]). Contradicting this are early representations in art (such as diadems worn by rulers of the Tetrarchy, e.g. the porphyry head of Galerius in the Museum in Zaječar), and also a reference by MALALAS (p. 231^{38-9} [XII 30]: ἐφόρει δὲ διάδημα ἔχον ἀστέρα) on the ornate diadem worn by Aurelian (270–75); see also A. Haebler, "Corona" in *PR*, 4:1636–43. The custom of crowning rulers goes back to the start of the Roman empire—see LYDOS (p. 84^{1} [II 2]) on the coronation of Julius Caesar with a *stephanion* by one of his army commanders (in reality Mark Anthony attempted to crown Caesar at the Lupercalia festival in 44 BC, but Caesar declined the honour); see also Walter (1975a, 456) who notices that the replacement of the wreath by the diadem (which took over the symbolic meanings of the former) was made at the same time as the transfer of the seat of imperial power to the East. Walter notices also (1978, 187) that the motif of the diadem, which was as yet unknown in Hellenistic iconography, was linked in the time of Constantine with the crown/wreath. The wreath (*stephanos*) was still being worn as part of the imperial regalia in the 6th century (see e.g. CHPASCH, 1:613^{19-20}).

[612] On military wreaths (*corona triumphalis*, *muralis*, *vallaris* and *navalis*) awarded to Roman Praetorians as military distinctions see Rankov 1994, 24, 26; H. Aigner, "Corona" in *BKR*, 57–8 (with earlier bibliog.).

to designate a garland or wreath, which might also be made of cloth (wool).[613] The division into crown-wreath and diadem also persisted for a certain time in Byzantium, where besides the ruler,[614] the *kandidatoi* enjoyed the privilege of wearing the latter in the fifth century, as also did the soldiers of the Anatolian corps of *Opsikion* in the eighth century.[615] Although it is hard to point to a specific date, but comparatively late, an exchange in meaning of the terms *diadema*, *stemma* and *stephanos* took place, probably under the influence of the triumphal wreath's increasing resemblance to the diadem (as a result of the pearls and precious stones woven into it), and the adoption of the original function of crowning together with the symbolism of the *corona* by a gold band set with gems. No later than the tenth century the term *stephanos* began to be applied in relation to the imperial crown,[616] although Anna Komnene still distinguished the closed

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613 Walter (1978, 185–6 and n. 12, figs. 1a–c) proposes interpreting *diadema*, *stephanos* and *stemma* as diadem and wreath. Meanwhile, Deér (1950, 79 and n. 131) is against distinguishing the three expressions. See also Ammianus Marcellinus's comparison of the diadem set with gleaming gems that Julian the Apostate donned on the fifth anniversary of serving as caesar with the cheap wreath he had worn earlier: *et ambitioso diademate utebatur, lapidum fulgore distincto, cum inter exordia principatus adsumpti uili corona circumdatus erat* (Ammian., 3:45 [XXI 1/4]).

614 See e.g. Procopius (1:315[18–21] [III 2/28]) who states that when riding out of Rome in 406 Alaric crowned the *patricius* Attalus with a diadem, conferring on him the dignity of emperor. Suda, 2:54[28] [536]: Διάδημα· τὸ βασιλικὸν ἔνδυμα, τάχα δὲ καὶ ἔνδεμα, τὸ στέμμα, p. 166[18] [1850]: Ἀναδέσμην· ὅμοιόν τι διαδήματι· ἢ μίτραν κεφαλῆς. The diadem of Nikephoros Botaneiates is mentioned by the continuator of George the Monk in the *Chronicon breve* (MPG, 110:1248). On the coronation with diadem of the usurper Bryennios by the army during the rebellion of 1077 see Attaleiates, p. 293[1] (= Komnene, 1:17[3] [I 4/1]). Walter indicates (1978, 188) that the change of the context of coronations from military to liturgical was made under the influence of the Old Testament topos of a king-messiah, an expression of which was Psalm 20(21) which was sung at coronations—see esp. Ps. 20(21): 3.

615 See the information derived from the treatise of Peter Patrikios in De Cer., 1:411[15] [I 91] (on *kandidatoi*); Longhis (1991, 54 and n. 2) cites a description of soldiers of Opsikion written down by Pope Gregory II (715–31): τό διάδημα τῆς κεφαλῆς; see also further on the high quality in the 8th C. of troops originating from the Opsikion *theme* on the opposite bank of the Bosphorus from Constantinople.

616 According to Achmet (p. 202[10–29] [246]) a dream with closed *stemma* set with pearls and precious stones foretells of rule, whereas the cutting-off of hanging pendants (περπενδούλια, ὁρμαθοί) predicts a short life for the emperor. On the other hand, Komnene (3:137[22–5] [XIII 12/27]), when speaking of Christ's crown of thorns, continues to use the term *stephanion*. The change in terminology in reference to the imperial crown (*stemma*) is also noted by Ps. Kodinos (see above, n. 590), who in another place uses the term στεφηφορία to described an emperor's coronation (p. 2521 [VII]). On the *prependoulia* on the imperial crown see Parani 2003, 28–30 (with discussion of source literature).

imperial diadem from the less ornate wreaths/*stephanoi* reserved for *sebastokrators* and caesars.[617]

- *symbolism of the diadem*—Corona martyrii

The ancient custom of awarding the victorious charioteer with a wreath (*stephanos*) was still cultivated in early Byzantium, as is attested in written references as well as numerous depictions of the emperor or Victory crowning the winner.[618] Meanwhile, the ceremony of presenting a stemma made from laurel leaves (or a golden imitation) to emperors returning from victorious expeditions survived until the eleventh century.[619]

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617 KOMNENE, 1:113[21]–114[3] [III 4/1]: Τὸ μὲν γὰρ βασιλικὸν διάδημα καθάπερ ἡμισφαίριον εὔγυρον τὴν κεφαλὴν διαδεῖ πανταχόθεν μαργάροις καὶ λίθοις κοσμούμενον, τοῖς μὲν ἐγκειμένοις, τοῖς δὲ καὶ ἐξηρτημένοις· ἑκατέρωθεν γὰρ τῶν κροτάφων ὁρμαθοί τινες ἀπαιωροῦνται διὰ μαργάρων καὶ λίθων καὶ τὰς παρειὰς ἐπιξέουσι, καί ἐστι τοῦτο ἐξῃρημένον τι χρῆμα τοῖς βασιλεῦσι στολῆς. Οἱ δὲ τῶν σεβαστοκρατόρων καὶ τῶν καισάρων στέφανοι σποράδην ἔστιν ὅπου τῶν μαργάρων καὶ λίθων μετέχοντες ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισφαιρώματος. Paradoxically, Theodore Prodromos in his poem on the coronation of Alexios, son of John II, in 1122 (PRODROMOS 177[13]–178[29] [I] = MPG, 133:1340) writes of a jewelled *stephanos*, which may be evidence of the lack of an established terminology in the 12th C. See also the two descriptions of Basil I being crowned with a diadem by Michael III in 866 by THEOPH. CONT. (p. 207[13–15]) and SKYLITZES (p. 113[31, 37][23]), whereas for acclamations in honour of a co-emperor the *stephanos* is still mentioned; and also the reference by KEDRENOS (2:315[22–4]), who for the imperial crown uses the term *diadema*, while he describes the wreath held above the head of newly-weds as a *stephanion*. Meanwhile Ps. KODINOS (pp. 274[14–17], 275[13–14] [VIII] and n. 1) mentions the *stemma* as the insignia of a *despotes*, presented to him by the emperor while wearing a gem-adorned *stephanos* (which he also calls a στεμματογύρος); whereas the *sebastokrator* already received a *stephanos* (p. 276[11–15] [IX]).

618 See Cameron 1973, 44, 275–6 (poem by Sydonius Apollinaris eulogizing such a ceremony during races in Ravenna in the mid-5th C. and references in the *Commentary to the Letter to the Philippians* penned by John Chrysostom, who writes that the crowning with wreaths was no longer taking place in the Hippodrome, but 'above it' [Walter 1978, 187 believes he had in mind the emperor's box or *kathisma*]), figs. 1–5 (pedestal with image of Porphyrius crowned by Tyche Nikomedia), 19 (emperor standing on a *kathisma* presenting a wreath on the base of the obelisk of Theodosius in Constantinople [= Grabar 1936, fig. 9; Sodini 1994, fig. 19]), 24–25 (charioteers with wreaths on floor mosaics), 31/2, 5, 7–8, 11–12 (medallions with scenes showing the presentation of wreaths). See also *Age of Spirituality*, no. 70 (textile with two figures of Victory carrying wreaths).

619 See e.g. PORPH., (p. 138[696–8] [C]), who instructs senators to go out to greet the emperor with wreaths made from laurel leaves and from gold, for which the emperor would later reimburse them to cover their costs (καὶ προσφέρουσιν αὐτῷ **στεφάνους, ἕνα μὲν χρυσοῦν, ἄλλους δὲ ἀπὸ δαφνῶν**· ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀντιδίδωσιν αὐτοῖς νομίσματα ὑπὲρ τοῦ χρυσοῦ στεφάνου, ὥστε μὴ ζημίαν αὐτοὺς ὑπομεῖναι). PSELLOS (1:36[18–22] [III 7]) states that Romanos III Argyros, expecting to obtain victory in his expedition to Azas, ordered the preparation in advance of a crown for his use during

On the other hand, with Constantine the Great's recognition of Christianity as the state religion, the presentation of wreaths was Christianized. On a medallion preserved in Vienna showing Constantius II and his sons (337–361) the pagan figure of Victory (which is still present on the Silver missorium found in Kerch with his equestrian image) has already been replaced by the *Manus Dei*, holding a laurel wreath above the ruler's head. The *Manus Dei* with wreath also appears on the so-called *Capsella africana* in the Vatican Museum above the head of Christ–Emanuel holding a second wreath, reflecting the words of Cyprian of Africa: '*Dominus...ipse in certamine agonis nostri et coronat pariter et coronatur*'.[620] On mosaics in the northern apse of the Euphrasian Basilica in Poreč (*c.*550) and in the church of San Vitale in Ravenna, Christ places wreaths on the heads of Kosmas, Damianos and Vitalis,[621] although in the second example the *corona* is

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the triumph ('Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν τὰ πρῶτα τοῦ στρατοῦ λαχόντων ἀποτρεπομένων αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐπέλευσιν καὶ πολλὰ περὶ τούτων καταδειμαινόντων, ὁ δὲ καὶ τοὺς στεφάνους οἷς τὴν κεφαλὴν ταινιώσαιτο ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν τροπαίων ἀναρρήσει πολυτελῶς κατεσκεύαζεν). See also McCormick 1986, 179, 210, n. 100 (on the gold wreath bestowed on Theodosius after his return from Herakleia on 30 Sep. 416; see also ChPasch., 1:574[1–5]), 212. Meanwhile, Leo the Deacon (p. 158[8–10] [IX 12]), in a description of the aforementioned triumph, writes already about diadems placed on the head besides *stephanoi*.

620 Cyprian, p. 494 [Letter X: *To the Martyrs and Confessors*, 4]. See Bank 1966, no. 1 (silver dish currently in the Hermitage) = Walter 1978, fig. 3; Alföldi (1935, 55, fig. 6), who interprets the depiction on the medallion as an expression of acceptance of secular authority by the Church; Walter (1978, 188, figs. 7a–b) however attributes the Vienna medallion to Constantine the Great (the attribution of figures on this work continues to be debated by scholars). For examples of the subject of the emperor crowned with a wreath by Victory see Walter 1978, 190 (sculpture from Stobi), fig. 2 (*Boscoreale Cup* with image of Tiberius, in the Louvre), 4a (cameo with apotheosis of Germanicus in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris—a similar cameo depicting Caracalla is in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Nancy); Volbach 1976, no. 86a (fragment of an Egyptian ivory panel with image of emperor on horseback, crowned by Victory); *Byzance*, no. 20 (*Barberini Panel*, on which the hand of Victory, with a wreath crowning the diadem-clad emperor, has been broken off). On Justin I's imperial wreath see also Malalas, p. 340[68–9] [XVII 9] (φορέσας στεφάνιον Ῥωμαϊκὸν βασιλικὸν).

621 See e.g. Walter 1978, figs. 5, 6b. Examples of the similar theme of angels presenting wreath-diadems to Christ (symbolising both his victory over death and sin, as well as his martyrdom) in an Ascension scene can be found in early Syro-Armenian illuminations in the *Rabbula Evangeliary* of AD 586, in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence, *Plut. I. 56.*, fol. 13v; and in the *Evangeliary of Queen Mlk'ē*, of AD 851, in San Lazzaro monastery, Venice, no. *1144/86*, fol. 4v (see e.g. Nersessian 2001, nos. 108–109). Coronations performed by Christ, the angels or saints are regarded as a popular iconographic motif by Walter (1975a, 456); meanwhile Ovcharov (2003, 30–3) derives from this motif the custom of depicting warriors in such scenes, indicating the antique prototypes showing Zeus and Athena performing coronations.

depicted not as a wreath of plaited laurel branches, but as a gold band encrusted with precious stones.

Christopher Walter points to the numerous passages in the New Testament that use the 'wreath of glory' (στέφανος τῆς δόξης) or the 'wreath of life' (στέφανος τῆς ζωῆς) as a metaphor for the eternal prize awaiting those who suffer in the name of Christ. The martyr will receive a wreath just like an athlete, since he observes certain specified principles during the struggle with evil.[622] Also of considerable importance in the adoption of the crown as the attribute of martyrs was the name of the *protomartyr* and first deacon of Jerusalem, Stephanos (Gr. Στέφανος),[623] which had associations with the wreath. A relic of his right hand was brought to Constantinople in about 421 by Theodosius II (408–450) and his sister Pulcheria Augusta, and was laid up in a palace chapel dedicated to him in Daphni,[624] which neighboured the *Augustaion*—known also as the *Stephana*—which served as a coronation hall.[625] The location of both buildings and also the custom of holding weddings of imperial couples—during which crowns were also employed, in accordance with ancient custom—clearly indicate the Byzantines' association of St Stephen with crowns and coronations.[626]

Of special significance for the iconography of the military saints is a reference in the *Passio Altera* of St Demetrios, written down in the

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[622] See Walter 1978, 187; and 2003a, 14, 25, 30–1, n. 11 with further bibliog.); 1 Cor. 9:25; 1 Tim. 1:18; 2 Tim. 2:5; Heb. 10:32; 1 Pet. 5:4; Apoc. 2:10. See also Tertulian, "De corona" in MPL, 2:76–102, where the author describes the story of a Roman soldier who refuses to wear a laurel wreath as a sign of the *donativum* awarded by the sons of Septimius Severus after the death of their father in 211; his decision is motivated by the choice of the martyrs crown and a more splendid *donativum* from Christ in preference to a pagan wreath indicating idolatry.

[623] According to *Acts of the Apostles* (6:5–9; 7:54–60) Stephen was the first martyr stoned by the Jews.

[624] THEOPHANES, 1:86[26]–87[5]. On the translation of the relic of Stephen's hand to Constantinople and the depiction of this event on a 6th-C. ivory panel in the cathedral treasury in Trier, see Kalavrezou 1997, 57–9, fig. 2. The church in Daphni would seem to be the oldest in the capital dedicated to Stephen; see also ANTONY (col. 45 [150 and n. 217]), who mentions another church, probably the same as the one erected by Anastasius I and Ariadne at the baths of Constantine or Theodosius.

[625] See LIUDPRAND, p. 2 [3]: *in domo quae dicitur* Στεφάνα, *id est Coronaria*; and also the commentary on p. 61; Kalavrezou 1997, 59–60, who notes that the hall was also called Στέψιμον (lit. 'coronation').

[626] Kalavrezou (1997, 60–1) also indicates that the location of both buildings was coincidental. The presence of the diadem on the head of St Demetrios enthroned on a relief walled into the basilica of San Marco in Venice, and on a 12th-C. Russian icon (currently in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow) is interpreted by Belting (1994, 196, figs. 115–116) as stylization of the image of the saint as ruler, which seems to be going too far.

ninth century, which speaks of the imprisoned saint killing a scorpion by making the sign of the cross. An angel then appeared to the future martyr, and placed a crown on his head, saying: 'Peace be with you, o athlete of Christ'.[627] The direct inspiration for the author of the *Passio* was undoubtedly the aforementioned biblical quotations. One can also assume that this passage had an influence on the development of the cult of the relic of St Demetrios's *stemma*. Stored in the *Chrysotriklinos* in the tenth century, alongside the other crowns, was this saint's cross-topped *stemma*.[628]

In the iconography of the warrior saints the diadem should therefore be understood as a symbolic element, unrelated to actual officers' attire, but constituting a trophaeum of the martyr, a reminder of his reward—eternal life. Such an interpretation of warrior saints' crowns is confirmed in scenes of them being crowned by angels or by Christ himself. One of the earliest redactions of this subject is a Coptic miniature from the turn of the ninth and tenth centuries with St Theodore *Orientalis* ('the Anatolian') on horseback in a *Synaxarion* (fig. 77) from St Michael's Monastery in Hamula near Fayyum, currently in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (*M 613*).[629] The compositions seems, however, to be quite untypical, since emerging from sections of heaven at the two upper edges of the leaf are two hands of God with diadems in the form of gold (yellow) bands. It would seem that in the Constantinopolitan artistic milieu this subject appeared slightly later, and one of the earliest examples of the crowning of a warrior saint would appear to be on an eleventh/twelfth century sardonyx cameo in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, where Christ, in half-figure, crowns

[627] See Walter 1978, 190; MPG, 116:1177 [BHG 497]. Cf. also the argument of Key Fowden (1999, 18), who believes that the military neck-ring of St Gordius was replaced by a martyr's crown. St Theodore Teron is already called 'Athlete of Christ' by Gregory of Nyssa, who also speaks of the rewards handed out by Christ to wrestlers (in the spiritual sense) in proportion to their services (Cavarnos, 10/1:62$^{8-10}$, 63^{8} = MPG, 46:737); in turn, Sts Sergios and Bakchos are termed in their *Passio antiquior* "noble soldiers and athletes of Christ" who were to receive the "trophies of triumph and crowns of perfect faith" (Walter 2003a, 147).

[628] See De Cer., 1:581$^{21-22}$, 586^{23}–587^{2} [II 15]: ἀριστερᾷ δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου μεγαλομάρτυρος Δημητρίου βένετον στέμμα μετὰ καὶ τῶν σταυρῶν αὐτῶν. On the locations where the imperial crowns were stored (chiefly the Magnaura palace) see Oikonomides, p. 88, n. 28; Kalavrezou 1997, 59, n. 26.

[629] See *L'art Copte*, p. 75, no. 52. The dating of the manuscript which consists of several independent parts is made easier by the colophons mentioning the years 856 and 868, while the identification of the saint is possible thanks to the accompanying Coptic inscription: ⲟ ⲁⲅⲓⲟⲥ ⲁⲡⲁ ⲑⲉⲱⲇⲱⲣⲟⲥ ⲏ ⲁⲛⲁⲧⲱⲗⲟⲥ.

Sts George and Demetrios, who stand below;[630] other early examples include a steatite panel in the Moscow Historical Museum (fig. 40), and two fragmentarily preserved eleventh-century steatite icons with scenes of the crowning of George and Theodore (currently in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington) and Theodore (in the Cherson Museum in Sevastopol).[631] Of interest in the last three examples is the closed form of the diadem, indicating the ever-stronger tendency of artists to make it resemble the closed imperial *stemma*. In the art of the Empire the crowning of warriors achieved popularity only in the twelfth century and survived into the Late Byzantine era.[632]

Tiara

The way headgear is depicted in the Nubian iconography of the warrior saints differs considerably from how it is shown in the art of the Empire. A tall diadem surmounted with a cross is worn by a warrior saint on a mural uncovered in 1999 in the eleventh-century monastery on Kom H near Old Dongola (fig. 78);[633] meanwhile, a group of saints from the tenth-century cathedral in Faras are depicted in tiaras, each with a tall top

[630] See *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 132. Also dating from the Middle Byzantine period are numerous examples of coronations of emperors peformed by Christ, Mary, the angels and saints, including military ones e.g. Demetrios crowning the despot of Thessaloniki John Komnenos Doukas (1237–44) on coins minted by that ruler, see e.g. *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 138 (crowning Mary), 140, 144, figs. on p. 186, 436; Cutler/Spieser 1996, fig. 263; Walter 1975, 168–9; Walter 1978, 192–8, figs. 10–11a, 12, 14–15; Brubaker 1999, figs. 5, 84; K. Wessel, "Kaiserbild" in *RbK*, 3:722–853 (esp. 747–52).

[631] See Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, nos. 5, 7, 28; and Ovcharov (2003, 30, 47, figs. 4, I_4) who recognizes as one of a group of icons with coronation scenes a fragment of a steatite panel from Veliko Turnovo with Christ blessing Theodore, George and Demetrios (12th C.; currently in the National Gallery in Sofia, Bulgaria).

[632] They include the late 13th-C. Sinai icon of St Prokopios with two angels holding a closed diadem above the saint's head; and a 13th/14th-C. icon with Sts Demetrios and George crowned by Christ, currently in the Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens. An especially interesting example of investiture with a crown and other items, which are presented to Demetrios by angels, is a fresco above the doors of the monastery founded by Prince Marko in Markova Sušica, Macedonia (beginning of the 15th C.). Cf. Walter (1978, figs. 8–9), who lists the Sinai icon with St Prokopios as the earliest.

From the 10th C. the term *diadema* replaces *stephanion* in references to the crowns of martyrs; see e.g. Suda, 3:625[10–11] [Ω 223]; 4:503[26–8] [T 111]: (ἡ δὲ τὸ διάδημα, ὅπερ οὖν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς εἶχε σύμβολον δὴ καὶ μαρτύριον ἀρχῆς), which could have been the result of changes taking place in the iconography.

[633] See Jakobielski 1999, fig. 1.

section that comes to a rounded point surmounting a crown-like band. Attached to the rear of the band is a pair of ribbons.[634]

The tiara motif was popular in Nubian art[635] and was related in form to the Assyrian tiara, which constituted the headwear of the king.[636] Despite its different form, resulting from the artists making use of local traditions, the purpose of introducing the tiara into the Christian iconography would seem to be similar to that of Byzantine diadems, although in the case of the tiara, in view of its shape which differs from the wreath-crown, and the fact that other categories of saints are also depicted in them, the function of regalia seems to play the most important role.

The torque (maniakion)

From the coronation of Julian the Apostate in 361 until the sixth century, the diadem was often (especially during usurpations) substituted by a *torque*. This was a type of neck-ring, usually gilded, made from single curved bronze rod, the ends of which touched at the nape of the neck; often mounted at the front was a decorative *nodus* (occasionally set with a stone or imperial portrait called a *bulla*).[637] The origins of

[634] Tiaras are worn by two standing saints (Górecki 1980, 199–200, figs. 2–3, 6–9); and also Merkourios on horseback (Michałowski 1973, fig. 42; Steinborn 1982, 314–15, fig. 9); see also numerous other Nubian depictions of warrior saints on horseback in fantastical enlarged diadems (Steinborn 1982, *passim*).

[635] Examples of depictions of Mary, the Apostles, Archangels and Magi on their way to Bethlehem in tiaras are cited by Górecki 1980, 199, n. 78; Steinborn 1982, fig. 10; Godlewski 2000, figs. 1, 7.

[636] See Roztovtzeff 1935, fig. 38 (relief depicting the god Aphlad from Dura-Europos); Teixidor 1979, fig. 23; D. Scholz, "Assyrische Königstiara" in *BKR*, 17–18 (esp. the sketch on p. 18 showing a tiara from the 9th C. BC). On a tiara captured by the emperor Maurice in the Persian camp see SIMOCATTA, p. 120^{16-18} [III 6/4].

[637] The use of a *torque* instead of a diadem is mentioned for the first time by AMMIAN. (3:12–13 [20.4.17–18]) when describing the crowning of Julian the Apostate as Augustus by a Gallic army which had rebelled against Constantius in Lutetia (Roman Paris), a torque being used since no diadem could be found in the camp; see also Walter 1975, 158, 162–3 (who also refers to the more detailed account of Zosimos). Peter Patrikios in DE CER. ($1{:}411^{5-7}$ [I 91]) speaks of a military neck-ring put on by the *campiductor* during the coronations of Leo I in 457, Anastasius in 491 (p. 423^{7-9} [I 92]), and Justin I in 518 (p. 429^{3-4} [I 93]); see also Whitby 1987, 465, 467; K. Wessel, "Insignien" in *RbK*, 3:417–20, who also states that the coronations of Avitus in Gaul in 455 and Justin II in 565 took place in a similar manner (according to Corippus, *In laudem Iustini II*); E. Schuppe, "Torques und Torquis", *PR*, II/12:1804. In turn MALALAS (pp. 397^{74}–398^{77} [XVIII 71]) and PROCOPIUS ($1{:}128^{7-10}$ [I 24/24–25]) describe the coronation of Hypatios as emperor of the Romans at the forum of Constantine conducted by the capital's inhabitants during the Nika Revolt in 532, during

this specific type of neck-ring have not been fully elucidated, but it can be said with certainty that it was already employed as a military insignia in the Roman period.[638] In fourth- and fifth-century sources the torque also appears as a male personal adornment that scandalized

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which, again for want of a diadem, a neck-ring was used (cf. the account in ChPasch 1:624[17] speaking only of imperial purple and a diadem). This custom, which began as a result of special circumstances, was employed in succeeding centuries to underline the army's role in the choice of a new emperor, see Lydos, p. 86[1-4] [II 3]: ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς εἰς βασιλείαν προαγομένοις οὐ πρότερον τὰ ταύτης ἐπιτίθεται σύμβολα πρὶν στρεπτὸν τῷ τραχήλῳ περιθέντες αὐτῷ οἱ ἐν τέλει τῆς στρατιᾶς ἄξιον εἶναι τῆς βασιλείας ἀποφήνωσιν. The *bulla* as a container attached to the neck-ring for an amulet or other magical item was adopted by the ancient Romans and Etruscans, where it appeared in the 7th C. BC. In time it began to be used together with the toga as a *trophaeum*, while an ornate Christogram was also worn by early Christians (E. Pochmarski, "Bulla" in *BKR*, 39–40; with further bibliog.).

[638] Walter (2001, 180–1, figs. 1–3) derives the torque from Sasanian or Gallic tradition, and dates its appearance to the 5th C. BC; Speidel states (1996, 235–6) that starting from the 1st C. AD the gold torque (Lat. *torques*) and bracelets (*bracchalia*) replaced the traditional Roman military distinctions (legionary wreaths, rings, *fibulae*, *phalerae*, belts and cash rewards) in mercenary formations, and from the 3rd C. torques also entered popular use in the legions (see Speidel's examples on p. 239–41, figs. 2–4 of surviving torques dating to 254–74 from Intercisa, Carnuntum in Pannonia and Hassleben in Thuringia); Walter (2003a, 153) notes that such distinctions awarded to barbarian warriors for special bravery in battle were also known by the Persians and Gauls. S.D. Campbell & N.P. Ševčenko ("Torques" in *ODB*, 3:2098) believe the torque may have originated in Scandinavia where it served as protection for the neck. Piltz (1989, 66) links its origins with the Germanic tribal aristocracy and notes its continued use in the Merovingian monarchy. Meanwhile, in the view of H. Aigner ("Torques" in *BKR*, 269) and E. Schuppe ("Torques und Torquis" in *PR*, II/12:1800–5; esp. 1804, and Isidore of Seville's definition on col. 1800) it was adopted from the Medes and Persians by the Greeks (says Herodotus), and from the Gauls by the Romans (who employed it as an officer's distinction). The last of these theories would seem to be the most likely, since a torque appears on a statue from Vechères depicting a Celtic mercenary (e.g. Robinson 1995, fig. 461 = Gamber 1978, fig. 361; Żygulski 1998, fig. 173), which suggests that this type of insignia spread into the Late Roman army via the Gallic formations in Imperial service. The Byzantines also viewed torques as the insignia of authority of oriental rulers of India (along with the *phakiolion* see Malalas, p. 384[7] [XVIII 56]) and Persia, where quotations from the Koran were hung on them (DAI, 1:108[79-81] [25]; Walter 2001, 183, n. 25).

Vegetius (pp. 76–8 [II 7]) lists next to each other the so-called *torquati duplares* (double) and *singulares* (single), rewarded with gold neck-rings and double *annona*, and also the *kandidatoi*—both single and double. (*Torquati duplares, torquati simplares; torques aureus solidus virtutis praemium fuit, quem qui meruisset praeter laudem interdum duplas consequebatur annonas. Duplares, sesquiplicares: duplares duas, sesquiplicares unam semis consequebantur annonam. Candidati duplares, candidati simplares.*) In Whitby's opinion (1986, 463, n. 9) Vegetius's use of the past tense is evidence that in his day the torque was no longer a trophy received for services in battle but an insignia.

certain members of the clergy.[639] Known in Byzantium under the name of μανιάκιον, it was a sign of office received from the hands of the emperor. The *maniakion* was worn primarily by men who from the fourth century served as the emperor's personal guard on expeditions, in particular: *kandidatoi* (gold neck-rings, set with three knobs on the chest),[640] 'beardless' *protospatharioi* (i.e. eunuchs; gold, set with pearls and precious stones), and 'bearded' ones,[641] imperial *katepanoi* and *kometes* (differing in the level of decoration of the precious stones and large pearls set in them).[642] In combination with shield and sword, it was also a distinguishing feature of the *spatharokandidatoi* (gold, set with a stone with magical powers—λίθος περιλεύκιος), *koubikoularioi* and *spatharokoubikoularioi*.[643]

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[639] Complaints against the youth and army adorning themselves with neck-rings are discussed by Walter 2001, 181 (opinions of Eusebios of Caesarea, Ambrose of Milan, and a letter addressed by the bishops taking part in the synod of Aquileia to the emperors Valentinian, Gracian and Theodosius).

[640] De Cer., 1:391$^{12-13}$, 392$^{6-7}$ [I 86], 708$^{19-20}$ [II 52] (= Oikonomides, p. 91$^{7-10}$ and n. 33 on p. 90 where Oikonomides theorizes on the *maniakion*'s meaning as an insignia): Πέμπτη ἡ τῶν κανδιδάτων ἀξία, ἧς βραβεῖον, **μανιάκιον χρυσσῦν τρίκομβον** μέχρι στέρνων κεχαλασμένον, διὰ χειρὸς βασιλικῆς ἐπιδίδοται. See also Walter 2003a, 153–4.

[641] On the *maniakia* of the eunuch *protospatharioi* see De Cer., 1:574$^{12-13}$: πρωτοσπαθάριοι ἐφόρεσαν τὰ ἑαυτῶν στιχάρια καὶ μανιάκια, 575$^{8-9}$ [II 15]: πρωτοσπαθάριοι ἐφόρεσαν τὰ χρυσᾶ σπέκια καὶ χρυσᾶ μανιάκια·, 640^{10} [II 41], 722$^{3-5}$ [I 52] (= Oikonomides, p. 127$^{18-22}$): Ἕκτη ἡ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς προτοσπαθαρίων ἀξία, ἧς βραβεῖον, χρυσοῦν **μανιάκιον ἐκ λίθων τιμίων καὶ μαργαριτῶν**, ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐχένος διὰ χειρὸς βασιλέως ἐπισυγκλείεται· χιτὼν δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς λευκὸς χρυσοκόλλητος διβιτησοειδὴς καὶ διπλόης κόκκινος σὺν ταβλίοις χρυσϋφάντοις. Meanwhile on the *maniakia* of the 'bearded' *protospatharioi* De Cer. [Vogt] (2:110$^{10-11}$ [I 76]) writes: πρωτοσπαθάριοι βαρβάτοι ἠλλαγμένοι τά τε σπέκια αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ μανιάκια.; see also Whitby 1987, 468. On the lack of beard as a feature of eunuchs see Bjørnholt/James 2007, 53, 55 (although the authors do not distinguish between 'bearded' and eunuch *protospatharioi*).

[642] In view of the lavishness of these *maniakia*, the *katepanoi* and *kometes* could not wear beards as these would obscure their insignia, see De Cer., 1:584$^{4-9}$ [II 15]: καὶ μανιάκια ἠμφιεσμένα ἀπὸ λίθων τιμίων καὶ μαργαριτῶν μεγάλων. οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ τύπος, βαρβάτον περιβάλλεσθαι τοιοῦτον μανιάκιον ἢ μετὰ μαργαριτῶν ἢ καὶ λίθων τιμίων, ἀλλὰ δι' ἔνδειξιν καὶ μόνον τότε ὡρίσθησαν παρὰ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ φιλοχρίστου δεσπότου τοῦ ταῦτα περιβάλλεσθαι. On the division into 'bearded' and eunuch *protospatharioi* in the 10th C. see A. Kazhdan & A. Cameron, "Protospatharios" in *ODB*, 3:1748, who state that only *protospatharioi* of 'imperial men' served in a military role.

[643] De. Cer. [Vogt], 1:73$^{10-11}$ [I 10] (ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι φοροῦσι καὶ μανιάκια), 131$^{19-20}$ [I 36] (Οἱ δὲ σπαθαροκανδιδάτοι τὰ μανιάκια αὐτῶν καὶ σκουτάρια καὶ διστράλια μονοπέλυκα), 2:83^{8} [I 69], 96$^{10-11}$ (Καὶ δηριγευόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν πάντων ἅμα σπαθαροκανδιδάτων φορούντων μανιάκια καὶ σπαθία), 99$^{19-21}$, 110$^{8, 11}$ 110$^{18-23}$ [I 73] (Καπροειρημένων βαρβάτων πρωτοσπαθαρίων,

Representations of bodyguards accompanying the emperor, each distinguished by his *maniakion* with *nodus* on the chest (probably containing the magical stone of the *spatharokandidatoi*)[644] already appear in Early Byzantine art. They are worn by a spear-and-shield-armed warrior following after Constantine II on the *missorium* found in Kerch; guardsmen standing at either side of the throne of Theodosius on his Madrid *missorium* (fig. 69); officials flanking the throne in scenes of the Christ before Pilate (fol. 8r–v) in the *Rossano Evangeliary*; courtiers accompanying pharaoh at the moment that Joseph explains to him the dream of the seven fat cows and seven scrawny cows (Gen. 41:17–29) in the fifth/sixth-century *Vienna Genesis* (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, *Cod. theol. gr. 1*, leaf 18v); as well as by guardsmen accompanying Justinian on the mosaic in San Vitale, Ravenna (fig. 72).[645] In the tenth century, *protospatharioi* with wide

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σπαθαροκουβικουλαρίων τε καὶ κουβικουλαρίων βαστάζοντες τὰ σκουτάρια αὐτῶν, φοροῦντες καὶ τὰ μανιάκια καὶ τὰ σπαθία αὐτῶν); De Cer., 1:574[11] [II 15], 709[11–13] [II 52] (= Oikonomides, p. 93[3–5] and n. 37 on p. 92; where he interprets the term λίθος περιλεύκιος as 'a stone with magical properties'): 'Ενάτη ἡ τῶν σπαθαροκανδιδάτων ἀξία, ἧς βραβεῖον, **μανιάκιον χρυσοῦν** κεχαλασμένον **κεκοσμημένον ἐκ περιλεύκιος**, ἐκ βασιλικῆς χειρὸς ἐπιδίδοται.); see also Speidel 1996, 242; Walter 2001, 183; Piltz 1989, 27. Additionally, on the *maniakion* of the *spatharioi* and *manglabitai*, and also the *maniakia* of *strategoi* with three knobs mentioned by Ps. Kodinos (p. 199[20]–200[1]) see Piltz 1997, 47, 61. In turn, Walter (2001, 180) notes a change in the meaning of the word **μανιάκιον**, which for later authors begins to signify sleeve, while the ancient term στρεπτός was revived for the neck-ring (Ps. Kodinos, pp. 199[17–20], 206).

644 Cf. the commentary to De Cer., 2:79; and Whitby 1987, 462–7 (summarizing the earlier views of Friedländer, which confirm this theory), who identify the guardsmen on the Ravenna mosaic with the guard described by Paul Silentiarios taking part in the procession to the recently completed church of Hagia Sophia. Both are connected with the formation of *kandidatoi*. However, the large red and green tunics, and the large oval *thyreos* shields with Christogram (which also seem to be a distinguishing feature of the formation, representatives of which are depicted on the Kerch missorium and the Ravenna mosaic) suggest an identification rather as *spatharokandidatoi* or *protospatharioi* (cf. esp. Whitby 1987, 467, who erroneously recognizes the imperial *bulla* on the Ravenna *nodi*, whereas a blue stone is clearly visible on the neck-ring of the first shielded guardsmen); see below, p. 302. The presence in the imperial procession of a pair of *kandidatoi* together with *spatharioi*, riding at the front and clearing a path for the ruler with their shields is allowed by Porph., 124[491]–126[496] [C]: καὶ δύο κανδιδάτοι, εἴτε καὶ σπαθάριοι, δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα τοῦ βασιλέως περιπατοῦσι καβαλλάριοι, ὡς ἀπὸ διαστήματος μετὰ σκουταρίων καὶ τοὺς προσερχομένους ἐπαίπουσι καὶ εἰσάγουσι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐπερωτῶνται παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὅ τι ἄν δέονται, καὶ ἀναλαμβάνονται τὰ δεητικὰ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀποδίδουσιν αὐτὰ εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων. Cf. also Ravegnani (1988, 42), who falsely identifies the guardsmen on the Ravenna mosaic as *campiductores*.

645 See e.g. *Age of Spirituality*, nos. 64–65; Bank 1966, no. 1; Piltz 1989, figs. 4, 28, 38; Walter 2001, 182, fig. 4; Walter 2003a, 154; Alföldi 1935, 51–3; Speidel 1996, 242

maniakia set with gems are depicted in two scenes in the Parisian codex of the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos* (*Par. gr. 510*, fols. 239r and 440r)—as a guard accompanying Theodosius during disputations with Gregory (fig. 81b), and standing behind the throne of St Helena in a scene showing the recovery of the True Cross; in both cases they wear white tunics with gold borders, and carry swords on their shoulders.[646]

The military sash and fibula appear in the military saints' costume irrespective of whether they were entitled to wear them because of the position they held in the army in the hagiographic tradition; this is not the case with the *maniakion*, which appears chiefly as the attribute of Sergios and Bakchos.[647] It can be seen on early images of these saints, where it is normally worn with parade uniform.[648] Ultimately, the *maniakion* became a permanent feature of their iconography. In Middle Byzantine art it accompanied them as an element of court parade uniform—as for example on mosaics in the west bay of the katholikon naos of Daphni monastery near Athens (*c.*1100; fig. 79),[649]

(in the context of information on the honoring of mercenary barbarians by Belisarius and Narses with neck-rings during the Gothic campaign of 552).

646 See Der Nersessian 1962, 164, figs. 12, 15 (= Brubaker 1999, 132–3, figs. 27, 45); Piltz 1989, 27, fig. 65. A *maniakion* is also worn by the personal shieldbearer of Julian the Apostate on fol. 374v of the same MS, see Brubaker 1999, fig. 39; Walter 2001, 183.

647 Walter (2003a, 154) formulates an opinion linking depictions of the saints wearing *maniakia* exclusively with Sergios and Bakchos, which is contradicted by examples of other military saints wearing this insignia (see e.g. below, n. 657).

648 Sts Sergios and Bakchos are shown as orants in chlamydes with *tablia* and in *maniakia* with oval *bullae* on their chests on silver flasks from the hoard from the church in Kaper Koraon, Syria (currently in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore). They are also dressed in white chlamydes on an icon dated to the 6th-century from St Catherine's monastery on Mt Sinai (taken by Bishop Uspensky to Kiev; and now in the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Art), but here, on either side of the oval *bullae* of their torques (this time arranged vertically) two rectangular knobs were added; a single rhomboidal inset appears on Sergios's *maniakion* on a mosaic in the Thessalonikan basilica of St Demetrios (6th C.); while on a silver dish from Cyprus in the British Museum (dated thanks to goldsmith marks from the time of Constans II to the mid-7th C.) St Sergios wears a torque with a large round knob surrounded by four smaller ones of similar form (Key Fowden 1999, 29, figs. 1–4; Weitzmann 1976, no. B9 [= Piltz 1989, figs. 24, 27; Bank 1966, nos. 113–114]; Walter 2001, 184, fig. 5; and 2003a, 154–5 and n. 45; with exhaustive bibliog.).

649 See Lazarides, figs. 40–41. Sergios and Bakchos are also depicted in unusually broad gold *maniakia* with three widely-spaced knobs which, alongside their chlamydes, form a part of their parade attire on frescoes (of *c.*1260; see figs. 82a,b) on either side of the south entrance to the narthex of the church of Hagia Sophia in Trebizond, which was founded by the local emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1238–63) (Talbot Rice 1968, 142–3, figs. 60b-c, and line drawings 105–106 = Walter 2001, 185, fig. 9).

and it is sometimes combined with cuirass and weapons, as on the double-sided Sinaian processional icon painted in a Crusader workshop on Cyprus or in southern Italy in the thirteenth century (fig. 63).[650] The justification for the presence of the *maniakion* in the iconography of Sergios and Bakchos can be found in their *Passions*. There, it is stated, that before their martyrdom their gold *maniakia* were stripped from them as a sign of degradation and, as a mark of dishonour, they were then dressed in women's clothing.[651]

In turn, in Coptic miniature painting the iconographic type of Sts Theodore and Merkourios on horseback dressed in long tunics (*kabadia*?) with *maniakia* at their necks, became widespread in the tenth century (fig. 77).[652] In this case, however, one supposes that there was no evidence of a hagiographic nature behind the introduction of the motif, merely a desire to stress their officer status, which was specifically justified for Theodore Stratelates in view of the related figure of Teron. The popularity of the *maniakion* in equestrian depictions of warrior saints may also reflect the fact that the riders who opened the annual procession on 11 May, the anniversary of Constantinople's

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[650] See *Sinai*, 119, fig. 66; Hunt 1991, 97, fig. 2—an icon linked by Weitzmann with an icon of Sergios on horseback (accompanied by a kneeling female donor), who no longer wears a *maniakion*; the theories on its origins are examined by Hunt (1991, 97–104), who herself favours a Syro-Cilician pedigree; Sergios is also depicted without a *maniakion*, on horseback and in armour, on the north wall of the (12th–13th C.) katholikon of St Moses the Ethiopian (Mar Musa Al-Habashi) near Nebek in Syria (Dodd 1992, 87, fig. 28).

[651] Gheyen 1895, 380[24–25]. As Walter notices (2003a, 154), the motif of the removal of their *maniakia* does not appear in Metaphrates' version of the legend; see also Speidel 1996, 237. Woods (1997, 355) regards the reference to the taking away of the *maniakia* as authentic, although he is sceptical towards the entire first part of the *Passio antiquior*, regarding it as patched together from different hagiographic texts; Key Fowden (1999, 31–2 and n. 81) considers that the *maniakion* mentioned in the *Armenian Synaxarion* was introduced there under the influence of the iconography of Sergios and Bakchos; see also Piltz 1989, 66; and Walter 2003a, 146–7 (with other details of the martyrdom and an updated bibliog.). According to the hagiography Sergios and Bakchos held the ranks of *primicerius* and *secundarius* of the Scholae, a formation recruited from non-Roman *gentiles*, which might entitle them to wear insignia in the form of a *maniakion*. The regiment known as the *Gentiles* are mentioned e.g. by AMMIAN., 1:81 [14.7.9].

[652] E.g. St Theodore *Orientalis* (the Anatolian) on a miniature in the *Synaxarion* in St Michael's Monastery in Hamula near Fayyum, currently in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York (*M 613*, fol. 1v); and Sts Theodore Stratelates and Merkourios in a Vatican *Pentateuch* (*Vat. copt. 66*, fols. 210v, 287v) (Grüneisen 1922, 101, fig. 46; *L'art Copte*, no. 52; Górecki 1980, figs. 36–37).

foundation, were drawn from the circus factions and wore *maniakia* on their gilded clothing.[653]

Occasionally, the *maniakion* turns up as the insignia of other warrior saints, in art strongly associated with Byzantine culture. It is worn by St Demetrios, for example, on a fresco adorning the church of Saints Sergios and Bakchos in Tourlotti (near Kitta) on the Mani peninsula. Its presence can be explained as an unconscious borrowing from the images of the church's patrons in a corner on a neighbouring (south) wall. It is also possible that when the badly damaged fresco was restored in the modern period (as is especially evident in parts of the background) the inscription above the saint's left shoulder was altered.[654] Less suspicious is the Sinaian icon by Master Peter who worked at the court of Euthymios II, patriarch of Jerusalem (fig. 80).[655] On it St Prokopios wears a broad, gold *maniakion* with a red cabochon. Here the insignia's presence can be associated with the saint's parade attire.

Unusual Variants of Uniform in the Iconography of the Warrior Saints

Our analysis of the elements that make up the image of the warrior saint in Middle Byzantine art leads us to assume that the dominant

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653 See De Cer. [Vogt]., 2:143$^{13-15}$ [I 79]. It seems that the *maniakion* enjoyed special popularity in Coptic art, see e.g. the archangel Michael in the MS referred to, at St Michael's Monastery in Hamula near Fayyum (*L'art Copte*, no. 51).

654 The fresco, which is currently in very poor condition, is unpublished, and only N. Drandakes has left a short description of it. The dedicatory saint of the church and its 12th-C. construction date can only be established from a fragmentary donor inscription on the door lintel, where a certain George asks God for protection over his wife, children and himself as founder of the church, which is erected in honour of Sergios, Bakchos and George. Judging from the stylistic features of the better preserved murals on the vaults (the Prophet in the Drum, the Offering in the Temple, the Last Supper, Christ among Disciples in the Cenacle, and the Ascension) and in the side apses (orants—probably warrior saints—in court dress), the murals were painted shortly after the church's erection in the second half of 12th century. Meanwhile, the cycle of St George's matyrdom on the vaults in the western part of the church and the bottom row of saints (prophets, and the warriors George, Theodore Stratelates, Sergios and Bakchos, and Demetrios) show traces of repainting in the post-Byzantine period. A fresco with St Sergios wearing a *maniakion* in the prothesis conch is published by Walter (2001, 185, fig. 8), who notes that this item is absent from the likeness of Bakchos in the diakonikon conch; see also Walter 2003a, 159 and n. 76 (with further bibliog. on the church).

655 See Weitzmann 1966, 66–8, figs. 33–40 (= Maguire 1996, fig. 10; Cutler/Spieser 1996, fig. 240; *Sinai*, p. 113, fig. 47; Walter 2001, 185, fig. 10; and 2003a, 98; *Sinai, Vizantija, Rus'*, fig. 6 on p. 44).

iconographic type was modelled chiefly on the equipment of the imperial army. The military character of these saints was underlined by items such as body armour, shields, lower leg protectors or tall boots, and guards for the forearms. The presence of military insignia indicates that the artists were keen to emphasize the officer rank of a given saint, although not always in line with the hagiographic texts. Aside from this category of representations one can also point to others, current in the same period, in circles connected with the courtly culture of the capital as well as on the Empire's peripheries and beyond its frontiers. Since these categories differ in details of dress and in the purpose for which they were worn, it seems appropriate to treat them as separate and independent phenomena.

Warrior saints in officer's parade uniform

The presence of the chlamys and insignia in the iconography of the warrior saints indicates that their images were styled on the uniform befitting the imperial palace guard and remained under the influence of antique tradition. However, it is also possible to distinguish a group of images that reflect the uniform worn on various court occasions and contemporary with the artist.[656]

The military saints (George, both Theodores, Prokopios, Demetrios, Eustratios, Eustathios and Arethas) depicted on the wings of an ivory triptych in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome provide an interesting example of the above (fig. 23).[657] They all wear a chlamys and a long tunic made distinctive by broad bands of textile that extend from the bottom edge to knee height, and which are set with cabochons sewn on at the shoulders and the skirt of the tunic. The positioning of these decorations and their characteristic shape—narrowing towards the end, but widening again at the tip into a circle with a cabochon—allow them to be identified as χρυσοκλάβια, the Byzantine form of the Classical *clavi*.[658]

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[656] This group has not earlier been interpreted as depicting military attire, cf. Mouriki 1985, 1:141–2; and after her, Parani 2003, 151–2 and n. 252; and Pentcheva 2006, 82–3. All three authors consider the type of attire discussed here as characteristic of civil servants. The saints' clothing on a triptych in the Palazzo Venezia has recently been termed military dress by Walter (2003a, 168), albeit without further qualification. Lazarev (1970, 64) believes that on the triptych the two types—warrior saint and martyr in civilian garments—have been combined. See also Grotowski 2007.

[657] See Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, no. 31; Pentcheva 2006, figs. 50, 52.

[658] Adopted from Etruria—in ancient Rome gold or purple *clavi* in the form of a pair of narrow vertical bands of cloth (*clavi angusti, tunica angusticlavia*) decorated tunics, including those of senators (*clavi lati*, hence: *tunica laticlavia*), from where they passed into the early Christian iconography of martyrs and Christ, see

A tunic adorned in this manner was known as a σπέκιον, and was the prescribed garment of *protospatharioi*.[659] It was derived from the *sagion*, but ultimately took on the form of a tunic, and its distinguishing feature was indeed the *chrysoklavia*. White *spekia* are worn by shield-bearers standing either side of the throne in a scene of the *Judgment of Solomon* on a miniature in Gregory of Nazianzos' *Homily on moderation*, *Par. gr. 510*, leaf 215v (fig. 81a); they are also visible in a scene of the *Adventus Augusti* on a tenth-century fresco in the southern nave of the church of St Demetrios in Thessaloniki; while a green *spekion* is worn by one of the guardsmen accompanying Justinian on the mosaic at San Vitale (fig. 72).[660] Identification of the saints on the Palazzo Venezia triptych as *protospatharioi* from the unit of 'bearded ones' is confirmed by the swords held in the left hand by two of the saints at the top of the scene,[661] while the military character of the whole group

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H. Leclercq, "Clavus" in *DACL*, 3/2:1847–50; N.P. Ševčenko, "Clavus" in *ODB*, 1:469–70; E. Hula, "Clavus (2)" in *PR*, 4:4–9; E. Pochmarski, "Clavus" in *BKR*, 55; Southern/Dixon 1996, 122, fig. 57 (3rd/4th-C. floor mosaic from Piazza Armerina in Sicily showing a shielded warrior). Many preserved examples of Early Byzantine-era *clavi* from Egypt (often close in form to those on the Palazzo Venezia triptych) and even whole tunics decorated with them are housed, e.g. in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London and the Metropolitan Museum in New York (especially a tunic from Akhmim of *c*.400–500 bearing scenes with Dionysos, inv. no. 26.9.8). In turn, MALALAS (p. 384[5] [XVIII 56]) mentions them in his description of the king of India's attire. The gold *clavi* (χρυσόκλαβα, τὰ χρυσᾶ αὐρόκλαβα or αὐρόκλαβα) adorning the imperial *skaramangion* are mentioned e.g. by DE CER. ([VOGT], 1:92[15–16] [I 26], 101[19] [I 27], 132[13–14] [I 31], 155[16–17] [I 39], 172[9–10] [I 44]), as is the *divetesion* (DE CER., 1:414[8] [I 91], 423[2] [I 92]). See also the depictions of Constantine the Great during the battle on the Milvian Bridge (fol. 440r), and King Hezekiah (fol. 435v) in the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos* (*Par. gr. 510*); and of the latter again in the *Paris Psalter*, *Par. gr. 139*, fol. 446v (Brubaker 1999, 163, 371, figs. 43, 45, 161 [= Der Nersessian 1962, fig. 15; Cutler/Spieser 1996, figs. 117–118]).

659 See DE CER. [VOGT], 1:74[3–4] [I 10]; so-called 'bearded' (i.e. non-eunuch) *protospatharioi* (literally 'first of the sword bearers') together with canes known as *spathobaklia*; 92[8–9] [I 26]; DE CER., 1:542[1–2] [II 9]: πρωτοσπαθάριοι μετὰ σπεκίων·, 745[2–3], 770[2] [II 52] (= OIKONOMIDES, pp. 171[18–19], 207[1] and n. 153 on p. 170): δὲ πρωτοσπαθαρίους μετὰ σπεκίων καὶ ῥωέων σαγίων·. See also above, n. 641.

660 See Piltz 1997, 45, fig. 15 (who also sees the *spekion* of the *protospatharioi* in the tunics of Solomon's bodyguards); Brubaker 1999, 265, fig. 25 (= Der Nersessian 1968, fig. 8); *Age of Spirituality*, no. 65. On *skoutarioi* see above, n. 320. Guards surrounding the throne of Alexios I armed with spears and shields are still mentioned by Anna KOMNENE, 2:181[16–20, 23–4] [X 9/2]: οἱ δὲ δόρατα φέροντες, [...] ἐκ διαστήματός τινος τοῦ βασιλικοῦ θρόνου εἰς μηνοειδὲς σχῆμα ἑαυτοὺς ἰλαδὸν καταστήσαντες καὶ οἷον ἐναγκαλισάμενοι τὸν αὐτοκράτορα, [...] δεξιόθεν δὲ καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων ἕτεροι καθίσταντο ὑπασπισταί.

661 The *spekion* and gold *clavi* worn by the 'bearded' *protospatharioi*, along with their sword and cane, are mentioned by DE CER. [VOGT], 1:73[29–30] [I 10]: ἔφιπποι πρωτοσπαθάριοι εὐνοῦχοι, περιβεβλημένοι **σπέκια ἀληθινὰ χρυσόκλαβα καὶ**

is underlined by a quatrain, on the frame dividing the upper and lower fields, which speaks of the martyrs' assistance in defeating the enemies of the emperor who commissioned the triptych.[662]

Although the title of *protospatharios* could be purchased, and Theodore of Stoudios regarded this group of officers as corrupt and contemptible,[663] the prestige of *spatharioi* at the imperial court was considerable, and membership of the formation was regarded as a great honour. Their function was to carry the imperial arms during ceremonial processions and triumphs, continuing the tradition of the Classical lictors who had carried *fasces*.[664] Hence, the introduction of the parade uniform of high-ranking officers into the iconography of the military saints to represent the important position they were due in the heavenly hierarchy and their direct proximity to Christ who ruled over them therefore becomes understandable.

Officers' parade attire was also the distinguishing feature of two members of the *schola gentilium*—Sergios and Bakchos. They are depicted in the uniforms of *protospatharioi* on mosaics in the narthex of the katholikon of Daphni monastery near Athens (fig. 79).[665] Although the gold-patterned appliqué covering the shoulder of Sergios's white tunic does not resemble the *chrysoklavia* in shape, the

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σπαθία, 137$^{10-12}$ [I 36]: οἱ δὲ βαρβάτοι πρωτοσπαθάριοι φοροῦσι τὰ **σπέκια** αὐτῶν καὶ **σπαθία**, οὐ βαστάζουσι δὲ **σπαθοβάκλια**. On the presence of swords in court ceremony see Parani 2003, 103 (and n. 9 with references to relevant passages in *De ceremoniis*). Whitby (1987, 467) points out that the sword was an indispensable part of the attire of *spatharioi*.

In another place De Cer (1:585$^{7-9}$ [II 15]) also lists the *spekion* as an element of attire of chamberlains (*parakoimomenoi*) and *patrikioi*, but without the sword (*spatha*) and cane (*spathobaklion*).

662 The quatrain is published by Oikonomides (1995, 73, 76) who links the triptych with the final years of the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos.

663 On the purchase of the title of *protospatharios* in 907 or 908 by the cleric Ktenas through the imperial chamberlain (*parakoimomenos*) Samon see DAI, 1:244$^{235-56}$ [50], 2:194–95; and also McCormick (1986, 201, n. 62), who quotes a letter by St Theodore the Studite (MPG, 99:1569) consoling the *spatharios* Eudokimos, who is overcome with despair as a result of his blindness which prevents him from taking part in imperial processions, indicating that it would protect him from mixing with rogues and wastrels (meaning Eudokimos's colleagues).

664 Possible evidence for this is the initial resistance of Leo VI to Ktenas' offer (see previous note), as well as the far from trivial sum finally agreed of forty pounds (Gr. *litrai*) of gold, a pair of earrings worth ten *litrai* and a silver panel with gilded depictions of animals of the same value, which exceeded many times the 1-*litra* salary of a *protospatharios*; 1 *litra* = *c*.319–324 g; see Schilbach 1970, 277–8; and 1982, e.g. pp. 14, 72$^{13-16}$ [II 6], 74$^{16-21}$ [II 7]).

665 See above, n. 649; and also Parani 2003, 96, fig. 104.

presence of several other elements characteristic of this formation—the *maniakion*, the sheathed sword, and above all the long staff with a trifoliate fleuron at its top—clearly indicate that the iconographic formula of the uniform of the *protospatharios* has again been applied. The staff or σπαθοβάκλιον (from σπαθίον—sword, and Latin *baculus*/Gk. βάκτρον—cane, rod, baton) can be interpreted as a form of rank insignia.[666] A *spathobaklion*—erroneously described by Walter as a spear—is held by both Sergios and Bakchos in a manuscript miniature in Symeon Metaphrastes' *Menologion for October* (*Vat. gr. 1679*; fol. 48v).[667] One of the saints also holds a sheathed sword, but the saints' garments and the lack of *maniakia* differentiate this image from the Athenian representations. On the other hand, the white colour of the tunic may suggest that in the Daphni mosaics Sergios and Bakchos were depicted in the uniform of *kandidatoi* who were subordinate to the *protospatharioi*.[668] This does not alter their general classification as members of the capital city's most elite formations.

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666 On *maniakia* and swords as elements of the uniform of the *protospatharioi* see above, nn 641 and 661. When carried at the imperial court the *spathobaklion* is mentioned almost exclusively in connection with this group of officers in De Cer. [Vogt], 1:66^{2–3}, 74^{3–4} [I 10], 93^{32}–94^{2} [I 26], 2:61^{5–7} [I 58], 95^{20–2}, 99^{18–20} (during parades at the Hippodrome—along with the *maniakion*) [I 73], 110^{5–9} [I 76]; De Cer., 1:541^{19–20} [II 9], 574^{10–12} [II 15]; although one reference (De Cer. [Vogt], 1:137^{13–20} [I 36]) relating to the procession on the feastday of the Purification of Mary (*Hypapante*) remains unclear, since it suggests the *spathobaklion* and the *maniakion* can be attributed equally to *spatharioi* and their commanders, as well as to other members of the officers' palace school, namely *spatharokandidatoi*, *manglabitoi*, and even *patrikioi*; see also Dawson (2002, 86), who was unable to find pictorial depictions of the *spathobaklion*; and cf. Kolias (1988, 178–9) who links it with the σπαθορράβδιν mentioned in Dig. Akr. (p. 88^{378} [IV]) and considers it as a type of mace (sic!). On the club (ῥάβδος, βέργιον) as the insignia of other court dignitaries (*ostiarioi*, *silentiariori*, *praipositoi* [*kouropalates*] and others), see Piltz 1997, 47; and 1989, 62; Whitby 1987, 469, 472. See also Porph. (p. 148^{856–57}[C]): ὄπισθεν δὲ ὡς ἀπὸ ὀργυιῶν πέντε πρωτοσπαθάριοι εὐνοῦχοι μετὰ χρυσῶν κλιβανίων καὶ σπαθοβακλίων; and also the commentary on pp. 290–1, where Haldon proposes after Vogt that the *spathobaklion* was a long club with a double-edged bronze or iron head; and also De Cer, 2:174–5. A *spathobaklion* of a form similar to that depicted on the Daphni mosaics is held, for example, by the archangel Michael on a 12th-C. marble icon in the Museum für Spätantike und Byzantinische Kunst, Berlin (*Glory of Byzantium*, no. 12).

667 See Walter 2003a, 157, 160 and fig. 50.

668 On the subordination of the *kandidatoi* under the *protospatharioi* see Whitby 1987, 467–78, n. 42 (based on *De ceremoniis* and the *Kletorologion*). The origins of the formation are covered by Jones 1964, 2:613; and in the context of a "Palace officers' school" by Haldon (1984, 129) who also notes that white was the characteristic colour of their attire. The white uniform of the *kandidatoi* was introduced by Septimius Severus, and gave the formation its name—from Lat. *candidus* 'white', 'shining' (Sander 1963, 154–5; D'Amato 2005, 24, 33; Fauro 1995, 507). The two ranks were

The white *spekia* with gold *clavi* on their shoulders and along the bottom edge, the *spathobaklia* held in the right hand, and swords in scabbards in the left hand, also distinguish Sergios and Bakchos on mosaics in the blind cupola of the inner narthex of the katholikon of Nea Mone on Chios (figs. 44c–d).[669] Although the saints do not wear *maniakia* (as on the Vatican Menologion) the presence of the other elements typical of *protospatharios* uniform allows their images to be linked with precisely this group of officers.

We also find Sergios and Bakchos each holding a *spathobaklion* on frescoes in the narthex of the Hagia Sophia church in Trebizond (fig. 82).[670] This time the saints have no swords, and over their blue tunics they wear purple cloaks with a *tablion*. Meanwhile, on a Sinaian icon from the workshop of the master Peter, St Prokopios is depicted in a red chlamys (also with a gold *tablion*) thrown over a light blue tunic and a *maniakion*.[671] The image's military character is attested only by the sheathed sword held in Prokopios's left hand. Untypical for *protospatharioi* and *kandidatoi* is the light-blue colour of his tunic[672] and the 'civilian' *tablion*, which both indicate that in the thirteenth century—perhaps because both dignities had fallen out of use long before the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders—the iconographic type of the warrior saint in the uniform of an officer of the *scholai* had lost its original, realistic character.

This does not alter the fact that the image of the warrior saint in the uniform of a *protospatharios* influenced the evolution of the

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often linked, e.g. in the ChPasch (1:696[10–11]) which lists two men, among the imperial officials John and Cittas, who were both *spatharioi* and *kandidatoi*.

An argument against associating the Daphni images with the *kandidatoi* is the absence of the characteristic weapons of this unit, see De Cer. ([Vogt], 1:137[13–20] [I 36]), where listed alongside *maniakia* are shields (σκουτάρια) and single-edged battle axes (διστράλια μονοπέλυκα).

669 See Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, figs. 58, 60. Walter (2003a, 158) notes the absence of *maniakia* in this depiction.

670 See above, n. 649.

671 See above, n. 655.

672 The only blue-white lower garment described in *De ceremoniis* cannot be linked with the Trebizond and Sinai depictions, since it had short sleeves, was split like the *skaramangion* and was worn by tribunes and *vikarioi*, who held sceptres(?) tipped with crescents (De Cer. [Vogt], 2:103[8–11] [I 74] Χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι οἱ τριβοῦνοι καὶ οἱ βικάριοι περιβέβληνται τὰ χρυσοσήμεντα διακοπτὰ κοντομάνικα βένετά τε καὶ λευκὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ποσὶ τὰ ποδόψελλα, βαστάζοντες ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ τὰ λεγόμενα φεγγία.)

iconography of the Rus' princes Boris and Gleb. The two brothers were the sons of Vladimir I and, according to the legend, were murdered in 1015 by their sibling, Sviatopolk, during his attempt to seize the Kievan throne. They were quickly surrounded by a cult of martyrs (Rus. страстотерпцы 'bearers of great suffering'), who imitated Christ in their attitude towards death. Initially, Boris and Gleb were depicted in the typical costume of martyrs—a long chlamys, and holding a cross of martyrdom in the right hand, although their princely origins were signalled by fur-covered calpacks.[673] From the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, undoubtedly under the influence of the warrior saints in official court uniforms, the noble origins of the two brothers began to be further underlined by depicting them with a sword in a scabbard, held in the left hand (fig. 83).[674] In the Russian principality

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[673] The legend of the martyrdom of Boris and Gleb and their growth in popularity in the context of Yaroslav the Wise's attempts to free the Russian Orthodox Church from dependence on the Patriarchate of Constantinople is discussed for example by: Lesyuchevsky (1946, 231–40; also 226–9, figs. 1–2, 4–5 on the earlier iconography of the brothers with depictions on enkolpions and in miniature painting) and Poppe (1961, *passim*), who analyses in detail the interdependence of the brothers' *Lives* and *Martyrdoms*. According to Piltz (1989, 62, figs. 16–17) the saintly pair is also depicted in courtly dress (albeit without military elements) on frescoes in the 12th-C. Garda church on Gotland. For a bibliography of the hagiographic legends and discussion of the various types of depiction of Boris and Gleb (including as officers and armoured horsemen) see J. Myslivec, "Boris und Gleb (getauft: Roman und David)" in *LcI*, 5:438–41 and figs. 1, 3.

During his coronation in 1181 Andronikos Komnenos wore a conical grey calpack made of wool, thereby referring to the costume of the northeastern limits of the Black Sea; he had earlier worn similar headgear during a meeting with officials on the shore of the Bosphorus (CHONIATES, pp. 271^{54-5}, 252^{75-6}); EUST. THES., p. 50^{25-8} and commentary on p. 187—deriving this type of headwear from the Lazika region.

[674] See e.g. the Kievan icon from the turn of 12th and 13th centuries (currently in the Bohdan and Varvara Khanenko Museum of Art in Kiev) and images on the frame of a 12th-C. Novgorodian icon of St Nicholas from the Novodevichy Convent, currently in the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow (*Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 284; Lazarev 1970, 64 and fig. on p. 67). On changes occurring in the 12th-C. in the iconography of Boris and Gleb see Lesyuchevsky 1946, 244–5 and figs. 5/4–5/5 (equestrian images of these saints on metal pendants, now depicted with military equipment). White (2004, 502–3; together with an analysis of sources indicating a Ruthenian origin for the sword as an insignia) notices that immediately before his assassination in 1174, Prince Andrei Bogolyubsky searched in vain for the sword of St Boris, a priceless relic with magical significance, which had earlier been removed by one of the assassins. Against White's hypothesis on the Ruthenian genesis of the motif is the presence of the type of the holy warrior with sword in scabbard and dressed in court attire, for example in the Byzantine iconography of Sts Sergios and Bakchos (e.g. on fol. 3v *Vindobon. hist. gr. 6* and fol. 4848, *Vat. gr. 1679*, see Walter 2003a, 157, fig. 50).

of Vladimir–Suzdal they were finally inducted into the circle of great military saints during the rule of Vsevolod.[675]

The warrior saint in a provincial guise (*in a* kabadion)

Besides the military saints in armour and in the courtly uniforms of the *protospatharioi* there is a group of depictions originating from the southern and eastern borderlands of the Empire which differ in terms of dress. Belonging to this group is an equestrian image of St Theodore of Anatolia (fig. 77) in a *Synaxarion* from St Michael's monastery in Hamula near Fayyum (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, no. *M 613*, fol. 1v).[676] The horseman is depicted in a long, yellow (gold?) short-sleeved tunic that might be identified as a *kabadion*, and a purple cape. He does not, however, wear a cuirass or a shield. The presence of the *maniakion* on his neck may suggest stylisation of his image as an officer. This motif is, however, quite common in Coptic art; it is worn for example by St Menas in a manuscript in the John Rylands Library in Manchester (*Ms. Coptic 33*), and by the archangel Michael on a miniature in a manuscript originally from Fayyum, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.[677] The first of these is of special interest: Menas is shown on horseback with a cloak thrown over his shoulders and a long ankle-length scale-armour corselet, which is fastened by a waist-belt. The cut is deceptively similar to the *kabadion* of the 'Eastern' St Theodore, which may indicate that it is a combat variant of the garment. Similar doubts do not arise in relation to another representation of mounted saints wearing the *kabadion*: this shows two bearded saints (Theodore and George) on an eleventh- or twelfth-century stone relief currently in the Benaki Museum, Athens, found in Pontic Amaseia, and probably from one of the churches there. The two saints are arranged symmetrically, and use their lances to spear a recumbent figure who has a sword in his

[675] White (2004, 501–9) analyses the process of introduction of the military saints into the Suzdal Principality by Yuri Dolgoruki, who on the model of the Komnenoi intiated their cult as a group providing protection over the reigning dynasty. She notices that Yuri's son, Vsevolod, had no difficulty in expanding the previously stable group of warriors by adding Boris and Gleb, who appeared in the same role, as patrons and defenders of the princely family.

[676] See *L'art Copte*, no. 52 (=Walter 2001, 186, fig. 12).

[677] See Walter 2001, 185–6, figs. 11, 13; Walter 2003a, 186, fig. 56.

right hand (fig. 84).[678] The surface of their *kabadia* (which open at the front), their windblown capes and the kaftan-like garment of the fallen ruler are ornamented with simple rosettes. The cubic style of the relief, a long way from the traditions of ancient art, indicates the provincial character of the local workshop, which probably operated in Amaseia itself.

Depictions of warrior saints in long tunics that might be interpreted as a *kabadion*, also became popular in Nubian art.[679] The appearance of this iconographic type in territories that were subject to or bordered the Muslim world suggests that the costume of the military saints was influenced here by the iconography and customs connected with Arabic and Persian culture.[680] Light cavalry, whose basic weapon was the bow, still formed the core strength of Arab armies, and later of Turkish ones in the thirteenth century. This is reflected in the iconography of the Islamic states,[681] while a relief in the church of the White Virgin (Spitakavor Astvatsatsin) in Yeghegnadzor in Armenia (1321), showing Prince Amir Hasan II hunting deer on horseback (fig. 85),[682] proves that the type of the rider in a *kabadion* remained in use in Christian art from provincial circles until the late Middle Ages.

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678 Delevoria 1997, 244, with a reproduction (inv. no. 33630); although she incorrectly sees the warriors as Theodore and Demetrios slaying the tsar Kaloyan, which entails a late dating by her of the object to the 11th–12th century (also illogical since Kaloyan died in 1207). It is possible that under the influence of Georgian tradition (which was unknown in Cappadocia) the second rider depicts George (Walter 2003a, 125, 128–9). This identification is confirmed by a partly legible inscription next to the saint.

679 See e.g. Jakobielski 1999, fig. 1; Steinborn 1982, fig. 14(?), 16, 18–21.

680 Darkevich (1975, 140) formulates a similar thesis in relation to mounted warriors depicted on silver bowls in the former Basilevsky collection; while Al-Sarraf (2002, caption to fig. XII–79) does the same in relation to a portrait of St Theodore 'of Anatolia' in the Fayyum *Synaxarion* (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, *M 613*, fol. 1v). See also Górecki (1975, 253), referring to warrior-saint depictions in the cathedral in Faras, who notices that 10th-C. Nubian painting departs from Byzantine tradition in favour of local 'realia'.

681 Constantine Porphyrogennetos (*DAI*, 1:78$^{10-14}$ [15]) writes that the Arabs sit on camels instead of horses, and in time of war wear neither *thorakas* nor *klibania*, but rose-coloured cloaks, and are armed with long lances, man-high shields and huge bows that only few can string with difficulty (Οὐ καβαλλικεύουσι δὲ ἵππους, ἀλλὰ καμήλους, ἐν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ πολέμου οὐκ ἐνδύονται θώρακας, οὔτε κλιβάνια, ἀλλὰ περιβόλαια ῥοδωτά, καὶ ἔχουσι δόρατα μακρὰ καὶ ἀσπίδας ἀνδρομήκεις καὶ τόξα ξύλινα παμμεγέθη, σχεδὸν μὴ δυνάμενα τείνεσθαι παρ' ὀλίγων ἀνδρῶν).

On the importance of Fatimid and Turkish archers and the tactics they adopted against the Crusaders, see Hillenbrand 1999, 511–14, as well as numerous depictions in art, figs. 8.2–4, 21–23, 51.

682 Der Nersessian 2001, no. 7

Continuation of the Early Byzantine image of the equestrian saint in a tunic

Images of the saints in officer's uniform or in a *kabadion* are not the only departures from the predominant type of the warrior with a corselet and shield. On a wall in Chapel 10 (Daniel's Chapel) at Korama in Cappadocia, St Prokopios is painted witnessing a vision dressed only in a long tunic and cloak. He is depicted in a similar manner on a miniature in the *Theodore Psalter* (*Brit. Add. 19352*, fol. 85v), which originated from the Constantinopolitan workshop at the monastery of Stoudios, where his only item of military gear is a round shield held in the left hand.[683] This example, as well as many other depictions (still seen in tenth to twelfth century art) of soldiers in tunics,[684] whose cut (long, narrow sleeves and no split at the front) prevents them from being interpreted as a *kabadion*, indicate that the traditional pictorial formula that had been popularized in the Early Byzantine period was still present in the iconography of the military saints.[685] Its longevity must also have been influenced by the use of light, felt garments by poorer soldiers in light-armed units.[686] The last theory, as well as the conservatism characterizing miniature painting (thanks to which Prokopios is painted in traditional costume in the *Theodore Psalter*), may explain the limited popularity of this type of depiction of the warrior saints in the Middle Byzantine period.

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683 Der Nersessian 1970, 11, fig. 139; Walter 2003a, 96–97, 99, fig. 53 (with other examples of depiction of the legend in the churches of Cappadocia); Gabelić 2005, 539, figs. 7–8. The Psalter's colophon states that it was copied in 1066 by a scribe and painter from Caesarea named Theodore, under commission from the *igoumenos* Michael. The figure of Prokopios is captioned: ὁ ἅ(γιος) προκόπιος.

684 See e.g. Darkevich 1975, figs. 201–204; Kádár 1878, fig. 144 (horsemen on a panel from an ivory casket in the Metropolitan Museum, New York); *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos* (*Par. gr 510*, fol. 440); Pseudo-Oppian's *Kynegetika* (*Ven. Marcianus gr. 479*, fols. 7r [hunting scene], 8v); and the *Madrid Skylitzes* (fols. 30v, 55r–56r, 59v [horse archers], 72r [military engineers], 73r-v, 80r, 86r, 87v, 97r-v, 98v, 99v–100v, 101v, 107v, 110v, 111v, 113v, 119r, 121r, 126r, 129v, 135v, 146v–147r [sailors], 148r, 149r–151v, 156v, 160r–162r, 165r–168r, 169r, 170v, 169r-v, 170v–171v, 173r, 175r–177r, 178r, 187r-v, 181r, 182r-v, 202r, 205r, 206r, 212r, 213r, 230r-v [engineers] (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 59, 129, 131, 133, 143, 177, 179, 181, 194–195, 210, 215, 217–220, 221–226, 228, 243, 251, 254, 260, 275, 280, 294, 309, 325, 363–365, 369, 372–373, 375–379, 382, 394, 405–409, 417–422, 424–425, 427–429, 435, 442–445, 447–448, 454–456, 480–481, 487–488, 501, 504, 544–545).

685 See above, pp. 80–90.

686 See above, n. 11, and also on felt n. 107.

The fantastical image of the holy warrior

At Direkli Kilise church in Ihlara, on pillars cut into the rock that imitate piers, are two painted images of St Merkourios (north-west pier) and St George (north-east pier; figs. 36a–b).[687] The saints both wear breastplates that are almost completely covered by broad leather belts. These belts are arranged in a V shape and are encrusted with precious stones—red and white rhombuses and pearls. The belts appear to hold up four rows of *pteryges*; on these—at a surprisingly low level—the artist has painted a *zone stratiotike*. Completing the saints' attire are short shoulder-guards adorned like the belts, two under-tunics, a green one worn over a white one, long red cloaks hanging on their backs, and tall boots; the forearms and legs of both figures are bare. There are also two rows of large scales on the short sleeves of Merkourios's undergarment, probably imitating *pteryges*. The saints' shields, which would normally be held in the left hand, have been damaged, and only a small fragment of George's shield is preserved, emerging from behind him. In the right hand meanwhile the saints hold their weapons: Merkourios a sword, George a lance. The lance's shaft is made up of a series of small, white, oval segments connected to each other by pairs of rings.

For the greater part, there do not appear to be analogies for the costume of these saints in the iconography, nor indeed in the iconography of soldiers in general, be it Classical or Byzantine. Furthermore, the more typical items such as *pteryges* and military belts have been deformed or are painted in the wrong positions. It would probably be futile to search for source references describing such decorative chest belts, which are somewhat reminiscent of the imperial *loros* in their arrangement, and perhaps imitate it; and similarly, for an explanation of the unusual form of the lance shaft.

The murals at Direkli Kilise should therefore be treated as a unique example of the fantastical iconography of the saints. The desire for ornateness and splendour in rendering the costume and weaponry would appear to be an expression of the artist's provincial ideas of the pomp and lavishness of court ceremony in the far-distant capital. By multiplying the ornamentation his intention was probably to stress the high officer rank of the saints.

[687] See Thierry 1963, 187, fig. 89c.

Conclusions

Armour (breastplate, arm guards and groin protection) and shield were the primary elements of attire of the warrior saints. Over the centuries, since the heyday of the Roman legions, armour underwent far-reaching changes, as is attested by documentary sources and a limited number of Byzantine archaeological finds. By examining the warrior saint representations while taking into account these changes it is possible to identify archaic elements that were known in the tenth to thirteenth centuries only from representations in art, and also to recognize artistic innovations involving the depiction of newly introduced forms of protection.[688] The first category undoubtedly includes the classicizing 'muscled' cuirass, which was no longer being produced in Byzantine workshops between the ninth and thirteenth centuries, but was meticulously represented during periods when artists favoured Classical models (the Macedonian Renaissance and the first quarter of the eleventh century). We cannot, however, identify Classical antecedents for trousers, for the forearm protectors known as *manikellia*, and especially for the kite shield. The latter appears to have been completely unknown before the eleventh century. It is also interesting to note the new way in which it was carried—slung over the back—first seen in the ninth century, but becoming most popular only in the Palaiologan period. In turn, the triangular Gothic shield, which undoubtedly reflected the influence of Western knightly culture, appeared in Orthodox art only from the thirteenth century in areas that came under Latin control as a result of the Fourth Crusade. These observations are particularly significant since they provide evidence that Byzantine artists not only repeated classical iconographic motifs, but also actively introduced elements based on contemporary forms.

It is often difficult to determine with certainty whether a depicted item belongs to the Classical pictorial tradition or to the world contemporary with the artist. This is true of the most popular types of armour depicted in the period under discussion—scale and lamellar. These types of armour were already known in antiquity, but it was only in Byzantium that they came to be widely depicted in art,

[688] On the question of methodology in research on the representation of 'realia' in the religious art of Byzantium see Parani 2007.

especially painting. Being light and well ventilated, while at the same time providing excellent protection against archery, scale and lamellar corselets seem to have enjoyed special popularity in the imperial army. Surprising, however, is the almost total lack of depictions of mail armour. In view of the limited references to mail in written sources, this would appear to indicate that mail armour was not popular in Byzantium at that period.

Besides armour, a significant element in representations of the warrior saints is the insignia that underline their important positions at the 'Heavenly Court'—the chlamys with *tablia* and fibula, *diadema* and, in a symbolic sense starting from the twelfth century, also the crown of martyrdom. The selection of these items does not always reflect the actual appearance of the palace guard, especially when the civilian chlamys (adopted from the Early Byzantine iconography of warrior-martyrs) is shown in combination with items of weaponry. However, a new iconographic type of the warrior-guardsman wearing a *spekion*, *maniakion* and sword and brandishing a *spathobaklion* in his hand appears from the tenth century, and this does seem to provide an example of the realistic treatment of court uniform.

The warrior saint on foot in armour corselet and cloak is the dominant form in the art of Constantinople and Greece (and in states that remained under their influence: in the Balkans, Rus' and Norman Sicily) as well as in Georgia and Armenia, but an independent iconographic variant developed in regions influenced by Islamic culture. Here, the saint is normally shown wearing a long *kabadion*, is often on horseback, and sometimes has a diadem on the head, the last feature derived from Coptic painting traditions.

CHAPTER FOUR

WEAPONS IN THE ICONOGRAPHY OF THE WARRIOR SAINTS[1]

Ἄλλο.
Ὡς ἀγαθὸν σταδίῃ πλατὺ φάσγανον, ἐν δέ τε τείχει
Τόξον ἀεὶ κρατέει, τοῦτ' ἐβόησεν Ἄρης.[2]

An integral part of the image of the warrior saints is their weapons. When depicted in parade attire, the sword is the most visible sign of their martial profession; together with the lance it forms the basic weaponry of the military saints, which it is not possible to overlook in any analysis of their iconography. These two items not only complete the image of the warrior, but also carry symbolic meaning. We begin by examining the lance, the weapon shown most frequently in the iconography of the warrior saints, and which carries ideological content that had already taken root in antiquity.

The Lance or Spear of the Warrior Saint

Pole arms have been known since the Stone Age,[3] and were still in use in the first half of the twentieth century. Many varieties were in widespread use in Byzantium. On depictions of warrior saints the most common form is a short type of spear that reaches just above the head. Spear shafts (ἀστιλίον—from Lat. *hasta*)[4] are normally

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[1] On the weapons of the Byzantine army in general see E. McGeer, A. Kazhdan & A. Cutler, "Weaponry" in *ODB*, 3:2192–3.

[2] Geometres, 302 [LXXXVII] (= MPG, 106:933):
Otherwise
A wide sword is good in the field, but on the walls,
The bow always dominates, so declares Ares

[3] See Gamber 1978, 412; Hoffmeyer 1966, 116–17, also on its spread throughout the Mediterranean basin and the Near East.

[4] Maurice (Strat., p. 452[42] [XIIB 17] = {LT, vol. A', p. 332 [XIV 79]}) uses this term, advising that before an attack fileclosers should quieten the soldiers by prodding them with the shafts of their spears: μετὰ τῶν ἀστιλίων τῶν κονταρίων; see also Mihăescu 1968, 491. On the Roman *hasta* see O. Fiebiger & F. Klingmüller, "Hasta" in *PR*, 14/2 (1912), 2501–08.

depicted schematically. In painted works they are often rendered with just a single line. An example of such a sparing form is the lance of St George in the church of Lilies (Sümbüllü Kilise) in the Ihlara valley (fig. 35a).[5] The butt of the lance is always blunt. We can assume that Byzantine lances were indeed terminated this way since references to spiked spear butts (σαυωτὴρ, στύραξ, οὐρίαχος) are few and mainly refer to the ancient period.[6] In painted works the shaft is as a rule depicted in ochre or brown (figs. 25c–d, 30a–f, 31, 32, 37–39, 45, 46b, 48a–c, 70)[7] imitating the colour of wood,[8] although it is occasionally shown in other colours. The lance of St George *Tropaiophoros* on an enamelled panel from the *Pala d'Oro* is blue.[9] A blue spear (βένετον κοντάριν) is used by *Digenes Akritas*, and also by the son of the *domes-*

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[5] See above, n. 66 on p. 141.

[6] Cf. Kolias (1988, 199) who by analogy with the butt spikes known in antiquity, which served to plant the spear in the ground, and if the spearhead broke off could also be used for combat, considers that the *sauroter* was also used in the medieval Byzantine army. See also SUDA, 4:330$^{22-6}$ [949–950]; 447$^{21-4}$ [1261] Οὐρίαχος· τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ σιδήρου· ἢ τὸ ὄπισθεν μέρος τοῦ δόρατος, ὃ καὶ σαυρωτὴρ καλεῖται· ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρούειν καὶ τοῦ ἰάχω· τοῦτο δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἴα, ὃ σημαίνει τὴν φωνήν· ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἰαχή. Οὐρίαχος. πλήξας ῥομβωτῷ δούρατος οὐριάχῳ. ἐν Ἐπιγράμμασι. καὶ αὖθις· ὄφρα κεν ἐξ ὑάλοιο πυρικμήτοιο ταθέντας οὐριάχους δέξαιντο. τὰ οὐραῖα τῶν κανδηλῶν. [...] Στύραξ· ὁ σαυρωτὴρ καλούμενος· ἡ τοῦ δόρατος ἀρχή, ἐφ' ᾗ στηρίζεται. HESYCHIOS, 4:14 σαυρωτήρ· τὸ ἔσχατον σιδήριον τοῦ δόρατος. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ στάθμην κεστόν; HESYCHIOS, 4:88: Στύραξ· [...] σαυρωτὴρ τοῦ δόρατος, καὶ λόγχη. καὶ δένδρον ὁμωνύμως. καὶ θυμίαμα On the ancient *sauroter* see EUST. IL, 3:33^{32}–35^{1}; F. Lammert, "Σαυρωτήρ" in *PR*, 2/1: 265–6. Exceptionally the term also appears in LEO THE DEACON, p. 41$^{4-5}$ [III 4].

[7] See e.g. Drandakes 1995, fig. 19 on p. 383; Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 57; 66; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 10, 12 on pp. 32–3, 21 on p. 41, and also 12–13 on pp. 60–61; Bank 1966, no. 227; *Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 283; Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, figs. 58–59; Athos vol. A', figs. 241, 265, vol. B', fig. 329.

[8] Spear shafts were made from wood, as is indicated by references in the PRAECEPTA, pp. 18$^{102-03}$ [I 9], 28$^{120-3}$ [II 11] (≈ TNU [MG], pp. 94$^{105-06}$ [LVI 9], 104$^{147-8}$ [LVII 13]) when speaking of the splintering of infantry spears by cataphracts: ὡς ἂν ἐκ τούτων τὰ κοντάρια τῶν ὁπλιτῶν συνθλασθῶσιν; and also KINNAMOS, pp. 143^{20}–144^{1} [IV], 273$^{12-13}$ [VI]. On the varieties of wood employed in making lances see below, pp. 321 and 328. See also Kolias (1988, 193, 202) who besides cornel mentions ash (μελία) and even cane. The cane lances (δοράτια ἐκ καλάμων) employed by the Turks are mentioned by CHONIATES, p. 29^{57}. Without taking into account the character of the painting techniques employed, Parani (2003, 139–40, figs. 111, 116) interprets depictions of the lance in Cappadocian art as indeed depicting cane shafts. She explains their appearance as reflecting the impact of Arab techniques of arms production in the frontier region.

[9] See Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, fig. 142. The *Pala d'Oro* is not a unique example—remnants of blue pigment also appear on St George's lance on a wooden relief-work icon in the National Museum in Kiev (fig. 27), see *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 202.

tikos Constantine in a poem by al-Mutanabbi,[10] which suggests that a custom existed between the tenth and twelfth centuries of painting the shaft or even covering it with coloured fabric. On the *Forty Martyrs of Sebaste Triptych* (figs. 19a,b) the spear shafts are marked with transverse notches.[11] The artist was perhaps attempting to depict a specific, decorative type of spear with an encrusted shaft, like the one carried by Justinian's bodyguards on the mosaic at San Vitale (fig. 72).[12] There is also a painted depiction of a spear shaft made up of white oval segments at Direkli Kilise at Ihlara (fig. 36a).[13] The presence of this kind of feature in works from widely separated centres allows one to suppose that the ornate spears might represent actual weapons, probably parade models, presumably intended as insignia.[14]

The lances of the military saints are always surmounted by fairly substantial heads (known, *inter alia*, as ξίφος/ξιφάριον, αἰχμή)[15] and

[10] See DIG. AKR., p. 192^{719} [VI]. On the emir's blue, gilded lance (probably only the head) see also p. 12^{164} [I] (= 238^{17}): κοντάριν ἐμαλάκιζε βένετον, χρυσωμένον; and p. 270^{434}, where the epic's author mentions the Saracens' large, green lances with silver fittings: πράσινα μακρυκόνταρα μετ' ἀσήμιν δεμένα; VASILIEV, 2/2:327^{15}. In turn, the silver-inlaid spears (ἀργυρόηλα δόρατα) of the Greeks at the battle at Larissa are mentioned by KOMNENE, 2:27^{30} [V 6/1]. Such parade lances seem to be intended in the red-hafted weapon held by St George on an icon in the British Museum, and another abandoned by Eustathios–Placidus in a scene of his conversion in the *Khludov Psalter*, fol. 97v (*Glory of Byzantium*, no. 261 [= *Byzantium*, no. 191]; and Shchepkina 1977, fig. 97). However, Kolias (1988, 212) believes that the blue lance of Digenes mentioned in the epic merely had a painted shaft.

[11] See e.g. Bank 1966, nos. 126, 130–131.

[12] See e.g. *Age of Spirituality*, no. 65; Grabar 1936, fig. 20/1; and Leader 2000, 417, fig. 12.

[13] See above, n. 687 on p. 310.

[14] On the lance as an insignia see below, p. 329.

[15] The term ξίφος/ξιφάριον is used e.g. by STRAT., p. 432^{12} [XIIB 11] (ξίφη τῶν κονταρίων) [XII B 24], 450^{8} [XIIB 17], and in the PRAECEPTA, p. 14^{31} [I 3] (= TNU [MG], p. 90^{35} [LVI 3]). The word αἰχμή for the spearhead is used e.g. in the: SYLLOGE, pp. 60 [XXXVIII 6], 61 [XXXIX 1] (={LT, vol. B', pp. 358 [XXXVIII], 360 [XXXIX]); PSELLOS, 2:6^{15} [VI 85]; KINNAMOS, p. 160^{8} [IV]; CHONIATES, p. 182^{38}. The antique term ἀκωκή (Lat. *acies*) is used by KOMNENE, 2:118^{28} [VII 9/5], 163^{22} [IX 2/2]; see also SUDA, 1:88^{5} [948] Ἀκωκή· ἡ ὀξύτης τοῦ δόρατος, τὸ ὀξὺ τῆς λόγχης. Ἀρριανός· λόγχας δὲ εἶχον παχείας ἑξαπήχεας· ἀκωκὴ δὲ οὐχ ὑπῆν σιδηρέη, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὀξὺ αὐταῖς πεπυρακτωμένον ταὐτὸ ἐποίησεν. In turn, in Leo's Tactics {LT, vol. B', pp. 264 [XX 116], 294 [XX 188]} the term λόγχη is used to describe the head of a *kontarion* glistening in the sun; see also the definition in the SUDA, 2:111$^{16-17}$ [1186]: Δι' ὀξείας δραμεῖν· ἐπὶ τῶν διακινδυνευόντων. ὀξεῖαν γὰρ λέγουσι τὴν λόγχην. The javelin blade known as the δοράτιον is mentioned by PROCOPIUS, 1:72^{26} [I 14/47], 157$^{9-10}$ [II 3/25], 424^{9} [IV 2/6], 465^{18} [IV 11/19] (possibly in the sense of independent heads used as *plumbata*, see below, n. 282), 477^{8} [IV 13/14], 2:12^{10} [V 2/15], 156^{11} [VI 2/14], 158^{17} [VI 2/30]; it is also mentioned by CHONIATES, p. 183^{75}. In turn, Maurice (STRAT., p. 196^{42} [IV 3] = {LT, vol. A', p. 312 [XIV 45]}) mentions the κονταρίων κεφαλὰς.

are usually held upright as if during drill.[16] Their form can be diamond-shaped, lancet-like or leaf-shaped (figs. 19a, 20–22a, 25a,d, 27, 30a–f).[17] Heads of these shapes were known since antiquity, as is evident from art[18] and surviving examples.[19] These forms were common in the eastern part of the Mediterranean basin in the Middle Ages. Objects contemporary with the depictions are found within the Empire, as well as in neighbouring countries.[20] The colour of the heads in the depic-

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The terminology associated with the spearhead (including the terms mentioned above and also ἐπιδορατίς) is analysed in detail by Kolias 1988, 195.

[16] Maurice advises soldiers to hold the spear in this manner during training (STRAT., p. 484[7–8] [XIIB 24] ≈ LT, 1:167[1967–69] [VII 47 (54)]): Καὶ κινοῦσι πρᾴως, ἡσύχως καὶ ἴσως ἄνω τὰ **ξίφη τῶν κονταρίων** κατέχοντες; see also {LT, vol. A', p. 326 [XIV 66]}.

[17] Diamond-shaped heads with a rib can be seen e.g. on the *Harbaville Triptych*, in frescoes with Sts Theodore Stratelates and Nestor in Hosios Loukas, and on a miniature depicting the conversion of St Eustathios on fol. 52r of the *Menologion Esphigmenou 14* (Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, no. 31 = *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 80; Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 57, 66; *Athos*, vol. B', fig. 329). Leaf-shaped heads surmount the lances of warrior saints in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria; on mosaics in Sicilian churches; on a relief icon of St George in the National Museum, Kiev; and on the *Borradaile Triptych* (Pelekanidis 1953 1:21, 23, 27/2, 32/1; Borsook 1990, figs. 9, 35–36, 95; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 202 = Milyaeva 2000, fig. 1; Cutler 1994, fig. 242 [= *Byzantium*, no. 153; Goldschmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, no. 38]). Lancet-shaped heads are seen on warrior saints' spears on a steatite icon from Cherson; on enamel panels of Sts George and Orestes on the *Pala d'Oro*; carried by St George in the church of the Anargyroi, Kastoria; in the *Khludov Psalter*, fol. 97v; and on the *Triptych of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste* (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 21 = *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 203; Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, figs. 116, 129, 142; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 21 on p. 41; Shchepkina 1977, fig. 97; and Bank 1966, no. 130).

[18] Leaf- and lancet-shaped heads on long shafts can be seen e.g. on a vase with a scene of Ajax and Achilles playing dice; while long *sarissae* with rhomboidal heads appear on the Issos battle mosaic from Pompei (now in the Museo Archeologico, Naples; Gamber 1978, figs. 291, 307 = Żygulski 1998, 58, figs. 48, 62). Numerous examples of Late Roman and Early Byzantine depictions of heads are cited by Kolias 1988, 197; see also e.g. Żygulski 1998, fig. 134; Bivar 1972, fig. 8; and Bishop/Coulston 1993 (below, n. 25).

[19] For examples of Roman heads from modern Germany see, e.g. Southern/Dixon 1996, 112, figs. 42–44.

[20] The 11th-C. leaf-shaped spearheads found at Serçe Limani and designed for hand-to-hand combat (as can be judged from the thickness of the shaft) are published by Schwarzer 1991, 329–30, figs. 4–5 (examples with lugs), and an especially interesting example on fig. 8 (with a straight head protected by a type of sheath); for a long spearhead of narrow, lancet-shape found in the Great Palace in Constantinople see Brett 1947, 99, fig. 7; for examples of broad, leaf-shaped and rhomboidal spearheads set on sockets found in the vicinity of a Bulgarian settlement mound in the village of Lozarevo, south-west Bulgaria see Momchilov 1994, 52–4, figs. 1/3–6, 2/7–14. Early and Late Byzantine lance heads are preserved in the Byzantine Museum in Thessaloniki. Finds from Corinth are published by Parani 2003, fig. 158. Also see the spearheads found in Russia reproduced by Kirpichnikov 1966, 5, plates 1–8/7, 9/1–6, 21/5–6, 22/2, 8, 23/4, 8. For finds of leaf- and lancet-heads with sockets from

tions, usually blue, white or light grey (figs. 5, 25a,c,d, 26–27, 30a–f, 32, 35a, 36a, 38, 44a,b, 45b, 46b,c, 48a-c, 63, 87)[21] suggest iron, as is confirmed not only in the preserved artefacts, but also in the terminology, where—besides the terms mentioned above—we also meet the expression σιδήριον.[22] Sometimes the lance-heads of the military saints are shown in gold (figs. 39, 44a),[23] which may suggest that these weapons were of a ceremonial rather than martial character.[24]

The blade is secured to the wooden shaft by means of a tapering socket (κουσπίον).[25] Occasionally, there is a knob between the lance-

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the migration period see *Germanen*, nos. II 29b, II 33b, XII 14a, XIV 6b, XIV 21a, XIV 27h, XIV 47a.

[21] See e.g. Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 48, 57; 66; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 10, 12 on pp. 32–3, fig. 21 on p. 41, and also figs. 12–13 on pp. 60–1; *Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 283; Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, fig. 127; *Athos*, vol. A', figs. 241, 265; vol. B', fig. 329.

[22] Σιδήριον is undoubtedly a calque of the Latin *ferrum*, see e.g. STRAT. $258^{17–18}$ [VII 15] (≈ LT, 2:160^{4945} [XIV 38 (39)]; and Leo {LT, vol. B', p. 294 [XX 188]}), who adds that these iron heads should be hidden from the enemy (καὶ τὰ σίδηρα τῶν κονταρίων ἀποκρύπτειν; on covers for the spear see above, n. 20); see also the further examples published by Kolias 1988, 195. On the blunt, iron arrowheads used for training see PERI STRATEGIAS, p. $132^{16–17}$ [46]: βάλλοντες ἀντὶ αἰχμῆς κεφαλίδας σιδηρᾶς ἐχούσας.

[23] See for example Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, fig. 59; Bank 1966, nos. 226–227; *Athos*, vol. A', fig. 216.

[24] Leo VI states in his *Taktika* {LT, vol. B', p. 264 [XX 116]} that in battle it is necessary to use sharp spearheads of iron and not gold—which indicates that the latter were known, if not used in combat. On the golden spears carried by the emperor during the triumph of Theophilos, and at Basil I's entry into the capital by his son Constantine (additionally decorated with pearls), see PORPH., pp. 142^{754}, $148^{844–5}$ [C]: ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔλαβεν λόγχην χρυσῆν διὰ μαργαριτῶν ἠμφιεσμένην. [...] ἔλαβεν δὲ καὶ τῇ χερὶ λόγχην χρυσῆν. The silver and gold lances gifted by Romanos Lekapenos to the Bulgarian tsar Symeon on the occasion of the signing of a treaty are mentioned by THEOPH. CONT., p. $407^{13–14}$. Kolias (1988, 211–12) concludes from a reference by Ps. KODINOS (p. $273^{15–18}$ [VII]) that such 'gold lances' had only gilded heads or shafts.

[25] In view of the term's Latin etymology (*cuspis*—'spike', 'point') we might well assume that it refers to a barb or tang driven into the shaft to secure the head (see Bishop/Coulston 1993, figs. 22, 35, 68, 84, 115). But as Kolias (1988, 198–9 and n. 83) rightly demonstrates, a reference by Eustathios of Thessaloniki (EUST. IL., 2:$321^{11–14}$: τὸν μέντοι κρίκον, ὃς περιθέει καὶ περιάγεται ἑλίσσων τὸ ξύλον, εἰς ὃ ἐμβέβληται ἡ αἰχμή, ὃν ἡ ἀπερινόητος γλῶσσα κουσπίον φησι, ἐκ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ περὶ τοὺς πόδας ξυλίνου δεσμοῦ πόρκην ὁ Ὅμηρος καλεῖ) clearly specifies that the Byzantines used it in the sense of an iron ring that enclosed the shaft thereby securing the head. See also the PRAECEPTA (p. $14^{31–2}$ [I 3]) which states that the *kouspia* of lances should be fit for the task, as should their heads (καὶ τὰ ξιφάρια αὐτῶν ἐπιτήδεια καὶ τὰ **κουσπία**). See also the forms κοῦσπος in MALALAS (p. 36^{37} [II 17]) and αἰχμοδέτης in DE CER (p. 639^{7} [II 40]). The popularity of securing spear- and javelin-heads by means of a socket is attested by numerous archaeological finds (see above, n. 20 and below, n. 35).

head and socket, which was probably purely decorative;[26] these appear on the lances of St Orestes at Episkopi in Eurytania (fig. 38); Lupus and Nestor on a reliquary of St Demetrios in the Historical Museum of the Moscow Kremlin; Eustathios on the *Harbaville Triptych* (fig. 20b); George and Theodore on an enkolpion in the Cleveland Museum of Art; Theodore Teron on a mosaic at Hosios Loukas in Phokis (fig. 25a); and on an eleventh-century silver dish found near Perm, now in the Hermitage.[27] The small lugs that prevent the head from penetrating too deeply are not seen on military saints' lances. Their presence on Byzantine spears is attested by heads found in the Serçe Limani wreck (fig. 91c), as well in art—on soldiers' spears in historical scenes.[28] To explain the relationship of the warrior saints' lances with those in actual use we shall have to examine the various types.

Types of Shafted Weapon in Byzantium

Javelins and spears (verytta, akontion, rhiptarion)

The Byzantine army continued to employ most of the wide variety of pole arms that had been in use in ancient Rome. Such weapons differed in length and construction depending on whether they were intended for throwing or close combat. Following on from the Roman *pilum* (*spiculum*)—a light spear with head set on a long metal spike, fastened on a short shaft—was the βηρύττα, from the Latin *verticulum*, *verutum*. In the tenth century this weapon was also known by the term

[26] Kolias (1988, 197–8) speculates that such knobs may have prevented the spear from becoming stuck in a victim's body, but this function was undoubtedly better fulfilled by lugs. Hoffmeyer (1966, 119) points out the many analogies in Merovingian art and thereby attempts to link the origins of the knob on the socket with the Franks. See also the relief from Dura-Europos depicting a lance tipped with a knob and a loop (Teixidor 1979, fig. 23).

[27] See *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 17, 36, 80, 111; Chatzidakis 1997, fig. 48; Bank 1966, no. 206 (= Darkevich 1975, fig. 375в). In the iconography of the warrior saints knobs also appear on the sockets on the Venetian *Pala d'Oro* (Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, figs. 124–129, 142); a miniature in the Oxford *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos* (Hutter 1999, fig. 21); and a relief with St George adorning the base of a silver dish from the 12th C. (Darkevich 1975, fig. 80).

[28] On the spearheads from Serçe Limani, see above n. 20; for Russian javelin heads of similar form see Kirpichnikov 1966, plates 8/8–13, 9/7–13; examples from art (mainly MS illuminations) are listed by Kolias 1988, 198 and n. 79.

ῥιπτάριον (or ῥικτάριον from ρίπτω—to throw, cast)[29] or as ἀκόντιον, derived from the ancient Greek.[30] The lack of references to the *verytta* and, to some extent, also the paucity of depictions in art indicate that the javelin's form had changed during the Middle Byzantine period.[31] The maximum length recommended for the *akontion* (or *rhiptarion*) according to the *Sylloge* was just under three metres including its head (between one and three fathoms, but no more than 12 spans,

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[29] In the 4th C. the *pilum* is mentioned by Ammian., 5:46 [XXVI 9/7], 137 [XXVII 2/3]; while spearmen πιλάριοι (or *akontistai*) and βερουτάριοι (called *diskoboloi* [sic!]) are also mentioned by Lydos 72[20–1] [I 12/46]. Vegetius (p. 90 [II 15]) states that soldiers in the first rank should be equipped with two throwing spears—a larger one with a nine-inch iron head and a shaft of 5½ feet, once called a *pilum* and now a *spiculum*, and a shorter one with a five-inch head and a shaft of 3½ feet (the Roman foot or *pes* measured 29.6 cm, while the inch or *uncia* was 2.4 cm, see Schilbach 1970, 13–16, 20; H. Chantraine, "Uncia" in *PR*, 9/1:654–8): *item bina missibilia, unum maius ferro triangulo unciarum novem, hastili pedem quinque semis, quod pilum vocabant, nunc spiculum dicitur, ad cuius ictum exercebantur praecipue milites, quod arte et virtute directum et scutatos pedites et loricatos equites saepe transuerberat, aliud minus ferro unciarum quinque, hastili pedum trium semis, quod tunc uericulum, nunc uerutum dicitur.* Also see Hoffmeyer (1966, 118–20) who incorrectly interprets the *verytta* as a weapon intermediate between a spear and a club; cf. Kolias (1988, 185–6) who fails to see the links between the antique *verutum* and the Byzantine *verytta*, although he provides depictions of the *pilum* on 4th-C. coins, and also links the *pilum* with the Frankish ἄγγων mentioned by Agathias and in the *Commentary to the Iliad* penned by Eustathios of Thessaloniki. The convergence of the terms *verutum* and *verytta* is pointed out by Mihăescu 1968, 491; also on this subject see earlier references in the sources collected by Anastasiadis 1994, 9–10. On Roman spears with heads mounted on a metal shaft see P.N. Schulten, "Pilum" in *PR*, 40:1335–68. F. Lammert, "Spiculum" in *PR*, 6, II/2 (1929): 1761–2; Coulston 2002, 13. For examples of the Late Roman (3rd C. AD) *pilum* see Southern/Dixon 1996, 112–13, fig. 41; Kaczanowski 1992, figs. 13/1–2; *Germanen*, nos. XII 20a, XIV 48b; for depictions in antique art see also: Gamber 1978, 416, figs. 371, 378, 396; Żygulski 1998, 96–7, 117, fig. 118.

[30] On the ancient *akontion* see E. Reisch & P. Wagler, "Ἀκόντιον", in *PR*, 1/1 (1893): 1178–85. Maurice (Strat., pp. 420[2–3] [XIIB 2], 420[4–5] [XIIB 3], 422[6–7] [XIIB 5]) recommends the *verytta* or small Slav spear (λαγκίδια Σκλαβινίσκια) as the weapon of both heavy- and light-armoured infantry formations. The disappearance of the term *verytta* is evidenced by a passage in LT (1:118[1436–37] [VI, 26]) repeating the words of the *Strategikon* where Leo explains it as a *rhiptarion* (while elsewhere: LT, 1:103[1300–03] [VI 7] Leo states that besides two *kontaria* soldiers should own two *rhiptaria*—i.e. *akontia* intended for throwing), which he recommends for light troops inexperienced with the bow (on *rhiptaria* used for throwing see {LT, vol. B', p. 62 [XVII 21]}); on Venetians employing *rhiptaria* see *DAI*, 1:120[32] [28]. *Akontia* are listed along with other missiles, for example in Peri Strategias, pp. 94[20] [31], 100[54] [32]; Strat., pp. 376[72–4] [XI 4], 464[84–5] [XII B 20]; De Cer., 1:672[4] [II 45]; and Psellos, 2:25[14] [VI 114]; see also Koukoules, 3:135.

[31] The head of a short *pilum* was found at Sredishche in Bulgaria, although the object had been reforged to form the base of a cross (Iotov 2004, fig. 39, no. 546).

i.e. 281 cm).[32] In the Byzantine army they were employed by specialized units of javelineers (ἀκοντισταί and ῥιπταρισταί) that were often formed from foreign mercenaries.[33] The short length of the Byzantine javelin[34] might suggest that it was the weapon carried by warrior saints. However, as we can see from the javelin heads found on the Serçe Limani shipwreck, their awl-like shape on a broad socket would rule out the identification of the warrior saint's spears (with their prominent heads with a knob) as throwing weapons.[35]

The heavy infantry pike (menaulion)

The μεναύλιον (μοναύλιον) was the equivalent of the short Roman hunting spear, the *venabulum*.[36] It was employed by specialized units of *menaulatoi*. Along with the increase in the numbers of *menaulatoi*

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[32] SYLLOGE, p. 60 [XXXVIII 6, 8] (={LT, vol. B', p. 358 [XXXVIII]}): ἀκόντια εἴτ' οὖν ῥιπτάρια ὀργυιᾶς μιᾶς πρὸς τῷ τρίτῳ ἔγγιστα, μὴ πλέον δηλαδὴ σπιθαμῶν δώδεκα ἕκαστον σὺν τῇ αἰχμῇ [...] ἀνὰ δύο καὶ τριῶν φερέτω ἕκαστος ἀκόντια σπιθαμῶν μάλιστα δώδεκα. Schilbach (1970, 22–7; and 1982, 184–5 and index) states that the fathom (ὀργυιά, ἁπλῆ) measured 9 royal spans = 108 *daktyloi* = 210.6 cm (or 187.4 cm), (on the span or σπιθαμή see above, n. 339 on p. 214). See also Kolias (1988, 187 n. 13) who draws attention to the discrepancies in measurements. See also the length proposed by Haldon 1975, 32.

[33] These took part, among other things, in night attacks and raids into enemy territory, and were also used to guard camps, towns and ships, see for example DE VELITATIONE, p. $154^{27,\,31}$ [3]; DE RE MILITARI, pp. 246^{13} [1], 264^{5} [4], 268^{13} [5] 268^{4} [6], 272^{10} [7], 292^{13} [19], 300^{129-30} [20], 312^{11-12} [25] lists *akontistai* among other light formations—archers and *psiloi* (described in the SUDA, $1{:}92^{7}$ [998] by the common term *akroboloi*); STRAT., p. 308^{18-23} [IX 2] (≈ {LT, vol. B', p. 62 [XVII 20]}) on the use of javelineers during night attacks, p. 248^{5} [VII; PRAECEPTA, p. 14^{52} [I 6] (≈ TNU [MG], p. 90^{57-8} [LVI 6]) states that they were recruited among the Rus' and other foreign peoples (ἂν μὲν ὦσι ῥιπταρισταί, εἴτε Ῥῶσοι εἴτε ἄλλοι ἐθνικοί,); Leo, however, (LT, $1{:}103^{1296-99}$ [VI 3]) recommends selecting javelineers from soldiers who were not too expert with the bow; see also PROCOPIUS, $1{:}350^{11-12}$ [III 8/27]; PSELLOS, $2{:}11^{8}$ [VI 94]; EUST. IL., $1{:}538^{10}$, $3{:}211^{5}$, $4{:}853^{3}$, 854^{2}; EUST. OD., $2{:}315^{4}$ (listing them along with *diskoboloi* as athletes). *Rhiptariotai* are mentioned, for example, in TNU [F], p. 309 [LXXI]; see also Kolias (1988, 190 and n. 26; with pointers to further sources).

[34] It is possible that shorter javelins than those mentioned in the *Sylloge* (see above, n. 32) were also used for throwing, as is attested by the reference in {LT, vol. A', p. 342 [XIV 104]} on their use together with arrows during night attacks; and also PERI STRATEGIAS (p. 54^{46} [16]) which contrasts them with the long *dory*—δοράτια καὶ ἀκόντια—which were undoubtedly shorter; see also Ravegnani 1988, p. 50.

[35] Schwarzer 1991, 329, figs. 2, 3; see also the javelins depicted in the *Madrid Skylitzes* on fols. 99v (thrown by Arabs, which however have clearly defined heads) and 100r (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 222, 226). In the light of the underwater finds the idea (Kolias 1988, 188) that javelin heads were secured to the shaft with the aid of a metal tang is untenable.

[36] See Mihăescu 1982, 18; and after him McGeer 1987, 53, n. 3 and Anastasiadis 1994, 4. See also the faulty interpretations of Haldon (1975, 32–3) and Nicolle (1988,

towards the end of the tenth century, the function of this formation changed, since the *Sylloge* and especially the *Praecepta* already speak of it as made up of brave soldiers whose task was to halt enemy cavalry charges.[37] Both treatises recommend that the *menaulion* be cut from a single sapling of young oak, cornel, or a wood they call *artzekida*, but if such materials were unavailable then to make it from smaller pieces of wood joined together. The *Praecepta* further adds that the shafts should be of such thickness that they could just be encompassed by one hand.[38]

Leo VI mentions the *menaulion* in his description of the wooden obstacles that the commander Nikephoros Phokas (grandfather of the emperor of the same name) employed to defend his camp against night attacks by enemy cavalry during an expedition against Bulgaria. The treatise states that these were tripods built from stakes, one of which was five or six spans in length 'in the shape of a menaulion', plus two shorter ones. Surmounting these contraptions were long and strong blades of two spans length or slightly less—according to Leo's *Taktika*—also 'in the shape of a menaulion'.[39] This description might

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2:610) who associate the *menaulion* with the *martzobarboulon* (see below, p. 375). The *menaulion* is mentioned, e.g. by Theophanes, p. 221^{3}; DAI, $1{:}110^{33}$ [26].

[37] The *menaulatoi* as a formation for halting attacking cataphracts are mentioned for the first time in the Sylloge, p. 89 [XLVII 16]. The rapid growth in their numbers in the 10th C.—from 300 mentioned in the *Sylloge* to 1600 in the *Praecepta*—is pointed out by Anastasiadis 1994, 4–5; cf. the reconstruction of *menaulatoi* numbers proposed by McGeer 1987, 55–6. On the infantry formation which took the form of a mobile square (*tetragonos parataxis*), providing protection for the cavalry, and whose composition included *menaulatoi* see McGeer 1988 (based mainly on evidence in the *Sylloge* and *Praecepta*). On the bravery of soldiers making up the *menaulatoi* see Praecepta, p. 18^{124-5} [I 11] (= TNU [MG], p. 94^{122-3} [LVI 11]); McGeer 1995, 211.

[38] Sylloge, p. 59 [XXXVIII 3] (= {LT, vol. B', p. 356 [XXXVIII]}) τὰ μέντοι μεναύλια μή ἀπό πελεκητῶν ἔστωσαν ξύλων, ἀλλ' ἀπό νεακέων δρυῶν ἢ κρανιῶν ἢ τῶν λεγομένων ἀρτζικιδίων ἢ ἑτέρου τοίου τινός. Praecepta, 18^{119-24} [IV 11] (≈ TNU [MG], p. 94^{117-22} [LVI 11]: τὰ δὲ μέναυλα αὐτῶν μὴ εἶναι ἀπὸ πελεκητῶν ξύλων, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ νεακίων δρυῶν ἢ κρανειῶν ἢ τῶν λεγομένων ἀτζηκιδίων. εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοφυῆ ξύλα οὐχ εὑρίσκονται, γενέσθωσαν ἀπὸ παλεκητῶν, πλὴν ἔστωσαν ἀπὸ ἰσχυρῶν ξύλων καὶ παχέα τοσοῦτον, ὅσον δύνανται χεῖρες κυβερνᾶν. See also McGeer 1995, 186. Cornel wood (κρανέιον) as a material for making spears appears already in a Homeric hymn to Hermes, where Apollo swears an oath on a cornel-wood javelin (Alföldi 1959, 24).

[39] LT, $1{:}300^{3247}–301^{3260}$ [XI 26]: Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Βουλγάρων ἐκστρατείαν καὶ ἕτερον αὐτῷ ἐπενοήθη πρὸς φυλακὴν ἀπλίκτου. χρήσιμον, ὅπερ χρὴ μὴ λήθῃ παραπεμφθῆναι, ὁμοῦ τε γὰρ ἐλαφρὸν εἰς βασταγὴν καὶ ἀναγκαῖον εἰς φυλαὴν ἐγνωρίσθη. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτον· κανόνια δύο σύμμετρα λαβὼν ξύλινα ἀνὰ τριῶν που σπιθαμῶν ἢ ὀλίγῳ πλέον λαβδαραίαν συνέμιξεν, ἕτερον δὲ κανόνιον ὁμοίως, ἔχον σπιθαμὰς πέντε ἢ καὶ ἓξ, τάξιν μεναύλου ἐν τῇ συμμίξει τοῦ δισκελίου ἐπιθεὶς τρισκέλιον ἐποίησεν, ἱστάμενον

lead one to conclude that the *menaulion* measured slightly less than 1.5 metres with a head of about 0.5 metres, which would have made it similar to the Roman *pilum*.[40] However, Nikephoros Ouranos states in his *Taktika* (correcting the corrupt text of Phokas's *Praecepta*) that the shaft of the *menaulion* was 1½ or 2 fathoms in length (about 2.7–3.6 metres), while the head measured 1½ to 2 spans (about 35–47 cm).[41] References to the *menaulion* in Leo VI's text should therefore be understood only in the context of an obstacle that protected against cavalry attack in a manner similar to a long pike. The conclusion from the above is that the *menaulion* had transformed itself during the Middle Byzantine period into a long, massive pike, which the *menaulatoi* braced against the ground, pointing the head up at an angle and thereby creating an obstacle that was difficult for charging enemy cavalry to cross.[42] On the other hand, treatises on

ἰσχυρῶς διὰ τῆς ὑπ' ἀλλήλων τῶν σκελῶν συγκροτήσεως. περὶ δὲ τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ οἷον μεναύλου ξιφάριον μέγα καὶ ἁδρὸν ἐνέβαλεν προκύπτον τοῦ τρισκελίου, ὡς εἴρηται, σπιθαμὰς δύο ἢ μικρῷ πλέον, καὶ οὕτω τοὺς ξυλίνους ἐκείνους τριβόλους,.... McGeer 1987, 55; Anastasiadis (1994, 2, n. 10) quotes a text by Ouranos [XIV 27] modelled on Leo.

40 Such a conclusion is drawn by Anastasiadis 1994, 3.

41 TNU [MG], p. 92^{82-85} [LVI 8]: ἔχωσι μεναύλια παχέα ἔχοντα τὸ μῆκος ἀπὸ ἓν ἥμισυ οὐργυιῶν εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ δύο, τὰ δὲ ξιφάρια αὐτῶν ἵνα ἔχωσιν ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἡμίσεος σπιθαμῆς εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ δύο. See also McGeer's calculations (1995, 210) and the corresponding passage in the PRAECEPTA (p. 16^{83-84} [I 8]), giving a length for the whole *menaulion* of 2–2.5 spans, which refers rather only to the head; cf. also McGeer's improbable hypothesis (1987, 54) that the *menaulion* measured as much as 5.7–6.9 m; and also the faulty reconstructions of Haldon (1975, 33) and Kolias (1988, 194–5), who believe—on the evidence of the above reference in LT—that the *menaulion* was a short spear. On the Byzantine fathom see Schilbach (1970, 17–18, 20, 22–26; and 1984, 184; with references to sources published by him) who states that the fathom (*orgyia*) is a unit of length equivalent to 9 royal spans or 108 *daktyloi* (*c*.210 cm), whereas the geometric fathom is equal to 9¼ royal spans or 111 *daktyloi* (*c*.216.7 cm). A flat spearhead with tang, corresponding in length (*c*.30 cm) to the head of a *menaulion*, is in the collections of the Bishopric Museum in Mistra, while another of clearly different construction is in the Regional Historical Museum in Kyustendil, Bulgaria. In turn, a long awl-pike of square section on a socket found at Okrosh in Bulgaria is published by Iotov 2004, 82, fig. 39, no. 541 (see also Iotov's type 4 and fig. 108—no. 538, which he associates rather with Bulgarian cavalry).

42 See McGeer 1988, 140–1, 143; the solid construction of the *menaulion* is underlined by Dawson 2002, 84; and 2007, 54 and fig. on p. 52 (reconstruction of one file of an infantry formation with the *menaulatos* in the front rank); cf. also Anastasiadis (1994, 9–10) who, because of the weapon's long iron section, sees it as a continuation of the Roman *pilum*, and because *menaulatoi* were often accompanied by light-armed javelineers draws the conclusion that they were a light-armed formation. In turn Haldon (1975, 32) incorrectly links the *menaulion* with the *martzobarboulon*. These views are contradicted by a description in the PRAECEPTA, p. 18^{95-7} [I 9] (= TNU [MG], pp. 92^{99}–94^{100} [LVI 9]) stating that *menaulatoi* and javelineers are to have the same

naval combat list *menaulia* among the equipment of a *dromon*, and state that they were used to pierce the sides of enemy ships—which also confirms the solid construction of this type of spear and hints at its substantial length.[43]

In the light of the above facts it is necessary to discard the conjecture that the relatively short spears with thin shafts carried by warrior saints were modelled on the *menaulion*. In truth, St George's lance on a relief-work icon from Cherson[44] has an exceptionally thick shaft together with a long and prominent head, but the weapon's short length disqualifies its identification as a *menaulion*.

Lance and spear (dory, kontarion, longche)

The next type of Byzantine shafted weapon was the κονταρίων (Lat. *contus*),[45] which corresponded to the Classical lance (Lat. *lancea* = Gk. λόγχη).[46] Authors who affected a Classical style more often described

weapons as heavily armed *hoplites*, with the exception of shields, which are slightly smaller. Leo in his *Taktika* (LT, 1:125$^{1493-94}$ [VI 31 (32)]) equates the cavalryman's *kontarion* with the *menaulion* and the *dory*, which may indicated that the *menaulion* was also used by cavalry.

43 Naumachica, pp. 22 [I 15–16], 74 [VI 12], 75 [VI 14], 85 [VI 63–64 (70–71)]. Attempts made by the Rus' to penetrate the sides of Byzantine ships are mentioned by Psellos, 2:11^{12} [VI 94].

44 See *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 202 (= Milyaeva 2000, fig. 1). The *menaulion* known to us from descriptions appears to match the long spear of Goliath (with its prominent head and long, thick shaft) in scenes of the combat with David on fol. 197v in *Pantokrator Psalter 61*, and on fols. 141v, 148v of the *Khludov Psalter* (Dufrenne 1966, fig. 29; Shchepkina 1977, figs. 141, 148).

45 O. Fiebiger, "Contus" in *PR*, 4/1 (1900): 1170; Ravegnani 1988, p. 50; Mihăescu 1969, 160; Diethart/Dintnis 1984, 77–78. Leo in his *Taktika* (LT, 1:126^{1498} [VI 31 (32)]; see also above, n. 42 and below, n. 47) equates the *kontarion* with the *dory* and the *longche*, and even a *menaulion* used by cavalry and the *rhiptarion* (p. 182^{2141} [VII 67 (74)]), which suggests that he considers it a generic term for pole arms. The form κοντάριν is used in Dig. Akr., p. 240^{53}, 284^{615}, 308^{939}, 334$^{1282-84}$, 342^{1406}, 348^{1483}, 350^{1508}. On the *kontarion* see also Kolias 1988, 185, 187, 192; Haldon 1975, 32.

46 On the Roman lance see R. Grosse, "Lancea" in *PR*, 12/1 (1924): 618–19. On the term λόγχη in Byzantine literature see, e.g.: Hesychios, vol. 1, [p. 529]: *δόρατα· λόγχαι, vol. 2 [3:47] λôγχη· λῆξις, μερίς. καὶ ὁ τοῦ δόρατος σίδηρος λόγῳ παρθένοι· τὰ μὴ ὄντα μέν, λεγόμενα δέ λόε· ἔλουεν. The term is also used by George the Monk, 1:167^{7} (≈ MPG, 110, col. 216); Malalas, p. 37^{64} [II 17]; Eust. Il., 1:7^{31}; and Choniates, p. 19^{5}. Meanwhile, Komnene (2:222^{24} [X 9/5], 3:137^{24} [XIII 12/27], 141^{4} [XIV 1/1]) uses the term λόγχη exclusively in reference to the lance that pierced Christ's side. The same term also appears in De Cer. ([Vogt], 1:168$^{1-4}$ [I 43]) for the holy lance venerated by the emperor on Good Fridays in the *Chrysotriklinos* and in the church in Pharos.

it by the ancient Greek term δόρυ,[47] which might equally refer to the whole of the weapon or just its shaft. The *kontarion* was widely used in the Byzantine army by both infantry and cavalry. According to the *Strategikon* cavalry employed a *kontarion* of Avar style, which was distinguished by a leather thong (λωρίον) attached at its centre.[48]

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[47] On the ancient Greek *dory* see: H. Droysen, "Δόρυ" in *PR*, 5 (1905): 1576–7; and Battisti 1968, 1075. This term is often used, e.g. by Procopius, 1:6$^{7, 24}$ [I 1/9, 13], 16^{17} [I 4/13], 64^{12} [I 13/32], 64^{26}, 65^{1} [I 13/36], 71^{38} [I 14/37], 156^{18} [II 3/21], 157^{1} [II 3/23], 350^{13} [III 8/27], 409^{9} [III 23/16], 429^{15} [IV 3/9], 2:80^{23} [V 15/12], 91^{7} [V 18/10], 118$^{9-10}$ [V 24/3], 130^{24} [V 27/5], 134^{4} [V 27/27], 142^{19} [V 29/22], 144^{23} [V 29/37] etc.; and also Komnene, 1:18^{21} [I 4/4], 25$^{11, 13}$ [I 6/3], 26$^{17, 19}$ [I 6/6], 33^{4} [I 8/3], 41^{29} [I 11/7], 94^{26} [II 10/3], 111^{16} [III 3/2], 137^{3} [III 11/2], 163^{21}, 164$^{1-2, 5-6, 20, 26}$ [VI 7/1–2], 165$^{5, 19, 22}$ [IV 7/3–5], 167^{12} [IV 8/2], and 2:15^{15} [V 3/4], 20^{11} [V 4/5], 31^{23} [V 7/3], 47^{10} [VI 3/3], 73^{10} [VI 11/2], 122^{21} [VII 10/4], 125^{17} [VII 11/4], 129^{22} [VIII 1/5], 140^{23} [VIII 5/3], 163$^{6-7}$ [IX 2/2], 174^{23} [IX 6/5], 181^{16} [IX 9/2], 202^{19} [X 4/7], 218^{24} [X 8/8], 3:31$^{13-15}$ [XI 6/8], 37^{31} [XI 8/3], 52$^{6, 27}$ [XI 12/5], 57^{7} [XII 2/2], 59^{7} [XII 2/7], 62^{30} [XII 3/8], 91^{28}, 92^{8} [XIII 2/1], 105^{28} [XIII 5/3], 114^{13} [XIII 8/1], 120^{9} [XIII 9/7], 125^{25} [XIII 12/1], 127^{19} [XIII 12/5], 132^{29} [12/16], 138^{9} [XIII 12/27], 147^{21} [XIV 2/4], 165^{5} [XIV 5/2], 173^{19} [XIV 7/2], 180^{17} [XIV 8/6], 196^{28} [XV 3/4], 197^{9} [XV 3/5], 198^{20} [XV 3/7], 208^{18} [XV 6/4], 211$^{20-22}$ [XV 6/9], 229^{9} [XV 10/5]; Psellos, 1:30^{15} [II 8] (ἀφιέναι δόρυ—in the sense of a thrown javelin), 103^{4} [V 27], 2:7^{9} [VI 87], 22^{5} [VI 111], 23^{10} [VI 112], 25^{14} [VI 114], 90^{11} [VII 13], 95^{10} [VII 22], 97$^{32, 34}$ [VII 24], 125^{7} [VII 68], 128^{12} [VII 72]; Kinnamos, pp. 50^{6}, 52$^{22-3}$, 62^{12}, 82$^{18-22}$ [II], 110$^{10, 24}$, 124$^{3-4}$ [III], 160^{10}, 193^{10} [IV], 259$^{5, 9-10}$, 271$^{18-19}$ [VI]; and Choniates, pp. 17^{55}, 35^{30}, 36^{52}, 37^{79}, 53$^{37-8}$. Iotov (2004, 77) proposes adding to the above the terms βόρυ and βόρατος, which both seem to be corrupted forms of *dory*.

Furthermore, the same authors use the ancient Greek term *doryphoros* to describe a class of spearmen who usually appear as a personal bodyguard for the emperor, see e.g.: Procopius 1:43^{7} [I 9/13], 58^{21} [I 12/21], 74^{19} [I 15/4], 91^{21} [I18/6], 114^{13} [I 21/27], 131^{4} [I 24/40], 135^{9} [I 25/7], 139^{11} [I 25/28], 143^{12} [I 26/9], 233$^{24-5}$[II 19/15], 243^{8}[II 21/2], 272$^{10-11}$ [II 26/26], 347^{12} [III 8/12], 363^{11} [III 11/19], 364$^{25-6}$ [III 11/30], 366^{4} [III 12/5], 383^{14} [III 16/9], 393^{9} [III 19/13], 394^{16} [III 19/23], 407$^{17-18}$ [III 23/5], 408$^{1-2}$ [III 23/8], 429^{1} [IV 3/5], 430^{4} [IV 3/13], 434$^{22-3}$ [IV 4/15], 454^{19} [IV 8/20], 455^{10} [IV 8/23], 459^{7} [IV 10/4], 485^{22} [IV 14/23], 489^{3} [IV 15/1], 490$^{7-8}$ [IV 15/9], 504^{7} [IV 17/23], 505^{19} [IV 18/1], 506^{8}–507^{26} [IV 18/6–18], 509^{3} [IV 19/6], 519$^{3, 6}$ [IV 21/9—10], 522$^{1, 3}$ [IV 22/27–28], 533^{14} [IV 25/8] 541^{20} [IV 27/10], 544^{3} [IV 27/25], 545^{17} [IV 28/3], 2:25^{22} [V 5/4], 38^{9} [V 7/34], 70^{10} [V 12/51], etc.; Komnene, 1:90^{19} [II 8/5]; and also the definitions of the term given after Arrian's *Taktika* [II 12] by LT, 1:126$^{1501-05}$ [VI 31 (32)]:...οἱ δὲ ἰδίως δορατοφόροι, δόρυ γὰρ τὸ κοντάριν ἔλεγον. From this last reference Hoffmeyer (1966, 118) concludes that *doryphoroi* did not have shields since their lance was too heavy to carry one-handed.

[48] Strat., p. 78$^{18-19}$ [I 2]: κοντάρια καβαλλαρικὰ ἔχοντα λωρία κατὰ τοῦ μέσου, πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα τῶν 'Αβάρων; on the leather strap on short cavalry spears see also LT, 1:100$^{1271-72}$ [VI 2]: ἔχειν δὲ καὶ κοντάρια καβαλλαρικὰ μικρά ἔχοντα λωρία κατὰ τοῦ μέσου; see also Wiita 1978, 140; Nicolle 1988, 2:607; Kolias 1988, 200–01 (and also 189–90 on the ἀγκύλη (Lat. *amentum*), the ancient thong used for throwing javelins, which cannot be equated with the Byzantine *lorion*; see also R. Grosse, "Lancea" in *PR*, 12/1:619, who cites a reference by Isidore of Seville [XVIII 7, 5–6]: *Lancea est hasta amentum habens in medio: dicta autem lancea quod aequa lance, id est aequali amento, ponderata vibratur. Amentum vinculum est iaculorum hastilium qui mediis*

Presumably this served as a handgrip, and a loop could be attached to it allowing the lance to be slung on the back when marching and to free the hand for use of the bow.[49] There is no evidence that infantry spears were fitted with such thongs.

The military manuals allow us to reconstruct the length of the spears and lances used by infantry and cavalry. When describing the Macedonian infantry formation and the *phoulkon*, the sixth-century treatises *Peri strategias* and *Strategikon* speak of the long spears that allowed soldiers standing in the second or third ranks to inflict blows.[50] The *kontarion*'s dimensions are specified in the *Sylloge tacticorum* and in Leo VI's *Taktika*. Both manuals devote a great deal of space to comparing the ancient Macedonian infantry *sarissa* with the Byzantine *kontarion*. It is therefore possible to state that the cumbersome *sarissa* measured between 14 and 16 cubits (*c*.6.5–7.5 m),[51] while Byzantine

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hastis aptatur: et inde amentum quod media hasta religatur ut iaculetur). Górecki (1980, 214) identifies a *lorion* on the lances of military saints at Faras, but it must be stressed these are exceptional in comparison with the art of the Empire.

[49] When describing the tactics of the barbarians (including the Scythians) Maurice states (Strat., p. 362[26–7] [XI 2]): ὅθεν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις διπλοῦν ἅρμα οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν ἐπιφέρονται, ἐν τοῖς ὤμοις τὰ κοντάρια ἀναβαστάζοντες καὶ τὰ τόξα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ κατέχοντες; see also Procopius, 1:6[23–4] [I 1/13]. As can be surmised from the fragment of LT (1:139[1628]–140[1636] [VII 5–6 (10)]) recommending that cavalrymen train to shoot with the bow while carrying a lance slung on the back, this method of combat was adopted by the Byzantine army; see also Kolias (1988, 201), who discusses further references in LT and Strat.

[50] See Peri Strategias, p. 54 [16] Τὰ δὲ δόρατα ἔχειν μῆκος ὁπόσον ἂν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν φέρειν δύναται, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον ζυγὸν καὶ τρίτον καὶ τέταρτον τεταγμένους, ὥστε τὰ τῶν τεσσάρων ζυγῶν δόρατα προπίπτειν τοῦ παντὸς στρατεύματος, καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ πρώτου ζυγοῦ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ δευτέρου τοσοῦτον προέχεις ὁπόσον καὶ ὁ πρῶτος ζυγὸς τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ ἐφεξῆς ὁμοίως ἕως τοῦ τετάρτου ζυγοῦ· συμβαίνει δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῦτο πυκνουμένης τῆς φάλαγγος ἀνὰ πῆχυν ἕνα. ἡ μὲν οὖν τοιαύτη σύνταξις τῶν δοράτων λέγεται Μακεδονική· ταύτῃ γὰρ τοὺς Μακεδόνας φασὶ χρήσασθαι. Τινὲς δὲ τὰ δόρατα τοῦ δευτέρου ζυγοῦ ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μακρότερα τοῦ πρώτου ἐποίησαν ὥστε τὴν προβολὴν τῶν δοράτων τοῦ τε πρώτου ζυγοῦ τοῦ τε δευτέρου ἴσην εἶναι διὰ τὸ δύο δόρατα καθ' ἑνὸς ἀγωνίζεσθαι τῶν ὑπεναντίων. τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τὸν τέταρτον ζυγὸν τεταγμένους οἱ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὺς κατέχειν ἐπέτρεψαν δόρατα πλὴν τῶν προτέρων ἐλάττονα, οἱ δὲ ἴσως ἄμεινον βουλευσάμενοι οὐ δόρατα, μᾶλλον δὲ δοράτια καὶ ἀκόντια καὶ ὅσα διὰ χειρὸς βάλλεσθαι κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δύνανται; Strat., pp. 410[50–6] [XII 7], 444[51–2] [XII B 16] Καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον καὶ τρίτον ἑκάστης ἀκίας εἰς φοῦλκον καθίστασθαι, τουτέστιν ἓν ἐφ' ἓν σκουτάριν, καὶ τὰ κοντάρια αὐτῶν ἔξω τῶν σκουταρίων ὄρθια προβάλλοντας, ἀντερείδειν γενναίως τῇ γῇ, ἵνα ἑτοίμως ἐμπειρῶνται οἱ κατατολμῶντες ἐγγίζειν αὐτοῖς. See also Kolias's interpretation (1988, 201).

[51] Both manuals repeat Aelian's statement [XIV 2–3] that foot hoplites and Macedonian pelasts employed a *sarissa* of 14 cubits, which was held 4 cubits from the end, leaving 10 cubits of shaft extending in front of the soldier's body: Sylloge, p. 52 [XXX 2]: καὶ [i.e. pikes] μακρότατα δ' ἕτερα πηχέων οὐκ ἐλάττω δεκατεσσάρων· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ

hoplites employed a shorter weapon of 8–10 cubits (*c*.3.75–4.68 m) with a head of between a half and a full span in length (*c*.12 to 23.5 cm);[52] the latter was modelled on the pikes of light troops in the armies of Philip II and Alexander the Great.[53] However, the length of 25–30 spans (5.8–7 m) quoted in the *Praecepta* for the infantry spear[54] seems improbable, and Eric McGeer's suggestion that Nikephoros Phokas had in mind a shorter span—measuring perhaps half of the royal span—seems reasonable.[55]

σαρίσσας ἐκάλουν· οἱ μὲν οὖν τέσσαρες πήχεις ὄπισθεν ἦσαν, οἱ δέκα δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ὑπελείποντο. Also LT, 1:133[1570]–134[1575] [VI 38 (39)]: κατέχων τὴν σάρισαν ἤγουν τὸ μακρὸν κοντάριον, ὅπερ, ὡς μέν τινες ἔφασαν, πηχῶν ις', κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν πηχῶν ιδ'. τούτων δὲ τέσσαρες μὲν πήχεις ἀφαιρεῖ τό μεταξὺ τῶν χειρῶν εἰς τὸ ὀπίσω, οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ δέκα πήχεις εἰς τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ἐκτείνονται πρὸ τῶν σωμάτων. Furthermore Leo adds (LT, 1:131[1552]–132[1554] [VI 36 (37)]) that the length of the *sarissa* might have been as much as 16 cubits: (αἱ δὲ σάρισαι ἦσαν κοντάρια μακρὰ ἕως πηχῶν ιδ' καὶ ἄχρι πηχῶν ις'. ταῦτα δὲ ἦσαν μάλιστα τῆς Μακεδονικῆς ὁπλίσεως.); see also the definition of the *sarissa* as a long Macedonian spear in the SUDA, 4:328[12–13] [Σ 132]. Żygulski (1998, 55, 59, figs. 61–62) estimates the length of the antique *sarissa* at 'about 4.5 m' and in some variants 'more than 5 m'. Schilbach (1970, 20–22; and 1982, 44[23–4] [I 2], 48[9] [II 1], 99[20] [II 14] and the index on p. 185) assumes that the cubit (πῆχυς) equalled 24 *daktyloi* = 2 spans = 46.8 cm, and sometimes even 5 spans = 62.46 cm.

52 The SYLLOGE instructs peltasts to use a *dory* of eight or ten cubits in length with a head of 0.5–1.0 spans (p. 59 [XXXVIII 3], 60 [XXXVIII 6]): Δόρατα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔστωσαν δεκαπήχη ἢ καὶ ὀκταπήχη τὸ ἔλαττον, τὰς αἰχμὰς ἔχοντα σπιθαμῆς μιᾶς πρὸς τῇ ἡμισείᾳ. Leo VI adds (LT 1:90[1160]–91[1164] [V 2 (3)]) that the long *sarissai* of the Macedonians and Romans were replaced by shorter *kontaria* since these were easier to handle and were better suited to the soldier's strength: κοντάρια μικρά, ὀκτάπηχα. (ἦσαν δέ ποτε Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Μακεδόσι κοντάρια ἄχρι πηχῶν ις', ἅπερ ἡ νῦν χρεία οὐ καλεῖ, τὸ γὰρ κατὰ τὴν ἑκάστου τῶν μεταχειριζομένων δύναμιν ὅπλον σύμμετρόν τε καὶ χρήσιμον). On the *kontarion*'s length see also Haldon 1975, 32; Kolias 1988, 192, and after them, Parani (2003, 139, n. 193); Nicolle meanwhile believes (1988, 2:606) that the cavalry *kontarion* measured about 4 m, while the infantry version was nearly 5 m, both with 25-cm heads; Dawson (2002, 84) estimates the length of the infantry spear at 3.00–3.60 m, while Hoffmeyer (1966, 115) quotes 3.60 m. Long infantry *kontaria* are carried by guards at the tomb of Christ on miniatures in *Pantokrator Psalter 61*, fols. 30v, 89r and 109r (Dufrenne 1966, figs. 4, 12, 19).

53 It is stated in the SYLLOGE that the length of the antique *dory* of the *peltasts* was 2.5 fathoms, while the *dory* of *doryphoroi* was no more than 2 fathoms (pp. 52 [XXX 2–3], 53 [XXXI 2]); meanwhile Leo (LT, 1:131[1550–52] [VI 36 (37)], 132[1562–63] [VI 37 (38)]) states that the *kontarion* of peltasts measured 8 cubits and was shorter than the *sarissa*; see also Aussaresses 1909, 48–51; and Żygulski (1998, 59, fig. 58) who gives the length of the spear of the elite Macedonian *hypaspistai* infantry as 3.5 m.

54 PRAECEPTA, p. 14[29–31] [I 3] (= TNU [MG], p. 90[33–5] [LVI 3]): τὰ δὲ κοντάρια αὐτῶν εἶναι αὐτὰ παχέα καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ἀπὸ τριάκοντα σπιθαμῶν εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ εἴκοσι πέντε τὸ μῆκος.

55 See McGeer 1995, 63; and after him Dawson 2002, 83, n. 20; see also above, n. 339 on pp. 214–215. Rance (2008, n. 83) has recently argued against the use of a shorter span to fit the data, and indicates that longer 6–7m pikes may have been introduced as an anti-cavalry experiment by Nikephoros.

Less information is available on cavalry lances. The only source that quotes their length is the *Sylloge tacticorum*, which states that the cavalry *dory* should measure 8 cubits and its head a span or more.[56] The text indicates that the lance was also to be adorned with a pennant.[57] This implies that cavalry lances were shorter or the same length as those of the infantry. This is contradicted by Maurice in the *Strategikon*, who recommends that *skoutarioi* should carry short spears, different from those employed by the cavalry,[58] which implies that cavalry lances were longer. Numerous references to the long lances of the cavalry, both Barbarian and Greek, appear in chroniclers' accounts and literary works; while the cavalry lances shown in the *Madrid Skylitzes* are distinctly longer than the spears of the infantry (figs. 66, 87).[59] In the

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[56] SYLLOGE, pp. 61 [XXXIX 1], 62 [XXXIX 8]: Τοὺς δ' ἱππεῖς ὁπλιστέον τὸν τρόπον. [...] δόρατά τε ὀκταπήχη φλαμουλίσκια ἔχοντα καὶ αἰχμὰς σπιθαμιαίους καὶ πρός. [...] Τῶν δὲ ψιλῶν καλουμένων ἱππέων [...] καὶ πρὸς τούτοις δόρυ ὀκτάπηχυ... The *Sylloge* arouses suspicion, however, by stating elsewhere (p. 52 [XXXI 1]) that the ancient cavalry *dory* was 2.5 cubits long (*c.*117–156 cm), which would seem insufficient for fighting effectively from horseback. It is possible that the author erroneously used the term 'cubit' instead of 'fathom'.

[57] On lance pennants see below, p. 340.

[58] STRAT., p. 458[7–8] [XII 20]: ἀλλὰ σκουταρίοις τοὺς μὲν σκουτάτους μείζοσι, **κονταρίοις δὲ κονδοῖς καὶ μὴ καβαλλαρικοῖς**.

[59] See, among others, the references in PROCOPIUS, 1:231[8] [II 18/24]; KOMNENE, 1:160[9] [IV 6/5] (δόρυ μακρὸν), 161[28] [IV 6/8] (δόρατα μακρὰ), 2:68[2] [VI 10/2], 68[29] [VI 10/4], 101[14] [VII 3/12], 113[5–6] [VII 8/5], 197[18] [X 3/5, 198[4] [3/6], 223[17] [X 9/7] (ἔγχεα μακρὰ); PSELLOS, 1:9[5] [I 14], and 11[9] [I 16] (δόρυ μακρὸν); LEO THE DEACON (p. 143[19–21] [IX 1]), who states that the Byzantine cavalrymen were trained in the use of the long *kontarion* (κοντοὺς ἐπιμήκεις). In turn, DIG. AKR. (p. 270[434]) mentions the green μακρυκόνταρα of the Arabs which were inlaid with silver. Long cavalry lances are shown in the *Madrid Skylitzes* on fols. 11r–12r, 13v, 15v (cavalrymen standing beside their horses making the considerable length of their lances clearly visible), 16r, 34v, 35v, 36v, 54v–55r, 56r, 58v–59v, 60v, 72r–73v, 80r, 85v–86r, 113v, 135v, 229r, 230v, 232r–233r (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 4–7, 11, 19, 69, 72, 75, 128–129, 133, 141–143, 145, 177–180, 195, 208–210, 260, 326, 542, 545, 548–549, 551, 553–554). Hoffmeyer (1966, 115) notices that long cavalry lances appear mainly on leaves illuminated by Masters 1 and 3, while Master 2 chiefly depicts light troops with *rhiptaria*. Other illustration of long lances are cited by Kolias (1988, 193, n. 45), who additionally proposes (208–9) that in the 12th C. the long lance was modelled on the Western European knightly lance. On the training of the Greek cavalry by Manuel I to employ the unusually long lance with a pennant on the Western model see KINNAMOS, p. 125[7–18] [III]: δόρατα δέ κραδαίνειν μακρὰ καὶ ἱπποσύνῃ δεξιώτατα χρῆσθαι ἠσκήσατο. τὰς γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἀνέσεις πολέμων αὐτὸς ποιεῖσθαι θέλων παρασκευάς, ἱππεύεσθαι εἰώθει τὰ πολλὰ σχῆμά τε πολέμου πεποιημένος παρατάξεις τινὰς ἀντιμετώπους ἀλλήλαις ἵστα. οὕτω τε δόρασιν ἐπελαύνοντες αὐτοξύλοις κίνησιν ἐγυμνάζοντο τὴν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις. τοίνυν καὶ ἐν βραχεῖ Ῥωμαῖος ἀνὴρ τὴν Γερμανῶν καὶ Ἰταλῶν ὑπερῆρεν αἰχμήν. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς τῶν ἀγώνων τούτων ἀπῆν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐτάττετο δόρυ κραδαίνων μήκει καὶ μεγέθει οὐδενὶ ξυμβλητόν. πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ

iconography of the military saints the lances of horsemen are clearly longer than the spears of footsoldiers.[60]

It is possible that besides the long spears of the infantry and cavalry shorter variants were used in Byzantium. Al-Tarsusi mentions the use by members of the tribe of Banu al-Asfar (lit. 'children of the yellow one'—a general designation for white Europeans) and by the Byzantines of a *kontarion* (*al-kuntariyyat*) made from beech, fir and similar varieties of wood that "are not too long and are used for thrusting".[61] A version designed for hunting may have been shorter than the combat weapon,[62] as was the weapon carried by the imperial bodyguards, if one is to trust the miniatures in the *Madrid Skylitzes*.[63] The existence of this variant of the *kontarion* would allow us to hypothesize that the military saints are depicted with just this form of lance. Support for this viewpoint are hagiographic sources and poetry, in which the weapon of the warrior saints is described precisely and consistently as a *kontarion*, *dory* or *lo(n)gche*.[64]

ὑπερφυές τι χρῆμα ἐξῆπτο σημαίας, ἣν ἅτε μέρεσι διῃρημένην ὀκτὼ ὀκτώποδα καλεῖν ἔθος ἐστίν. On the tournament organized by Manuel I in Antioch for the Greeks and Latins to celebrate Easter (12 April 1159) during which blunt lances were used, see Choniates, p. 108[53-6].

[60] See e.g Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 246–47; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 21 on p. 41; and Drandakes 1995, fig. 21 on p. 94.

[61] Al-Tarsusi, p. 113 [3]; see also Kolias (1988, 196, 206) who draws special attention to a description of the short acorn-shaped iron spearhead, and the way the *kontarion* was employed by supporting it against the saddle and using it to ram the enemy.

[62] Psellos (2:129[9] [VII 73]) mentions the lance as a weapon for hunting bears; Choniates writes (p. 40[63-6]) that while hunting in the hills of Cilicia the emperor John II Komnenos charged a solitary wild boar with his lance, the head of which became stuck in the beast's body: καὶ συῒ προσυπαντήσας μοναδικῷ τὴν μὲν αἰχμὴν τῷ στέρνῳ τοῦ θηρίου ἐνήρεισε· πλείονι δὲ ὠθισμῷ τοῦ συὸς χρησαμένου καὶ ὅλον τὸν σίδηρον εἰσδεξαμένου τοῖς σπλάγχνοις (although Choniates later uses the word ἀκόντιον for the same weapon). See also Dig. Akr. (p. 284[615-16]) on *kontaria* used by hunters.

[63] Hoffmeyer (1966, 122) compares the short spears of the soldiers guarding the imperial throne on fols. 13r–v, 42v, 45r and 57v with the weapons of the warrior saints—mainly on 10th and 11th-C. reliefs (see Tsamakda 2002, figs. 8–10, 93, 102, 138).

[64] For example, the Coptic version of the legend of St Merkourios repeatedly mentions his *kontarion* (ⲡⲉϥⲕⲟⲛⲧⲁⲣⲓⲟⲛ). The saint carrying it appears to Basil of Caesarea in a description of the legend of Diocletian's death; and the image of Merkourios on an icon is also described as holding a kontarion (Orlandi, pp. 60[4] [III 11], 94[18, 21] [VIII 39]). The *dory* of St Demetrios is mentioned, for example, in the *Life* of Theophano); while the *lancea* of St Theodore is spoken of in his *Life* in AS *Novembris*, 4:61, and also together with an *aspis* and bow in John Geometres' poem (see above, n. 50 on p. 13).

Equally probable is that the artist, for compositional reasons, 'shortened' the shaft of the lance, which if shown in full would have required a significantly larger surface and would break up the coherence of the scene, and in the case of murals even disrupt the layout of neighbouring scenes.[65]

Meanwhile the leaf-shaped or lancet-like spearhead (the latter occasionally with a prominent ridge along the axis and a ball at the base of the socket) that usually appears in depictions of the warrior saints has numerous counterparts in the archaeological material from Bulgaria.[66]

The lance as a sign of status and a symbolic weapon

The differences between the lance depicted alongside the warrior saints and the above-mentioned varieties of Byzantine shafted weapons can also be explained by the strong iconographic tradition (fig. 17b),[67] the endurance of which may have favoured the continuity of customs connected with this element of weaponry. One must therefore ask—did such continuity exist?

The spear appears in ancient Rome as a symbol of the highest authorities both military and civil (*hasta summa imperii*) already in the era of the Tarquins.[68] John Lydos writes that after the victory of Tarquinius Priscus over the Tuscans and Sabines twelve spears surmounted with tassels instead of metal heads were added to the royal insignia; these tassels were known by the Romans as *iubae*, and by the barbarians as *touphia*.[69] The custom of carrying these before the

[65] A similar observation is made by Kolias (1988, 193), and after him by Armstrong/Sekunda 2006, 16. Supporting the idea is the unusually long lance carried by St Demetrios defending the walls of Thessaloniki, as depicted on the cover of a reliquary in Vatopedi monastery (Garbar 1950, 5, fig. 5).

[66] See Iotov 2004, 79–89, fig. 39 (type 1–2). Parani (2003, 139) mentions a triangular spearhead with socket found in the ruins of the Great Palace in Constantinople. She classes the spearpoints seen in Middle Byzantine art into leaf-shaped, lozenge-shaped, triangular, long and slender, broad and short, and sometimes fitted with a knob or a pair of wings between the blade and the socket.

[67] Spears with short shafts appear, for example, in the Late Roman iconography of the Palmyrene gods (e.g. Morehart 1959, figs. 12–15, 18; Teixidor 1979, figs. 7/2, 21–22, 24, 25/2).

[68] Alföldi 1959, 1–5; see also F. Klingmüller and O. Fiebiger, "Hasta", *PR*, 7:2501–7; for a broad bibliog. of the problem see McCormick 1986, 6 n. 17.

[69] Lydos, p. 18^{19-24}, [I 4/8]: τὴν πόλιν. Πρίσκου δὲ Ταρκυνίου τοῦ ῥηγὸς ὕστερον Θούσκους καὶ Σαβίνους πολέμῳ νικήσαντος, προσετέθησαν τοῖς τῆς βασιλείας γνωρίσμασι δόρατα ἐπιμήκη, ὡσαύτως τὸν ἀριθμὸν δυοκαίδεκα, ἀκροξιφίδας μὲν οὐκ ἔχοντα, ἠωρημένας δὲ λοφιάς (καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς οἱ μὲν Ῥωμαῖοι ἰούβας, οἱ δὲ

ruler survived until at least the fifth century AD, as is attested on a relief on the base of the lost column of Arcadius (known only from sketches), where the emperor is accompanied by twelve footsoldiers with spears and shields, some of which bear Christogram blazons.[70] Spears surmounted with golden spearheads (*hastarum aureis summitatibus*) are mentioned alongside other military insignia by Ammianus Marcellinus in his description of the triumphal entry of Constantius into Rome.[71] However, among the accounts of later Byzantine triumphs we find no information on the carrying of golden spears before the emperor, which may indicate that the ancient custom had died out.[72] Similarly, the *hasta signa* carried by the army during imperial coronations is last mentioned in Peter Patrikios's account of the coronation of Anastasius.[73] The spear often appears as the weapon of the emperor in Early Byzantine art, but we cannot be sure that its presence is not merely a reference to the Classical imperial iconography.[74]

In ancient Rome the spear was also a military–religious symbol. As a sign of the declaration of war by the Senate a spear smeared with blood would be thrown onto the enemy's territory by a *fetialis*, one of a twenty-member college of priests.[75] The holy lance of Mars was

βάρβαροι τούφας, βραχύ τι παραφθαρείσης τῆς λέξεως)· βήξιλλα πρὸς τούτοις. On *touphia* see below, n. 43 on p. 390.

[70] On the imperial *doryphoroi* of the Classical period see Alföldi 1959, 7, figs. 7/2, 8/1, 10. A drawing of the base of the column of Arcadius was executed by a western traveller who visited Constantinople in 1574, and is now part of a collection of illustrations in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (*Ms. 0.17.2*). The drawing is reproduced, for example, by Grabar (1936, 76, fig. 15), who sees the Roman spears as *sceptra* or *vela*. This view is corrected by Babuin (2001, 12–13); see also Sodini (1994, 60, fig. 14), who links panoplies on the relief with miniatures in the *Notitia dignitatum*.

[71] Ammian., 1:165 [XVI 10/7]; see also MacMullen 1964, 438.

[72] The *kontaria* carried by officials in the triumphal procession of Theophilos are listed alongside swords and gold *klibania* in Porph. (p. 148[855] [C]). Here, however, this weapon should be regarded as part of their equipment, rather than as insignia of authority.

[73] De Cer., 1:423[4–6] [I 92]: τὰ δὲ στρατεύματα κάτω ἵσταντο ἐν τῷ στάματι, καὶ τὰς ἄστας καὶ τὰ σίγνα ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους εἶχον κεκλιμένα.

[74] Numerous Early Byzantine depictions of emperors with spears are cited by K. Wessel, "Insignien" in *RbK*, 3:416–17 (with further bibliog.). For Classical statues of emperors holding *vela* see e.g. Vermeule 1960, figs. 11, 13, 31, 60, 63, 67, 75; Robinson 1975, fig. 429; Mango 1994, figs. 11–12. On lances and staves (*sceptra*, *vela*) as emblems of a ruler's sovereignty in ancient Rome see Alföldi 1959, 14–17. The use of such insignia in Byzantium is attested in De Cer., [Vogt], 1:8[11], 11[12], 18[23] [I 1]; see also Babuin 2001, 10–11.

[75] On the holy lance thrown by a *fetialis* see e.g. Kolias 1988, 211. This tradition must have still been alive in the 4th C. AD, since Ammianus Marcellinus compares

taken on campaign by the legions, and was a visible sign of the presence of the gods and their protection of combatants.[76] The adoption of Christianity put an end to such practices, but introduced new customs connected mainly with the lance preserved in Constantinople that had been used to pierce the side of Christ on the cross.[77] Associated with this relic by Ephrem the Syrian is the 'justice-making' lance of St Merkourios, which he had used to kill Julian the Apostate.[78] This comparison may be read as an example of a symbolic understanding of the lances of the military saints. Probably under the influence of the legend (and of Ephrem's text) an equestrian St Merkourios is depicted at the moment that an angel flies down to hand him a cross-tipped lance on an icon in St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai (fig. 8), and on a Coptic miniature from the end of the tenth century.[79]

Without doubt the ancient concept of the lance as a sign of victory survived into Byzantine times. The emperor took it with him on campaign, and after winning a victory leaned on it when receiving a triumph. As a prize for wounding an enemy in battle legionaries received a *hasta pura* (*hasta donatica*), while the taking back of the lance signified degradation.[80] Leo VI in his *Taktika* refers to the lance symbolizing the military might of a state, when he calls on the Greeks to follow Roman custom and not to treat walls (behind which it was possible to hide) as an argument in negotiations, but to rely on armed force. As an illustration of this principle the emperor cites an anecdote concerning a Spartan soldier, who when asked about the boundaries of his homeland points to his *dory*.[81] Achmet states that a dream in which the dreamer grasps a lance signifies great fame; and if the

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the throwing of a spear at Amida by King Grumbates who was besieging the Romans (AMMIAN., 2:125 [19.2.5]), and also mentions the college of priests (2:101 [18.5.7]; see also the commentary on p. 188).

[76] See Alföldi 1959, 19; cf. also Żygulski (1998, 79) who refers this custom to Janus.

[77] On the history of the Lance of St Maurice see above, pp. 31–32; while on its veneration during processions from the *Chrysotriklinos* to the church of the Virgin in Pharos, see above n. 46.

[78] See Curta 1995, 111.

[79] See Weitzmann 1976, no. B49; Górecki 1980, fig. 37.

[80] On the spear as a triumphal symbol in ancient Rome see Alföldi 1959, 3, 8; Alföldi 1935, 67–8; F. Klingmüller & O. Fiebiger, "Hasta" in *PR*, 7:2501, 2506; and specifically on the gold and silver spears given as prizes see O. Fiebiger, "Hasta pura" in *PR*, 7:2508–09. In the context of the warrior saints' lances in Nubian art see also Górecki 1980, 213–15.

[81] {LT, vol. B', p. 234 [XX 40]}.

dreamer is a women this foretells of a male heir. If someone else takes away the lance this prognosticates the loss of fame; while a broken lance additionally indicates the death of the owner or a friend.[82] An exceptionally clear example of the lance as a triumphal symbol appears on a donor miniature in the *Psalter of Basil II* (*Ven. Marcianus gr. 17*, fol. 3r; fig. 24).[83] Here, the emperor stands on a shield surrounded by medallions with busts of the military saints (Theodore, George, Demetrios, Prokopios, Merkourios and another whose name is damaged, probably the second of the Theodores or Nestor).[84] At his feet cowering in a gesture of *proskynesis* are defeated enemies (Bulgars?), and at the top, Christ, who by way of two angels crowns the emperor with a *stemma* and presents him with a lance (ῥομφαία).[85] A poem on the neighbouring leaf (2v) clarifies the scene: *What new wonder is to be seen here! / Christ extends in his lifebearing hand/ from heaven the crown, symbol of power, / to the despot Basil, faithful and mighty. / Below (are) the princes of the angels. / One (angel), having taken (the crown), has carried (it) and joyfully crowns./ The other (angel), linking to power victories as well, / (the) lance, weapon which terrifies adversaries, / having carried (it), he gives (it) into the ruler's hand. The martyrs*

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[82] ACHMET, pp. 113^{24-26} [155], 205^{8-15} [247].

[83] See e.g. Ševčenko 1962, fig. 17; Walter 1978, fig. 11a; Pentcheva 2006, fig. 55; *Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 186.

[84] A theory linking the sixth warrior previously identified as Theodore with Nestor has been proposed by Marković 1995, 592.

[85] The term ῥομφαία in Classical Greece referred mainly to a type of sword, see HESYCHIOS, 3:433: *ῥομφαία· μάχαιρα. καὶ ἡ πυγμὴ τῆς χειρός; Plutarch (*Aemilius Paullus*, XVIII 5–6) describes it as the long, broad sword of the Thracians. Among Byzantine writers it is mentioned in the context of a double-edged sword carried on the shoulder before the emperor e.g. by PSELLOS, $1{:}103^{2}$ [V 27]; BRYENNIOS, pp. 123^{25} [I 20], 237^{25} [IV 9]; KOMNENE, $1{:}23^{5-6, 11-12}$ [I 5/7]. It was evidently not identical with the *dory* since it is mentioned separately from such spears in the texts of PSELLOS, $2{:}95^{9-11}$ [VII 22]: οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῶν ὤμων **ῥομφαίας** βαρυσιδήρους ἐπέσειον, καὶ ἄλλοι δὲ **δόρατα** ἠγκαλίζοντο; and KOMNENE, $2{:}181^{16-17}$ [IX 9/2]: οἱ δὲ **δόρατα** φέροντες, οἱ δὲ τὰς βαρυσιδήρους **ῥομφαίας** ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἔχοντες. Prof. Kolias in discussion with the author expressed the opinion that *rhomphaia* was a poetic term, often used in the Bible, and did not signify any specific type of weapon. The problem would seem to be finally resolved by the definition in the SUDA, $4{:}299^{19}$ [226]:Ῥομφαία· τὸ μακρὸν ἀκόντιον, ἢ μάχαιρα. In this context the reference in ACTA THEOD. becomes comprehensible (p. 361–2 [6]): Τότε ὁ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀγωνιστὴς Θεόδωρος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ **ῥομφαίαν** πήξας ἐπάταξε τόν δράκοντα (see also Charalampides 1991, 128, n. 36), and the *rhomphaia*, in the light of the iconography of St Theodore slaying the dragon, should therefore be understood as a long spear.

fight with him as with a friend, throwing down enemies prostrate at his feet.[86]

Meanwhile, the custom of impaling the heads and entrails of defeated enemies on lances as a mark of victory had barbarian origins. It was both a visible sign of victory, as well as a warning to enemies who still posed a threat to the imperial army.[87] The custom was reflected in art, specifically in illustrations of historical and biblical events. Among the latter is a redaction of a scene of David's return to Jerusalem with Goliath's head impaled on a spear, a detail nowhere mentioned in the Bible itself.[88]

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The above observations do not allow us to identify for certain the short lances of the warrior saints as one of the types of pole arms in use in Byzantium, nor can we regard them as a continuation of an antique scheme of depiction. In view of the inability to solve the question of originality or traditionalism in the method of this weapon's depiction

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86 τὸ θαῦμα καινὸν ὧδε τῶν ὁρωμένων.
Χριστὸς προτείνει δεξιᾷ ζωηφόρῳ
ἐξ οὐρανοῦ τὸ στέμμα σύμβολον κράτους
πιστῷ κραταιῷ δεσπότῃ βασιλείῳ.
κάτωθεν οἱ πρώτιστοι τῶν ἀσωμάτων.
ὁ μὲν λαβὼν ἤνεγκε καὶ χαίρων στέφει,
ὁ δὲ προσάπτων τῷ κράτει καὶ τὰς νίκας
ῥομφαῖαν, ὅπλον ἐκφοβοῦν ἐναντίους,
φέρων δίδωσι χερὶ τῇ δεσπότου
οἱ μάρτυρες δὲ συμμαχοῦσιν ὡς φίλῳ
ῥίπτοντες ἐχθροὺς τοὺς ποσὶ προκειμένους.
See Ševčenko (1962, 272 and n. 92); and the corrected text by Walter (1978, fig. 11b, pp. 193–4 and n. 66 = 2003a, 277–8). Both authors provide English translations of the poem, although Ševčenko's more literary version is not free of errors (e.g. ῥομφαῖαν rendered as 'sword'—repeated by Pentcheva 2006, 86).

87 For descriptions of the custom of impaling the heads of slain enemies on lances in the army of Alexios I, see Komnene 2:130$^{17-18}$ [VIII 2/1], 132$^{7-13}$ [VIII 2/4], 3:9$^{7-11}$ [XI 1/5], 109$^{2-4}$ [XIII 6/2]; Choniates (p. 182$^{38-9}$) mentions the Turks at Myriokephalon carrying the head of Andronikos Vatatzes on a lance.

88 See e.g. the miniature on fol. 13v of the *Psalter* (of 1088) in Vatopedi monastery (*Athos*, vol. Δ', fig. 210). The *rhomphaia* used by David to cut off the head of Goliath (according to 1 Sam. 17:51) is in this case undoubtedly a term for a sword (see above, n. 85), although the description of the return to Jerusalem (1 Sam. 17:54) does not mention any weapons. Stephen of Pergamon is depicted bringing the head of George Maniakes to Constantine Monomachos in the *Madrid Skylitzes* on fol. 224v (Tsamakda 2002 fig. 532); see also Skylitzes, p. 428$^{95-6}$ [4]: καὶ διὰ μέσης τῆς Πλατείας θριαμβεύσας προηγουμένης τῆς κεφαλῆς ἄνωθεν δόρατος. On Maniakes and his death as depicted in the Madrid Skylitzes see C.M. Brand & A. Cutler, "Maniakes, George" in *ODB*, 2:1285.

one can attempt four alternative theories to explain why the short lance was selected as the weapon of the saints.

The first possibility is that a short lance was used because of the need to adapt the composition to the limited space available to the artist; a second is that use was being made of ancient pictorial formulas of emperors with the *sceptrum* and divinities with short spears; a third theory is that the short lance was used as the identification sign of a *doryphoros* who accompanies the Almighty. Arguing in favour of the third explanation are the capes and officers' insignia present in the military saints' images.[89] A final alternative is that the short lances may be interpreted as a short variant of the *kontarion*, as is attested in the hagiographic texts.

The Crux hastata

The custom of depicting the lance of the warrior saints with a cross finial survived in provincial art until the tenth century. It can be seen on the wings of a triptych from St Catherine's Monastery on Mt Sinai carried by the equestrian figures of St Theodore slaying the dragon and St George spearing a fallen figure of Diocletian (fig. 60),[90] and also by St George slaying the dragon in an *arcosolium* in St Basil's cave-chapel at Göreme.[91] The *crux hastata* also appears on reliefs with Sts Sergios, Theodore and George on horseback (though the crosses of the last two have been broken off) on the northern façade of the cathedral of the Holy Cross (915–921) on Aght'amar (fig. 86);[92] on the silver claddings of Georgian pre-altar crosses from Sakdari (tenth century) and Lapskaldi (Svanetia, eleventh century),[93] where they are held by George, Theodore and an unidentified rider. It is visible on Georgian icons of an equestrian St George from Bravaldzali,

[89] See above, pp. 270–306.

[90] See Weitzmann 1976, nos. B43–44. On the origins of the composition depicting George slaying Diocletian (who is sometimes named in an inscription) and its popularity in monumental art and silver repoussé work from the Georgia region, see Walter (2003a, 120, 129), who also (p. 128) draws attention to the absence of this type of representation in Cappadocian painting.

[91] Photograph in the Dumbarton Oaks archive in Washington, neg. no. DO L.75.1387(AE). On the equestrian depictions of St George in Cappadocian painting see Walter 2003a, 125–31.

[92] See Der Nersessian 1965, 5, 19, figs. 49–50; Davies 1991, 14, 99–103, figs. 35–38; Walter 2003a, 128–9.

[93] See Tschubinaschvili 1959, 519–20, figs. 39–40, 352.

Nakuraleshi, Zhamushi (tenth century), and Sakao (eleventh century), all currently in the National Museum in Tbilisi.[94] We find it also on Coptic miniatures with equestrian representations of Theodore (fig. 77) and Merkourios;[95] and finally on Nubian murals from the cathedral in Faras, the tenth-century church in Abdallah Nirqi (St Epimachos) and in the monastery on Kom H near Old Dongola (fig. 78).[96] All these examples, in view of the provincial character of the societies in which they were produced, can be regarded as iconographic borrowings, referring to pre-Iconoclast formulas for depicting the military saints.[97] Although in works of art made within the empire between the ninth and twelfth centuries the motif of the cross-tipped lance does not appear in the context of the warrior saints its origins are worth considering.[98]

A key role in the introduction into the warrior saint iconography of the cross-tipped lance was played by a vision experienced by Constantine the Great. Eusebios of Caesarea in his *Life of Constantine* describes in detail the account which he is said to have heard directly from the emperor. According to his relation Constantine had the vision at about midday on the day of the battle with Maxentius. In the heavens above the sun, there appeared to him a *tropaion* in the shape of a cross formed from light, along with the text: 'under this sign you shall conquer'.[99] In a later, this time nocturnal, vision Christ instructed the emperor to make a copy of the sign he had seen in the heavens and to use it as protection against the enemy, which he duly did the following

[94] See Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 42–44; Novello/Beridze/Dosogne 1980, fig. 59. St George is also seen spearing Diocletian with a lance tipped with a cross on an icon from Nakipari (Weitzmann 1976, fig. 28).

[95] See above, n. 652 on p. 229.

[96] See Górecki 1980, figs. 2–3, 6–9; Steinborn 1982, 327–8, fig. 17; Jakobielski 1999, fig. 1.

[97] See above, pp. 74–85. Iconographic archaism is best attested by a demon with a human head (additionally captioned ⲗⲉⲙⲱⲛⲓⲁⲕⲱⲥ) speared with a *crux hastata* by St Theodore *Orientalis*, on a manuscript miniature from St Michael's Monastery near Fayyum (*L'art Copte*, no. 52).

[98] Mango [M] (1987, 6) notes that the cross-tipped lance appears on imperial coinage until AD 912. There are, in fact, later examples: e.g. a *miliaresion* of Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55) showing the emperor with a lance of this type in his right hand.

[99] See Vita Const., pp. 29^{22}–30^{8} [I 28/1–2]; and the later account by Malalas, p. 243^{12-14} [XIII 1].

day.[100] Undoubtedly under the influence of these events, Constantine ordered his portrait painted in the company of his sons (fig. 88a); it was to be executed in encaustic technique and set up before the entrance to the palace—as Mango supposes, on the Chalke gate.[101] Eusebios states that 'above the emperor's head was the sign of the Saviour', while at the feet of the depicted persons there writhed a dragon-serpent personifying Isaiah's Leviathan, which was impaled through its middle by a spear (βέλει, lit. 'missile').[102] Andreas Alföldi considers that this image became a model for depictions on early Constantinopolitan coins (already in Constantine's day), on which the emperor spears a serpent with a cross-tipped lance (fig. 88b).[103] If we accept Alföldi's

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[100] VITA CONST., p. 30^{12-19} [I 29/1]. The biographer (and perhaps the emperor himself) is inconsistent since from the description of the object (30^{20}–31^{16} [I 31/1–3]), which was made by specially summoned goldsmiths and jewellers, it was evidently a *labarum* with a wreath and a gold Christogram mounted on a golden lance; it was not therefore reminiscent of the *tropaion* of the cross (σταυροῦ τρόπαιον) seen in the first vision. That Constantine's *labarum* served simultaneously as a religious symbol and military insignia is pointed out by Grosse 1924, 371 (with further references to sources and critical literature); see also above, n. 137 on p. 97.

[101] See Mango 1959, 23–4. EUSEBIUS (pp. 295–6 [IX 11]) mentions an image of the emperor with sign of the Saviour set up in Rome, but since this was a statue, and the text makes no reference to a trampled symbol of evil, this must be regarded as a different work. See also VITA CONST., p. 36 [I 40, 1–2]. It is possible that the Roman imperial statue is the same as the remnants of a gigantic sculpture of Constantine in the courtyard of the Palace of the Conservators on the Capitoline Hill (Harrison 1967, 93).

[102] VITA CONST., p. 82^{1-19} [III 3/1–3]· ὃ μὲν δὴ καὶ ἐν γραφῆς ὑψηλοτάτῳ πίνακι πρὸ τῶν βασιλικῶν προθύρων ἀνακειμένῳ τοῖς πάντων ὀφθαλμοῖς ὁρᾶσθαι προὐτίθει, τὸ μὲν σωτήριον <σημεῖον> ὑπερκείμενον τῆς αὐτοῦ κεφαλῆς τῇ γραφῇ παραδούς, τὸν δ' ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον θῆρα τὸν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τῆς τῶν ἀθέων πολιορκήσαντα τυραννίδος κατὰ βυθοῦ φερόμενον ποιήσας ἐν δράκοντος μορφῇ. δράκοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ σκολιὸν ὄφιν ἐν προφητῶν θεοῦ βίβλοις ἀνηγόρευε τὰ λόγια. διὸ καὶ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῖς αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ παίδων ποσὶ βέλει πεπαρμένον κατὰ μέσου τοῦ κύτους βυθοῖς τε θαλάττης ἀπερριμμένον διὰ τῆς κηροχύτου γραφῆς ἐδείκνυ τοῖς πᾶσι τὸν δράκοντα, ὧδέ πῃ τὸν ἀφανῆ τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους πολέμιον αἰνιττόμενος, ὃν καὶ δυνάμει τοῦ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἀνακειμένου σωτηρίου τροπαίου κατὰ βυθῶν ἀπωλείας κεχωρηκέναι ἐδήλου. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἄνθη χρωμάτων ᾐνίττετο διὰ τῆς εἰκόνος· ἐμὲ δὲ θαῦμα τῆς βασιλέως κατεῖχε μεγαλονοίας, ὡς ἐμπνεύσει θείᾳ ταῦτα διετύπου, ἃ δὴ φωναὶ προφητῶν ὧδέ που περὶ τοῦδε τοῦ θηρὸς ἐβόων, <<ἐπάξειν τὸν θεόν>> λέγουσαι <<τὴν μάχαιραν τὴν μεγάλην καὶ φοβερὰν ἐπὶ τὸν δράκοντα ὄφιν τὸν σκολιόν, ἐπὶ τὸν δράκοντα ὄφιν τὸν φεύγοντα, καὶ ἀνελεῖν τὸν δράκοντα τὸν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ἃ εἰκόνας δὴ τούτων διετύπου βασιλεύς, ἀληθῶς ἐντιθεὶς μιμήματα τῇ σκιαγραφίᾳ>>. See also the English translation by MANGO 1986, 15–16.

[103] See Alföldi 1939, *passim* (and after him Kolia-Dermitzaki 1991, 106–12, figs. 3–4), who mentions a Constantinopolitan *follis* of 327, and others from Trier and Rome from 336–7 as examples of coins depicting the emperor spearing a dragon with the *crux hastata*. At the same time he points out that coins of this type were not minted as standard. Later examples include coins of Marcian and Leo I (see Grabar 1936, 44).

theory, it is reasonable to assume that the picture commissioned by Constantine before the palace was the prototype for the *crux hastata* both in the formal and ideological sense: the weapon-symbol of the Saviour, with the aid of which evil is conquered. Hence, the recent reconstructions of the *crux hastata* as an actual item of equipment of the Early Byzantine army should be rejected outright.[104]

As mentioned earlier, the *crux hastata* appears in Early Byzantine art as the weapon of Christ and of the saints when fighting against a dragon, which symbolizes evil, and in the case of an illustration to the thirteenth verse of Psalm 90(91), also the lion.[105] However, the Church hierarchy's aversion to the placing of religious symbols on objects connected with cult (which undoubtedly became stronger in the period after Iconoclasm) did not favour the continuation of the formula of the warrior saint fighting evil with the aid of a cross-tipped lance.[106] This would seem the most likely reason for the object's disappearance from Byzantine sacral art, although it survived in art on the peripheries as well as on objects not connected directly with the liturgy. To the latter we can add the scene of St Demetrios handing the emperor the patriarchal double cross on a long shaft, which appears, for example, on the coins of Alexios I Komnenos.[107]

Although the formula for depicting victory over evil with the aid of a cross-tipped lance vanished from imperial art after the collapse of Iconoclasm, the cross remained a military symbol. During Basil I's war against the Paulicians (AD 872) the war-cry of the imperial troops

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104 Cf. D'Amato's (2005) reconstructions on Plates D1, G2 and H3, painted by Graham Sumner.

105 See above, n. 138 on p. 98.

106 Canon 82 of the 'Fifth-Sixth' Council *In Trullo* directed that sacral depictions of symbolic character were to be avoided, and specifically forbade the depiction of Christ in the form of the Eucharistic Lamb (MANSI, 11:977, 980; and the English translation in MANGO, pp. 139–40); for further justification of the presence of pictures and their veneration in churches arising under the influence of polemics with pagans and iconoclasts see Grabar 1984, 101–03; MANGO, *passim*; and also above, n. 10 on p. 4. The magical and symbolical function of pictures is thought by Maguire (1995, 66–71) to have been one of the causes of Iconoclasm. On the conflict between the symbolic and literal character of religious representation (in the context of the cross) in the doctrine of the Iconoclasts and Iconophiles see Belting 1994, 159–63.

107 The formula of investiture with the *labarum* that appeared initially on an electrum *histamenon* of Alexios I from 1081/2 (see Grierson 1982, 224, no. 1025) was quickly replaced by an image of St Demetrios presenting the cross which appeared on a variant of this coin from 1082–85 as well as on several later electrum *trachea* (nos. 1026, 1067–68, 1083–84; in the last three cases with the cross standing on a pedestal or globus).

was 'Victory for the Cross'.[108] According to Kaminiates the defenders of Thessaloniki, when besieged by an Arab fleet led by Leo of Tripoli (in 904), placed crosses on the walls.[109] Wood from the True Cross was taken by the army on campaign as its *tropaion*.[110]

We can assume that the reliquary in which the True Cross was then stored was similar to a processional cross in form, and would therefore have been mounted on a long shaft and carried above the troops.[111] Direct evidence can be found in the gold cross known after its donors as the *Stauroteca degli Zaccaria*, currently in the San Lorenzo cathedral treasury in Genoa (fig. 89a). Attached to its lower arm is an elongated projection covered with ornament, which might serve as a handle or for attachment to a wooden shaft. The front of the cross dates from the twelfth or thirteenth century, and is set with precious stones (54 gems and 44 large pearls); arranged centrally on this is a cross-shaped, rock-

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108 See Brubaker 1999, 157. Leo instructs the war-cry "τοῦ σταυροῦ νίκις" to be passed on to soldiers standing in the rear ranks (LT, 2/1:88[4274] [XII 106]).

109 Theoph. Cont., p. 522[12] [25].

110 The tradition of the cross as a military symbol reaches back to before Iconoclasm, see e.g. Simocatta (p. 208[11–14] [V 10/14]), who mentions a cross carried before Maurice's troops during the Persian campaign of 591. The Arab chronicler Arīb (died in the 2nd half of the 10th C.) notes in his chronicle that the caliph al-Qāsim, when returning from a campaign against Rûm, brought crosses of gold and silver among the booty (Vasiliev, 2/2:59), which Babuin (2001, 12) equates with the crosses made from gold and precious stones described by Leo the Deacon (p. 61[2–4] [IV 5]) and Skylitzes (p. 270[34–44]) which were recovered by Nikephoros Phokas (found in Tarsos after its capture in 965); see also the miniature in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, fol. 152r (Tsamakda 2002, fig. 384), illustrating the laying up of the cross in the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople; cf. also Dennis (1982, 57) who suggests that these might have been cross-tipped standards. Lances constructed in the shape of the Holy Cross carried by Byzantine prisoners captured at Amida (25 May 956) are mentioned by Al-Mutanabbi (Vasiliev, 2/2:343[21]). According to Symeon Logothete 304[138–41] [CXXXV 19] (see also Theoph. Cont., pp. 388[23]–389[1] [10]), the relic of the True Cross was taken by the *protopapas* of the palace, Constantine Kephalas, on an unsuccessful expedition against Bulgaria in 917; Choniates (pp. 30[2]–31[7]) states that the Turks returned to John II Komnenos the cross captured from the troops of Romanos IV Diogenes at Manzikert (17 August 1071); while Porph. (p. 124[487–9] [C]) places at the head of the imperial army procession a *koubikoularios* with the *staurotheke* about his neck, and a *signophoros* with a golden cross set with jewels (ἔμπροσθεν δὲ τοῦ κουβουκλίου περιπατοῦσιν οἱ βασιλικοὶ καὶ μέσον τούτων περιπατεῖ σιγνοφόρος βατράζων σταυρὸν χρυσοῦν διάλιθον); he also mentions a large, gilded cross erected on the front of the podium during the emperor Theophilos' triumph (p. 148[861] [C]; and commentary on p. 246).

111 On processional crosses see Cotsonis 1994, *passim*; *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 22–27; *Rom–Byzanz*, 61–4 and nos 61–66; *Byzantium*, nos. 161, 175; and also the sources discussed by Haldon in his commentary to Porph., pp. 245–6. On military insignia in the shape of the cross see above, n. 110.

crystal container holding the relic. The back is made from part of an earlier reliquary, with embossed medallions of Christ, the Virgin Mary, the archangels and St John on the arms and in the centre of the cross. The remaining surface is covered with an inscription stating that the object is the weapon of God, made on the order of Bardas and donated to the church in Ephesus. A second, later inscription on the other side, adds that the Wood (of the True Cross) which had been adorned by the caesar Bardas with gold, pearls and precious stones was laid up in the treasury of the church of John the Evangelist and renovated by the local archbishop Isaac (1278–83).[112] The reference to the 'weapon of God' (τὸ θεῖον ὅπλον) may indicate that in the ninth century a reliquary in the shape of a cross served Bardas as a military insignia, although the image of John the Evangelist attests that the Ephesian *Stauroteca* was intended for the church of this saint from the beginning.[113] John A. Cotsonis believes another cross dating from the tenth century from the Great Lavra on Mt Athos (fig. 89b) had a military function; the fifth verse of Psalm 43(44) etched on the cross's reverse seems also to be evidence of its military purpose: "Through Thee we push back our enemies; through Thy name we trample our foes".[114] In turn, a processional cross of Leo Phokas, the brother of the emperor Nikephoros, preserved in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva, and made between November 959 and July 960 can be linked in theory with a military function, both in view of the donor's title (ΠΡΟΤΆΡΧΗΣ

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[112] See Lipinsky (1966, 94–104, figs. 29–31), who quotes the inscription (and an Italian translation): 1. Τοῦτο τὸ θεῖον ὅπλον Βάρδας μὲν ἐτεκτήνατο. Ἐφέσου δὲ Ἀρχιθύτες Ἰσαὰκ παλαιώθεν ἀνεκαίνισεν 2. Βάρδας ὁ καῖσαρ ὑπερέντιμον ξύλον κοσμεῖ χρυσῷ τε καὶ λίθοις καὶ μαργάροις κειμήλιον θεὶς ἑστίᾳ Θεηγόρου. κυριακὸς δὲ τὴν χρυσῆν αὐτῷ θίβην πρόεδρος εἰργάσατο τῆς εκκλησίας. Θραυσθέντα δ' αὐτὰ τῷ μακρῷ λίαν χρόνῳ· ὁ Ἰσαάκ ἤγαγεν είς κρείττω θέαν πρῶτος θύμασιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πρακτέοις. Lipinsky dates the earliest part of the *Staurotheke* to between 860 (when Bardas, who was ruling for the infant Michael III, received the title of caesar) and 876 (when he died). See also Cotsonis 1994, 28, 31–2, figs. 12a–b; cf. also Frolow (1965, 191, 225 n. 2, 234 n. 2, fig. 71) who dates the whole reliquary to 1260–83. On the military cross recovered in 1190 by Isaac II Angelos (1185–95) which contained wood from the True Cross, milk from the Virgin Mary, and other holy relics, see Cotsonis 1994, 14 and n. 23.

[113] The carrying by the army of casket reliquaries and icons of the Virgin (κιβώτια καὶ εἰκόνας τῆς θεομήτορος) is mentioned by THEOPHANES, p. 298[16–17]; on icons of the Virgin taken into battle see above, n. 38 on pp. 67–68.

[114] See Cotsonis 1994, 14, figs. 3a–b; Ps 43:5—ἐν σοὶ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἡμῶν κερατιοῦμεν καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματί σου ἐξουθενώσομεν τοὺς ἐπανιστανομένους ἡμῖν.

ΜΑΚΕΔΌΝΩΝ—'commander of the Macedonian army'), as well as the reference on the reverse to the heavenly *archistrategos* Michael.[115]

It is worth mentioning in passing that warrior saints are not only popular on processional crosses but also a common motif on Georgian pre-altar crosses.[116]

Military flags (phlamoulon, bandon)

While the ancient Roman army employed *vexillum* standards that hung from a horizontal pole attached near the top of the shaft, flags in the Byzantine army were attached laterally below the lance head and were known as a φλαμοῦλον, because of their fiery colour according to Lydos,[117] or as a βάνδον—a flag of smaller dimensions.[118] They had ceremonial functions[119] as well as serving as military identification signs for the troops (στοιχεῖα, γραμμάτα).[120] They were also intended to raise the morale of soldiers and to frighten off the enemy.[121] The

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115 Bouras 1981, 179–86. Another possible military cross is one from Brill, Georgia made for *kouropalates* David (966–1001), published by Pentcheva 2006, 70, fig. 35.

116 See e.g. Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 38–41, 341, 348, 352–353, 358–359, 402, 411, 444, 462–463, 465–467, 470, 473–476.

117 Lydos, p. 18^{25-6} [I 4/8]: εἰ δόρατα μακρά, ἐξηρτημένων ὑφασμάτων (φλάμμουλα αὐτὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ φλογίνου χρώματος καλοῦσιν), περὶ ὧν ἐν τοῖς. On the etymology from Lat. *flammula*, 'little flame' see also McGeer 1995, 73; and Dennis 1982, 52–3. Grosse notes (1924, 369) the term *flamulon* was used for the first time by Vegetius [II, III], who mentions it among the 'mute signs'. On the *vexillum* see Alföldi 1959, 12, 14 and nn. 127.

118 Strat., p. 260^{8-9} [VIIB, 16] (= LT, 2/1:$88^{4268-71}$ [XII 105]) states that the *bandon* was a smaller type of standard. On the *phlamoulon* and *bandon* see Kolias 1988, 210 (who notes that the latter was also the name of a small tactical formation); and Babuin 2001, *passim*. On the derivation of the term *bandon* from Germanic *band* see Grosse 1924, 65; Dennis 1982, 53.

119 A standard affixed to the imperial lance was carried during triumphs held in the capital (De Cer, 1:608^{11-12}, 609^{20}, 611^{1} [II 19], 613^{1}–615^{13} [II 20]).

120 According to the Praecepta all units, ἔχοντα καὶ ἀρχηγὸν μετὰ φλαμούλου [...] ἓν δὲ ἕκαστον βάνδον ἐχέτω τὸ ἴδιον φλάμουλον, πλέον δὲ μὴ ἐπιφέρεσθαι. ἔχειν δὲ καὶ τὰ φλάμουλα καὶ γνωρίσματα ἀπὸ στοιχείων (p. $42^{77, 82-4}$ [IV 7] ≈ TNU [MG], p. 124^{133-5} [LXI 7]). The use here of the word στοιχεῖα may indicate that letters of the alphabet were placed on pennons to distinguish the various formations, the more so since in Ouranos the same passage has the wording: τὰ δὲ φλάμουλα ὀφείλουσιν ἔχειν γνωρίσματα εἴτε ἀπὸ **γραμμάτων** εἴτε ἀπὸ ἄλλών τινων σημείων. See also Grosse 1924, 368, n. 12. A standard with a reversed letter Σ appears on fol. 196v of the 14th/15th-C. Athonite Psalter *Cod. B 25* from the Great Lavra Monastery, in a scene depicting Pharaoh's army drowning in the Red Sea (*Athos*, vol. Γ', fig. 68).

121 Michael II the Amorian (820–829) hung out a 'military sign' (πολεμικὸν σημεῖον) on the roof of the church of the Virgin of Blachernai, in order to scare off enemies, see Genesios, p. 28^{43-6} [II 5] (≈ Skylitzes, p. 34^{78-9} [8]): ὅθεν δὴ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Μιχαὴλ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τῆς ὀροφῆς τοῦ τῆς Θεοτόκου ναοῦ τὸ πολεμικὸν σημεῖον πήγνυσι, κελεύει

military treatises recommend removing lance pennants before combat and storing them in special containers, since they would interfere with the weapon's use and block the view of archers.[122] Although standards bearing a cross appear frequently in imperial art between the tenth and twelfth centuries—usually with a purple field emblazoned with a gold or white cross (fig. 90)[123]—this motif did not catch on in the iconography of the military saints.[124]

The standard with a cross was introduced into the saints' iconography only in the thirteenth century, under Crusader influence, as is indicated by the red-cross-on-white-field design.[125] A standard of this type flies on the lance of an equestrian St Sergios on two Sinai icons—of the Virgin Aristerokratousa (fig. 63), and with a kneeling female donor figure; it also appears in thirteenth-century frescoes showing Sergios together with Theodore in the Melkite monasteries

δὲ καὶ Θεόφιλον τὸν υἱὸν λαβεῖν γε τὸ νικοποιὸν τοῦ σταυροῦ ξύλον καὶ τὴν σεβαστὴν ἐσθῆτα τῆς θεομήτρος. See also the commentary by Dennis 1982, 57. The military manuals (esp. STRAT. and LT) repeatedly emphasize the importance of the army having a fine appearance to bolster its morale and to strike fear in the enemy. The likeness of St Sergios, patron of the Arab Ghassānids, which appeared on their standards already in the 6th C. undoubtedly had an apotropaic character (Brock 1977, 56). On the Classical *signa* depicted on Trajan's Column see Alföldi 1959, 13.

[122] STRAT., pp. 130$^{1-13}$ [II 10] (= LT, 2/1:44^{3853}–45^{3863} [XII 53 (54)]), 260$^{5-10}$ [VII, pt. 2, 16] (= LT, 2/1:45$^{3864-68}$ [XII 54 (55)], 87$^{4262-65}$ [XII 104], 96$^{4356-60}$ [XII 118]).

[123] The imperial standard with white cross on a purple field is depicted for example on miniatures in an 11th-C. Sinaian codex containing the *Book of Job* (*Cod.* 3, fols. 19v, 29r–v); and on fols. 30r–31r, 32v, 43r of the *Madrid Skylitzes* (Galavaris/Weitzmann 1990, figs. 310, 319–320 = *Sinai*, fig. 27; Babuin 2001, figs. 31–33; Tsamakda 2002, figs. 58–60, 64–65, 95). Small pennons (*bandons*) are shown e.g. on fols. 26v, 58r, 60r, 67v, 87v of the *Khludov Psalter*; while other varieties of flags appear in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, on fols. 11v–12r, 29v, 33v, 41r & 44r (flags on ships), 42v, 72r, 73v, 86r (emperor holding a *labarum*), 87v, 230v, 232r–v (Shchepkina 1977, figs. 26, 58, 60, 67; Tsamakda 2002, figs. 5–6, 57, 67, 88, 93, 98, 177, 180–181, 209–210, 215, 545, 548–549); see also Hoffmeyer 1966, 115, 123, who believes the pennons in the *Madrid Skylitzes* were painted only by Master I, and reflect actual military equipment of the 9th–11th centuries; Dufrenne 1973, figs. 1–2. On the colours of Byzantine standards and the evolution of the devices on them see Babuin 2001, 25–40. Parani notes (2003, 140) that the banderoles with a cross and three or more tails that appear in miniature painting reflect the form of actual cavalry pennants. On the dark (purple?) *kamelaukion* or flag of the imperial fleet see Dennis 1982, 56–7. A number of images of pennanted lances carried by warriors on 12th-C. ceramic bowls are listed by Armstrong/Sekunda 2006, 17.

[124] The small pennant on St Philotheos's lance on the leather writing case belonging to Pamius of Antinoë (see above, p. 87) is an isolated example, otherwise unattested in art of the Empire.

[125] The Western origins of this motif are pointed out by Weitzmann 1966, 71; and Parani 2003, 144.

located between Homs and Damascus in Qara and St Moses the Ethiopian near Nebek in Syria.[126] The addition of this motif into their iconography can be interpreted as stylization of their images as participants in the Crusades, fighting arm-in-arm with a wordly army against enemies of the true faith.[127] The design of the white standard with red cross entered the repertoire of forms used in depicting the military saints and survived into Late Byzantine art.[128]

Edged Weapons

Besides shafted arms, the basic offensive equipment of Byzantine troops consisted of various types of edged weapons. Two of the most popular types can be found in the iconography of the military saints.

The sword (spatha, xiphos)[129]

Initially, the Greek sword (ξίφος) was used in ancient Rome. It had a blade that was broader towards the point, a metal handgrip,[130] and a straight, horizontal guard. Under the Republic, it was replaced by

[126] See Hunt 1991, figs. 1–2, 5 (= *Sinai*, fig. 66; Gerstel 2001, figs. 4–5); and Dodd 1992, 87, figs. 28, 64.

[127] On the legends in which mounted warrior saints support the Crusaders in combat see above, nn. 154–155 on p. 103.

[128] Examples include the frescoes with Sts Artemios and Demetrios in the church of St Nicholas Orphanos ('of the orphans') in Thessaloniki (*c.*1315), where the cross is accompanied by the letters IC XC N K (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Νικᾶ) see e.g. Tsioumi 1986, fig. 1 (in colour); Babuin 2001, fig. 55; and Parani 2003, 140, figs. 148–149.

[129] The ancient term ξίφος is still seen in the Byzantine literature to describe the sword, see e.g. Peri Strategias, p. 40^{67} [13]; De Velitatione, p. 236^{56} [24]; Psellos, 1:10^{22} [I 15], 30^{15} [II 8], 2:22^{5} [VI 111], 29^{10} [VI 122], 53^{2} [VI 166], 95^{9} [VII 22], 101^{14} [VII 31]; Dig. Akr., p. 336^{1327}. Also used is the newer (late-antique) term σπαθίον, see for example Theophanes, p. 319^{14} (mentions the gold *spatha* of Razates captured by the Greeks in the Persian camp); Naumachica, pp. 22 [I 15], 24 [I 28], 74–75 [VI 12–14 (14–16)], 77 [VI 26 (28)]—as part of the equipment of ships and a weapon used in combination with the *menaulion* in combat against the Arabs; Malalas (p. 312$^{25-9}$ [XV 13]) uses the terms *xiphos* and *spatha* interchangeably; see also below, *passim*. Meanwhile, the term κοπίς is used in reference to a single-edged weapon (see e.g. Psellos, 2:11^{14} [VI 94]; Gamber 1968, 11; Diethart/Dintnis 1984, 78), as is the term μάχαιρα, e.g. Procopius, 1:549$^{13-16}$ [IV 28/29] (as a double-edged sword); De Velitatione, pp. 176^{48} [10], 218^{29} [20] (where it is used in the sense of a sword in general); Choniates, p. 189$^{53, 62}$; and LT (1:129^{1532} [VI 34]) identifying the *machaira* with the single-edged *paramerion*; see also below, n. 198; and Kolias 1988, 138.

[130] Kolias (1988, 143) states, after Eustathios of Thessaloniki, that the blades of Greek swords (μάχαιρα) were made from an alloy of silver and gold (ἤλεκτρον).

the *gladius*, which originated in Celtic Spain. Surviving examples and depictions in art indicate that it was a short sword (*c*.60 cm) with a wide, double-edged blade, a sharp point, and a composite hilt made of wood or horn with a cylindrical guard and pommel.[131] Defeats suffered by the imperial army in the fourth century in combats against Germanic cavalry who were using a longer variant of the sword, forced the *gladius* to be abandoned. It was replaced by a long, double-edged sword (Lat. *spatha*, Gk. σπάθα, σπαθίον) borrowed from the Gothic victors of Adrianople (AD 378).[132] Memory of the weapon's barbarian origins were still alive in sixth-century Byzantium, as is evident from the *Strategikon*'s recommendation for *skoutarioi* to carry Herulian *spathae* (σπαθία Ἐρουλίσκια).[133] Thanks to surviving examples of

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[131] In general on the short Roman sword used in conjunction with the *pilum* for close combat see O. Fiebiger, "Gladius (2)" in *PR*, 13 (1910): 1372–6; Gamber 1978, 380, figs. 378, 397. Żygulski (1998, 98) assumes a length for the *gladius* of *c*.60 cm, while Kolias (1988, 136) estimates it at 40–70 cm. Examples of preserved Roman swords with blades of 16 to 21 inches (41 to 53 cm) are discussed by Oakeshott 1991, 8; see also Rankov 1994, fig. on p. 30—the parade gladius with a richly embossed scabbard known as the 'Sword of Tiberius' of the early 1st C. AD found in the Rhine near Mainz; Kaczanowski 1992, 15, figs. 1/7–9; while depictions in art of the *gladius* slung on a baldric cross over the left shoulder are reproduced, e.g. by Robinson 1975, figs. 467–478; Bivar 1972, fig. 8; Sander 1963, figs. 1–2, 4–5 (a funerary sculpture from Roman Germania showing a legionary wearing a *gladius* with a dagger on his belt at the left side); and also Gamber 1968, fig. 14 (so-called *tropaion* from Rhodes of the 1st C. BC with sword slung on the right shoulder.

[132] One of the earliest references to the *spatha* appears in Vegetius (p. 90 [II 15]) who calls it a long *gladius*, listing it alongside the shorter *semispatha*: *"gladios maiores, quos spathas vocant, et alios minores, quos semispathia nominant"*. He also equates the *gladius* of the *triarii* with the *semispatha* (p. 92 [II 16]): *triarii cum scutis catafractis et galeis ocreati cum gladiis semispathiis*; see also F. Lammert, "Spatha" in *PR*, 6, II/2 (1929): 1544–5. On the western Germanic etymology of the *spatha* (Lombardic *spada*, Norwegian *svedle*, Sanskrit *saru*) see Battisti 1968, 1072; and Dziewanowski 1936, 150. Hoffmeyer (1966, 101, 117) points to the defeat at Adrianople as the turning point in the development of the Roman sword, and links the spread of the *spatha* with the growing importance of cavalry; see also Kolias (1988, 136–7), who cites a similar passage from Isidore of Seville. Meanwhile Southern/Dixon (1996, 103) note a change in the method of slinging the sword, namely the transfer of the baldric suspended initially on the right shoulder to the left. One can assume that this change was the result of the introduction of the *spatha*, which may have taken place in the Roman army at the turn of the 2nd and 3rd centuries (also on p. 111, fig. 39, associated by the authors with Vegetius's comment on *semispathae*, are examples of short swords with long tangs [*semispathae*?] from the 3rd-C. Künzing hoard)

[133] Strat., p. 420^{1-2} [XIIB 4]; Maurice also lists the *spatha* together with the *kontarion* of Avar type (with pennant and suspension loop at the centre) and Avar neckguards for cavalrymen (p. 78^{18-20} [I 2]). He also mentions the *spatha* as part of the weaponry of the Scythians, i.e. Turks and Avars (p. 362^{24} [XI 2]); see also Hoffmeyer 1966, 93; Haldon 1975, 23; and 1999, 131.

Late Roman *spathia* bearing the marks of imperial smiths it is possible to estimate their length at 70–80 cm, with a 5–7 cm wide blade. Initially the hilt followed that of the *gladius*.[134] The *spatha*'s form underwent gradual change. In the tenth century the *Sylloge* states that a double-edged sword blade (ξίφος δίστομος) should measure no less than four spans (about 93.6 cm), cautioning at the same time that the total length of sword plus hilt should be no shorter than this. The treatise gives the same dimensions for the single-edged broadsword (palash) called the παραμήριον.[135] Assuming the hilt (λαβή, κώπη) with pommel measured about 15 cm, the whole sword might have been over a metre in length.[136]

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[134] See Oakeshott 1991, 21, precursor types 5–8 (Behmer's type V) dated to AD 250–400, of average length 76.2 cm. On the basis of 3rd- and 4th-C. Roman sword finds Coulston (2002, 12) believes there were two types of early *spatha*: the 'Straubing/Nydam' with a 65–80 cm blade of 6.6 cm width, and the 'Lauriacum/Hromovka' with a 55–65 cm blade of breadth 6.2–7.5 cm. The short length of the blade indicates that swords of this group should be considered rather as variants of the *gladius*; Kaczanowski (1992, 15) classes them (after G. Ulbert) as *gladii*. Ravegnani 1988 estimates the length of the early *spatha* at 85 cm and width at 5.5 cm. Kaczanowski (1992, 22–23, 30–32, figs. 1/3, 3/1–4, 4) distinguishes the following types of early *gladius*: 'Augst' (blade length 55–60 cm, width 4 cm); 'Mauern' (67 x 4.5 cm); 'Nydam' (65–70 x 4.5 cm); 'Illerup' (with a tapering, rapier-like blade of length 75 cm); 'Ejsbøl' (75–80 x 6 cm); and a cavalry variety: 'Newstead' (63 x 4–5 cm). In turn, Nadolski (1984, 29) reconstructs the blade of the *spatha* as flat forged with a rounded tip, and the hilt as fitted with a pommel of similar shape to the crossguard. From analysis of the archaeological material it is evident that 5th–6th-C. barbarian swords were still slightly longer than Roman ones, see e.g. *Germanen*, nos. III 2a–b (from Hunnish burials, length 105.7 and 107 cm), V 18b, V 29a (early Slav?, length 90 and 97.5 cm) VI 62a–d (Avar, length 92.5 cm), XI 3a (Danubian, length 95 cm, typical hilt with poorly differentiated guard and flat pommel). The Roman origin of many swords found in the *Barbaricum* can be established thanks to the custom of placing maker's marks on them (Hoffmeyer 1961, 44). Oakeshott (1991, 5) notes that such marks had appeared as early as the La Tène period; see also the 2nd/3rd-C. *gladius* with images of Mars and Victory (Żygulski 1998, fig. 87).

[135] Sylloge, pp. 59 [XXXVIII 5], 61 [XXXIX 2] (={LT, vol. B', pp. 358, 360 [XXXIX]}): Ζωννύσθωσαν δὲ καὶ παραμήρια ξίφη δηλαδὴ ἑτερόστομα σπιθαμῶν μετὰ τῆς κώπης ὄντον τεσσάρων· [...] Ἀπεωρείσθω δὲ τῶν αὐτῶν ὤμων καὶ ξίφη δίστομα σπιθαμῶν ὄντα μάλιστα τεσσάρων τῆς κώπης· καὶ ἕτερα δὲ μονόστομα ξίφι τοῖς διστόμοις ἰσομήκη παραζωννύσθωσαν οἱ αὐτοί, ἃ δὴ καὶ παραμήρια λέγονται.; see also Kolias (1988, 137), who estimates the length of the hilt at *c.*16 cm; Ravegnani (1988, 45) states the length of the *spatha* varied from 81 to 94 cm, and the hilt from 12 to 14.5 cm; Haldon 1975, 31; and 1999, 131. In turn Parani (2003, 131) reconstructs the full length at about 1.1 m. On the *paramerion* see below, p. 357ff.

[136] See Hesychios, vol. 1, [p. 111]: ἀκώπητον· ἀπαρασκεύαστον, ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν τῶν μὴ ἐχουσῶν κώπας. ἢ ἄνοπλον. κώπη γὰρ ἡ λαβὴ τοῦ ξίφους; Komnene, 1:33[5, 19] [I 8/4]; and above, n. 135; on the hilt of the Byzantine sword see also Kolias 1988, 143.

Byzantine *spathae* were carried in scabbards (θηκάριον, κο(υ)λεός—literally: 'case', 'cover'),[137] which were made of metal (fig. 91)[138] or leather, and probably also of wood covered with fabric.[139] Fitted to the scabbard were mounts with rings; straps threaded through these rings enabled the scabbard to be slung.[140] Meanwhile the chape, which either tapered towards the bottom or was flat-ended, reinforced the scabbard and prevented damage while it was being worn.[141] The scabbard was normally slung over the right shoulder on a baldric or leather

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137 See HESYCHIOS, [2:505]: κολεός· *ἡ θήκη τοῦ ξίφους; SUDA, 3:145^{14}: Κολεός· ἡ ξιφοθήκη. KOMNENE mentions the sheathing of swords into scabbards many times, 1:25^{13} [I 6/4], 34^{30} [I 9/2], 2:21$^{24-5}$ [V 4/8], 65^{20} [VI 9/3]: τοῦ **κουλεοῦ** τὸ ξίφος σπασάμενος, see also 2:176^{24}–177^{15} [IX 7/5] (story of an assassin who was unable to carry through his attempt on Alexios I at the Hippodrome, since his sword stuck in its scabbard); the form θηκάριον is preferred in DIG. AKR., p. 246^{127}; both terms are used by PROCOPIUS, 1:132^{17} [I 24/50], 548$^{17-18}$ [IV 28/22]; see also Kolias 1988, 148 and nn. 93–94; Kazhdan 1997, 87. Interesting, in the light of the later custom of breaking the sword or sabre over the coffin of the last male heir of a line, is ACHMET's reference (p. 114$^{11-15}$ [155]) describing a Persian omen that a dream of a broken sword sheathed in an intact scabbard indicates the death of a son, while if the scabbard is broken the mother will die and the son will survive. The custom of breaking a sword before it was placed in a grave is common in the Norse sagas and was intended to prevent theft (Oakeshott 1991, 4).

138 PERI STRATEGIAS, p. 118$^{19-21}$ [40] instructs troops conducting a posed retreat to throw away valuable items, including tin-covered scabbards that appear to be silver: Πιθανὸν δὲ πρὸς δόξαν φυγῆς καὶ τὸ διωκομένους ἀποβάλλεσθαί τινα τῶν ἰδίων, οἷον θήκας μαχαιρῶν κασσιτέρῳ ὥσπερ διηργυρωμένας καὶ πήρας διπλᾶς πάντοθεν κατησφαλισμένας. Preserved in the National Historical Museum, Athens is a piece of the blade of a (10th-C.?) *spatha* of length *c.*40 cm, still sheathed in an iron scabbard, which is incrusted with a rosette motif and a cross of Maltese-like form (inv. no. 6519; here fig. 91).

139 Leather scabbards for *parameria* and axes are mentioned in SYLLOGE, p. 60 [XXXVIII 10] (={LT, vol. B', p. 358 [XXXVIII]})· παραμήρια ἢ τζικούρια διὰ θηκαρίων βασταζόμενα δερματίνων; see also Hoffmeyer (1966, 98) and Kolias (1988, 148) who also list velvet, brocade and silk as materials used for covering scabbards; and also Parani 2003, 133–4. Leather spearhead covers are mentioned in LT, 1:91$^{1166-67}$ [V 2 (3)].

140 When listing the arms of the *foederati* and *boukellarioi* Maurice (STRAT., p. 78$^{11-12}$ [I 2]) mentions attached to the *zaba*: λωρίοις καὶ κρικελλίοις μετὰ τῶν θηκαρίων αὐτῶν; see also Hoffmeyer 1966, 98, figs. 16/7, 14, 24–25. Parani (2003, 134–5, figs. 155–156) notes the change in how the rings for suspending the scabbard are depicted: in Middle Byzantine art they are normally shown on one side of the scabbard, indicating that the sword was worn on a long baldric thrown over the shoulder; in the Late Byzantine period the rings are fitted either side of the scabbard's mouth, evidence that the sword was now normally carried vertically on a waist belt.

141 See Kolias (1988, 148–9) who reconstructs its shape on the basis of surviving objects and depictions in art. On the 'U-shaped' Byzantine chape and the flat-ended variant borrowed from the Arabs and Persians on the basis of examples in the Topkapi Palace, Istanbul see Hoffmeyer 1966, 98, figs. 16/26–27; ornate (sometimes openwork), tapering, boat-shaped scabbard chapes (9th–10th C.) unearthed in Bulgaria, in Kiev and on the Chersonese are published by Iotov 2004, 47–55, figs. 17–23; Kirpichnikov

strap called an *aorter* (or *telamon*) (which was sometimes gilded), and which occasionally—but only in relation to swords—was also known by the Latin-derived term βάλτιν or βαλτίδι(ο)ν (*balteus*).[142] This method of wearing a sword which was adopted from antique tradition became popular throughout early Medieval Europe.[143] In Byzantium a red leather baldric decorated with precious stones was the insignia received by *kandidatoi* and *magistroi* from the hands of the emperor during promotions.[144] Following Roman tradition, ordinary soldiers

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1966, plate 33; and Kolesnikova 1975, figs. 2b-c. Parani comments (2003, 133–4) that scabbard fittings have a decorative as well as a functional value.

[142] On the *aorter* which served to carry the sword (from ἆορ or ἄορ, ἄορος—'strap') identical with the 'gold telamon' see Eust. Il. 3:143^{21}–144^{3}; Eust. Od., 1:440^{12}, 441^{5-7}: ἔχων καὶ ἐπὶ νευρῆφιν ὀϊστὸν, δεινὸν παπταίνων, αἰεὶ βαλέοντι ἐοικὼς, σμερδαλέος δέ οἱ ἀμφὶ περὶ στήθεσσιν **ἀορτὴρ**, χρύσεος ἦν **τελαμὼν**, ἵνα θέσκελα ἔργα τέτυκτο. ἄρκτοι τ' ἀγρότεροί τε σύες χαροποί [...]'**Αορτὴρ δὲ καὶ τελαμὼν** ταυτά εἰσι κατὰ πολυωνυμίαν, ὡς καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς δηλοῖ εἰπὼν ἀορτὴρ, εἶτα πρὸς ἑρμηνείαν ἐπαγαγὼν τὸ, χρύσεος τελαμών. γίνεται δὲ ὁ ἀορτὴρ παρὰ τὸ ἀείρω, τὸ κρεμῶ καὶ μετεωρίζω, καὶ δηλοῖ τὸν κρεμαστῆρα τοῦ ξίφους. Σύες δὲ ἀγρότεροι πρὸς διαστολὴν; Hesychios, vol. 1, [p. 223]: ἀορτήρεσιν· *οἱ ἀναφορεῖς τοῦ ξίφους; Suda, 1:256^{17-18} [2844], 257^{18} [2851]: 'Αορ· τὸ ξίφος. καὶ κλίνεται ἄορος, ἄορι. ὑπαντιάσασα δὲ μήτηρ εἶπε, κατὰ στέρνων ἆορ ἀνασχομένη. [...] Ἀορτήρ· ὁ λῶρος τῆς σπάθης. καὶ Ἀορτήρεσιν. See also above, n. 362 on p. 221 on the *aorter* used to carry the shield.

On the *balteus* see Lydos, p. 104^{15-16} [II 4/13], who explains: οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ βάλτεον τὸν ζωστῆρα λέγουσιν; and also De Cer., below, n. 144. On the Roman *balteus* see Gamber 1991, 10, fig. 14; H. Aigner, "Balteus (1)" in *BKR*, p. 21 and fig. on p. 22; A. v. Domaszewski, "Balteus" in *PR*, 2/2 (1896): 2842–3; and also above, n. 131. The Roman origin of the Byzantine baldric is noted by Hoffmeyer 1966, 99.

[143] See e.g. the warriors with short swords in broad scabbards on baldrics slung over the right shoulder depicted on the 7th-C. plate dies from Torslunda (National Museum, Stockholm), and the baldric of a sword from Sutton Hoo of *c.* 625 which is linked to a military waistbelt (*cingulum militare*) (Gamber 1991, 10–12, figs. 13, 15–16; who considers that the use of this type of suspension system had disappeared from Scandinavia by 1100). Kolias (1988, 150, n. 110) notices that the Franks and Lombards employed waistbelts to carry their swords because these were shorter. Hoffmeyer (1966, 99) cites paintings in the Alhambra palace, Granada as evidence of the baldric's adoption by the Arabs. Parani (2003, 134) notes that this was the 'Roman' way of slinging the sword.

[144] See Cer. [Vogt], 1:134^{3-13} [I 35] (on the promotion of *kandidatoi*); Oikonomides, p. 95^{15-16} and n. 45 (= De Cer., 1:710^{20-2} [II 52]): ζώνη δερματίνη κόκκινος ἐκ λίθων τιμίων κεκοσμημένη, ἥτις λέγεται βαλτίδιν, ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοστορίου ἐκ βασιλικῆς χειρὸς ἐπιδίδοται; and also De Cer. [Vogt], 2:41^{8-14}, 43^{9-11} [I 55]; De Cer, 1:585^{6-7} [II 15] and commentary, 2:55–59 (Fauro 1995, 503; on *baltidion* as a term that appears interchangeably with *zonarion* and *lorion*—a strap); and also the reference in Vita S. Stephani Junioris, 140^{24} [§ 40] (= MPG, 100:1137). Lydos explains (p. $104^{6-7, 16}$ [II 4/13]) that the red *baltidin* was introduced as an insignia by the commanders of the *Praetorium* who supervised the *magistroi* (which when compared with the earlier quotes from De Cer. allows us to assume that between the 6th and 10th C. the custom of wearing it was extended to his subordinates). See also Koukoules, 2/2:52; and K. Wessel, "Insignien" in *RbK*, 3:415, 432.

(particularly *kataphraktoi*) also normally slung their swords on the shoulder. Besides the use of the baldric, Leo's *Taktika* also mentions the custom of carrying a cold-steel weapon, the *paramerion*, on a waistbelt.[145] A *spatha* slung in this manner (σπαθία ζωστίκια) was carried by infantry, including light troops and archers. Constantine Porphyrogennetos's accounts of the triumphs of Basil I and Theophilos indicate that this custom also spread to the imperial court.[146] Although the sword had been worn in ancient Rome on a broad leather military belt (*cingulum militare*),[147] the custom may have reached the Byzantine army by way of the barbarian *Foederati* in imperial service, or (together with a longer variant of the *spatha*) from Persia.[148]

The introduction of the spatha was reflected in art. A sword with a short crossguard sheathed in a long scabbard with a typically flat, broad chape lies among captured weapons in the foreground of the *missorium* of Valentinian in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva.[149] A long sword in a wide scabbard with decorative fittings and horseshoe-like

145 LT, 1:101[1273–75] [VI 2]: σπαθία [...] ἀποκρεμάμενα τῶν ὤμων αὐτῶν κατὰ τὴν Ῥωμαϊκὴν τάξιν καὶ ἕτερα παραμήρια ἤτοι μαχαίρας διεζωσμένους.; Hoffmeyer 1966, 99; and also the correction of Vári's erroneous amendments to the text proposed by Kolias (1988, 150), who also tackles the broader question of the *balteus* and the sword worn on a waistbelt.

146 See Praecepta, p. 14[25, 37] [I 3–4] (= TNU [MG], p. 90[28, 39–40] [LVI 3–4]); and also McGeer 1995, 63, 205. On the sword belted on by the emperor and the caesar during triumphs see Porph. (p. 142[751, 753]), where it is worn by Basil himself and his son Constantine (together with a gold *klibanion*), and also by Theophilos and his caesar (p. 148[838, 842] [C]); see also Haldon's commentary on p. 278.

147 On the Roman *cingulum* see: A. v. Domaszewski, "Cingulum (2)" in *PR*, 3:2561; H. Aigner, "Cingulum (militare)" in *BKR*, 54; Southern/Dixon 1996, 118–21, figs. 52–54 and plate 17; James 2004, 60–1, fig. 31; Żygulski 1998, 100, fig. 85; and also Kolias (1998, 149, n. 105) who provides more extensive literature. On the officer's sash (*zone stratiotike*) which was worn on the chest see above, n. 579 on p. 277.

148 On Avar, Lombard and Frankish belts and methods of suspending swords from them see Gamber 1991, 2–8, figs. 2–3, 5–10. Procopius mentions (1:244[9–10] [II 21/6]) the use of belts for holding up the trousers by barbarians in the army of Belisarius. The Vandal Stilicho wears a belt for this purpose on his diptych (Volbach, no. 63). In favour of Persian origins for the sword worn on the belt are Hoffmeyer (1966, 99) and Dawson (2002, 84, n. 22); supporting their theory is a reference in Sebeos's chronicle (pp. 25–6 [XII]) to a Persian officer being instructed to remove his belt and sword before an audience with the king. Kolias theorizes (1988, 151) that the sword slung on the belt was reintroduced under the influence of foreign (Western) arms; he also believes that the only reason the baldric was abandoned was its inconvenience for use by archers.

149 See Southern/Dixon 1996, pl. 14, and also the example of a flat Roman chape on fig. 38. Finds of flat Roman sword chapes are mentioned by Coulston (2002, 12), which suggests that the designer of the *missorium* used an actual sword as his model.

chape is held by David while trying on the armour of Saul on a silver dish from the Karavas hoard from Cyprus.[150] In art after Iconoclasm we see the same form already on manuscript miniatures from the end of the ninth century. Long swords with unusually decorative scabbards rest on the shoulders of the *protospatharioi* accompanying St Helena and the emperor Theodosius (fig. 81b) on fols. 239r and 440r of the Parisian *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos* (*Cod. gr. 510*).[151] The initially popular type with a wide scabbard and a large flat-ended chape, which is predominant among the troops depicted in psalters with marginal decoration,[152] was in time replaced by a variant that tapered towards the bottom.[153]

As with other items of military equipment, when analysing depictions of the sword in Byzantine art problems are raised by the lack of comparative archaeological material. The ceasing of the interment of weapons in graves by Christians makes it more difficult to identify a body of swords produced for the imperial army's needs, and in turn to determine the characteristic features of the Byzantine *spatha*.[154] The situation is further complicated by the fact that in the Middle Ages the sword was a highly durable object of great value; it was therefore, like the shield, a valuable diplomatic or personal gift, and also changed

[150] See e.g. Dodd 1961, no. 61a.

[151] See Der Nersessian 1962, figs. 12, 15 (= Brubaker 1999, figs. 27, 45).

[152] E.g. on fols. 65v, 68v, 197v of the *Psalter Pantokrator 61*; fol. 89v of the *Barberini Psalter*; and fols. 6r, 18v, 26v, 52v, 54v, 60v, 67v, 106r, 141v of the *Khludov Psalter* (Dufrenne 1966, figs. 9, 29, 118; Shchepkina 1977, figs. 6, 18, 26, 52, 54, 60, 67, 106, 141).

[153] This type of scabbard and long swords with a crossguard and sharpened tip appear for example in the *Madrid Skylitzes* on fols. 11v–12r, 30v–31r, 39r, 40r–v, 43r, 49r, 67r, 72v, 73v, 80r, 97r, 100v, 101v, 114r-v, 122r, 136r, 141r, 142r, 150r, 153r, 154v, 156r, 165r–166r, 175r, 200v, 202r, 206v, 212v, 224v, 227r (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 5–7, 59–60, 82, 85, 87, 94, 112, 166, 178, 180, 194, 218, 226, 228, 261, 263, 283, 328, 342, 346, 377, 385, 389, 393, 417–419, 441, 477, 480, 488, 501, 531, 538). They correspond to archaeological finds from Bulgaria, see above, n. 141.

[154] A similar problem in relation to archaeological finds from Polish territory is perceived by Nadolski (1984, 38–9). In turn, Oakeshott (1991, 3) notes that the bulk of swords from between 300 and 1125 found in Europe come from graves (with the exception of Gothic examples) or riverbeds, where they were customarily thrown after their owner's death. Examples of early medieval swords and knives found in burials are discussed by Gamber 1991, 3. On the long, narrow sword without clearly defined guard found in the grave of a Slav or Avar warrior in Corinth see above, n. 49 on p. 30. As Kolias (1988, 135) rightly points out, sword production in armourers' workshops in the capital is attested during preparations for the expedition against Crete by a reference in De Cer. (1:674[3] [II 45]) instructing storage in the arsenal of the iron necessary for manufacturing four thousand swords.

owners as a military trophy.[155] Swords, and the semi-finished product in the form of un-hilted blades, were traded throughout medieval Europe and the Near East.[156] Eastern chroniclers, such as the late-ninth century Arab historian Ibn Khurdādhbeh, often write of the Vikings importing swords from the Rhineland to Constantinople and Baghdad; while Frankish and Persian blades found alongside each other on Syrian territory are evidence of a lively trade, which in view of the geography must have largely taken place via the Empire.[157] Bladed weapons were also brought to Byzantium by Varangians and other foreigners who took service in the imperial army.[158]

The few examples of bladed weapons that can be linked with high probability to Greek armourers' workshops in view of their

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[155] To illustrate the journey that a European sword might make during its lifespan, Oakeshott (1991, 7) hypothesizes a blade that is forged in Passau in 1258, then hilted in any one of numerous local centres across Europe. It is then purchased by a young knight in Antwerp from itinerant traders, and after he loses a tournament in Beauvais, according to chivilric custom, becomes the property of the victor, a Teutonic knight, who is killed on a raid into Lithuania. The sword then comes into the hands of a Polish squire, who takes it with him on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but dies there on campaign, leaving the sword to a knight from Cambridge whom he had befriended, who returns home with the sword in 1272; and on his death shortly after 1310 has the weapon thrown into a local river.

[156] Despite attempts to regulate the trading of a good of such strategical importance, e.g. Charlemagne's banning of the sale of swords to other countries, numerous finds of Carolingian blades in Russia and the renewal of the prohibition by successive rulers is evidence that it was not obeyed, see Nadolski 1984, 34–5; Kirpichnikov 1966, 48–9, pl. 5/5, 16, 19–20 (all), 39/1–2. Hoffmeyer (1966, 101) notes that as a result of the ban the exorbitant price of 1000 dinars was obtained for an item by traders in Egypt.

[157] Hoffmeyer (1966, 93–95, 100–1); she also gives references to other eastern accounts of swords and sword blades imported from the North: e.g., the 10th-C. Arab traveller Ibn Fadlan; Al-Kindi of Cairo (9th C.); Al-Bīrūnī of Ghazna (11th C.); and the Persian geographical work *Hudud al-Alem* ('Borders of the World'). Of particular interest is Ibn Miskawaih's comment on the robbery of Scandinavian warrior graves by Arabs in the Caucasus. A group of eleven swords with mushroom-shaped pommels (typical for the Vikings) preserved in the Askeri Museum, Istanbul provide likely evidence that north European swords filtered through to Byzantium and its Islamic neighbours (Nickel 2002, 121; who does not rule out that these were Late Byzantine swords).

[158] Kirpichnikov (1966, 106) points out that the Varangians who signed on into imperial service would have brought their own weapons from Rus'. Haldon (2002, 78) proposes a similar phenomenon in the case of Khazar sabres from the north shore of the Caspian Sea, which might have reached Byzantium by way of nomad mercenaries; Kolias (1988, 136, 140) gives a similar, though more generally phrased theory on Arab mercenaries and peoples of the Caucasus among those bringing swords to Constantinople; see also above, p. 32.

ornamentation (figs. 91a,b)[159] or Greek inscriptions on the blade[160] have been found both within the Empire's borders and outside them. But their small numbers, the long period over which they were manufactured, and their uncertain dating make it impossible to come to any general conclusions about the construction of the Byzantine *spatha*, nor indeed to deduce a uniform system of classification.[161]

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[159] Examples include the palashes with 'P-shaped' scabbards (in the Hermitage) found in 1912 at Malaja Pereščepina (now Pereshchpino) on the lower Dniepr near Poltava together with a hoard of gold and silver objects collected by nomads (Bulgars?) including coins of Maurice and Constans II dating it to the mid 7th century (Gorelik 2002, figs. XI-6/7); Kazanski/Sodini (1987, 74–5 and n. 11, fig. 3) prefer to see the Byzantizing ornament as an indirect influence. For a detailed bibliog. of the find see A. Cutler, "Malaja Pereščepina Treasure", in *ODB*, 2:1274–5. A *spatha* without a guard found in the shipwreck at Serçe Limani is regarded as Byzantine or Indian in view of its hilt decoration (see above, n. 63 on p. 33). Meanwhile, Kiss (1987, 193–5, 199–207) considers a group of swords uncovered in early medieval Danubian burials as Byzantine, guided by the ornament on the pommels and guards untypical for swords from nearby sites. Hoffmeyer (1966, 98–99, 102) provisionally attributes to a Byzantine workshop the so-called Sword of Sts Kosmas and Damianos in the cathedral treasury in Essen (10th–11th C.), although she does not rule out that it came into being in the artistic milieu of Trier or Ratisbon (Regensburg) which were influenced by Byzantine art. On the links of a group of Lombard swords from the 6th and 7th C. with Byzantine armourers' workshops see Haldon 2002, 74–5.

[160] A few individual blades with inscriptions have been preserved, including two found in Belgrade: a sabre discovered in 1923 during construction of a power station, in sand on the banks of the Danube dated to 12th–15th C., with 90.5 x 4.2 cm blade and 19.9 cm-long hilt, inscribed: ZH O EIC CE ΕΛΠΙΖΩΝ OY ΑΠΟΤΙΧ(ΟΙ) ['May he flourish who trusts in you, that he will not fail']—recently exhibited at the Royal Academy in London (*Byzantium 330–1453*, ed. R. Cormack & M. Vassilaki, London 2008, No. 103); and a sabre, only the blade of which is preserved, 89.8 cm in length and 3.9 cm at the broadest point, bearing the text: CY ΒΑCΙΛΕΥ ΑΗΤΤΗΤΕ ΛΟΓΕ Θ-Υ ΠΑΝΤΑΝΑΞ; in both cases the inscriptions are accompanied by depictions of the Virgin Mary with Child (Popović 1938, esp. 168–71). See Škrivanić (1957, 70–1), who also discusses late medieval examples of Serbian blades with votive inscriptions. Kolias (1988, 147) expands the corpus of Byzantine swords with further ornamented examples and several bearing the inscription 'Konstantinos', a name often linked with Constantine XI Palaiologos (1449–53) or even the Hospodar of Wallachia, Constantin Brâncoveanu (1654–1713). In view of its findsite, pieces of an 11th-C. sword (blade point, hilt and iron pommel) discovered during excavations in Corinth are usually considered Byzantine, but are too fragmentary to reconstruct a complete example (Parani 2003, 130, n. 139).

[161] Oakeshott (1991, 7) draws attention to the similar situation in relation to the bulk of medieval sword-making centres, and also subjects to criticism the earlier typologies of Petersen and Behmer, which attempted to link specific sword types with geographical regions. Oakeshott's simplified classification system for medieval swords has been adopted for the present work. See also Nadolski (1984, 41–43, 50–51), who prefers it to Petersen's complex and illogical system, and cf. Hoffmeyer (1961), who attempts to modify the older system; and also Pedersen 2002, 28–9. A divergent opinion has been expressed recently by Haldon 2002, 73.

In view of the evidence indicating that swords produced in European centres, and also probably Asiatic ones, filtered through to Byzantium, a comparison of the warrior saints' swords seen in Middle Byzantine art with the broader group of artefacts from these regions would seem justified. Initially, the iconography of the military saints is dominated by broad swords suspended at the warrior's left side or on the back on an *aorter* that is slung over the right shoulder (figs. 22a–b, 25a, 40, 67, 70).[162] Occasionally, as with the baldrics of Sts George, Nestor and Theodore Teron in Nerezi (fig. 45a,b), a buckle is shown at the front making it easier to put on the baldric, and one of the ends of the baldric hangs loosely from the chest. In turn, the *aorter* of St Christopher in the church of Sts Kosmas and Damianos in Kastoria has gilded fittings over the whole of its length—a form of decoration known since Roman times.[163] In the iconography this method of wearing the sword is also suggested when the hilt appears behind the warrior on his left side—even if the *aorter* is not depicted (e.g. figs. 33, 47). Meanwhile, in equestrian depictions associated with provincial Coptic circles there is another method of wearing the sword, with its hilt visible high up, above the left shoulder (figs. 8, 77).

The early type of the *spatha* with a poorly defined guard is still occasionally depicted in ninth-century art.[164] Sometimes, as on the ivory panels with St Demetrios (Metropolitan Museum, New York) and Sts Theodore and George (Museo Archeologico, Venice), only part of the broad 'U-shaped' scabbard is visible, adorned with a motif of rhomboids and crosswise incisions (fig. 67).[165] A single-handed hilt with a

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[162] Swords with a broad blade have analogies in archaeological finds from northern Thrace (swords and a palash from the vicinity of Haskovo and from south-eastern Bulgaria, and a flat-ended, openwork scabbard chape) dated to the 9th–10th C. (Iotov 2004, 39–42, fig. 12). In the eponymous epic Digenes Akritas states that he wears his sword on the left: ἐβάστουν τὸ σπαθίτσιν μου 'ς τὸ ἀριστερόν μου μέρος (Dig. Akr., p. 322[1115]). Examples of such a pictorial formula include St Theodore Stratelates on fol. 383r of the *Menologion of Basil II* (*Vat. gr. 1613*); Teron at Hosios Loukas in Phokis; and St Orestes in a *clipeus* on the southern arcade of the church in Lagoudera on Cyprus (Ševčenko 1962, fig. 12; Chatzidakis 1997, fig. 48; Stylianou 1997, fig. 92; and also below, nn. 165–167). Especially broad baldrics are shown on the *Borradaile Triptych* in the British Museum (*Byzantium*, no. 153).

[163] See Maguire 1996, fig. 19; Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 23/2. Fittings for the Roman *balteus* are discussed by Southern/Dixon 1996, 107–8, fig. 34.

[164] See e.g. miniature on fol. 97v of the *Khludov Psalter*, where a sword of this type is worn by St Eustathios–Placidus (Shchepkina 1977, fig. 97).

[165] See e.g. Cutler 1994, figs. 44, 126 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 81; Weitzmann 1976, fig. 36).

spherical pommel and a crossguard with quillons that curve towards the blade[166] can be seen on ivories such as the *Harbaville* and *Borradaile* triptychs, and a triptych in the Vatican Museum (figs. 20–22); and also on a golden panel with Theodore in the British Museum, and a miniature with St Merkourios in the *Menologion of 1056* (*Par. gr. 580*, fol. 2v; fig. 62.[167] The guard's form, similar to type 9 in Oakeshott's system, has direct analogies in a group of so-called Viking swords, although their hilts differ from Byzantine depictions in their two-piece pommel with mushroom-shaped or lobate upper part.[168] A direct analogy can, however, be found in the archaeological finds from Bulgaria.[169] The downward curvature of the quillons is also characteristic of Sasanian swords.[170] The origins of this motif in the iconography of the military saints therefore remain unresolved.

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166 More gently curving quillons can be seen on a triptych (figs. 23a,b) in the National Museum in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome (Cutler 1994, fig. 176). Quillons that curve clearly towards the blade appear on a miniature in a *Synaxarion* from Hamula near Fayyum, now at the Pierpont Morgan Library, no. *M 613*, fol. 1v (*L'art Copte*, no. 52). In the last example it is also possible to discern a double strap wound around the pommel. This motif also appears on an icon of St Merkourios in St Catherine's Monastery, Mt Sinai, as well as on miniatures with Theodore Stratelates and Merkourios on horseback on fols. 210v and 287v of the MS. *Cod. Vat. copt. 66* (Weitzmann 1976, no. B49; Grüneisen 1922, fig. 46; Górecki 1980, fig. 37; cf. also the inaccurate sketch on fig. 36); which allows it to be regarded as a local feature. It is also worth noting the tapering of the blade of Merkourios's sword on a Sinaian icon, a form reminiscent of a La Tène blade (Dziewanowski 1936, 152, fig. on p. 149). The single-handed nature of swords in Middle Byzantine art is commented upon by Parani (2003, 133).

167 See Goldshmidt/Weitzmann 1979, vol. 2, nos. 32–33, 38 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 79–80); *Byzantium*, nos. 153–160; Spatharakis 1981, fig. 118.

168 See Oakeshott 1991, fig. on p. ix as well as examples of Viking swords dating from 900–1150 (nos. X.7–8, Xa.17, XII.10–12); and also Dziewanowski's comment (1936, 152). Worthy of note in the last three examples is the smallish languet by the guard, which is similar in form to that seen on the guards of the saints on the *Borradaile Triptych* (see the languet sketched in Nadolski 1984, fig. 9/9); cf. also Dziewanowski's opinion on Viking swords; and Hoffmeyer's apt comment (1966, 94) on the importation to Scandinavia of Frankish blades which were then hilted in local workshops; see also examples of swords with hilts adorned with the whirling interlaced pattern typical of Scandinavian wares (Kirpichnikov 1966, plates 11, 13). Additionally, see Kirpichnikov 1966, plates 22/2, 25/1, 27/2–3.

169 See Iotov 2004, fig. 15 (sword from the Montana region and a pommel from Veliki Preslav).

170 Hoffmeyer 1966, 103–6; Nicolle (1991, 312, figs. 2d–e) gives examples of a Sasanian or early Islamic sword from Oman and a 10th-C. Arab sword found on a shipwreck off the North African coast. Also in favour of an eastern origin for the curved guard is Kolias 1988, 143; see also the curved guard of Goliath's sword on the façade of the Holy Cross church in Aght'amar (Der Nersessian 1965, fig. 23).

Although the curved guard still appears occasionally on military saints' swords in the twelfth and even thirteenth centuries (figs. 30a–b),[171] it is gradually replaced by the straight crossguard.[172] Examples of this type of guard can be seen on the *Forty Martyrs of Sebaste* triptych (figs. 19a–b), and on mosaics showing Sts Merkourios, Theodore Teron and Prokopios at Hosios Loukas in Phokis (figs. 25a–b).[173] Especially clear is the hilt of St Theodore's sword on a steatite panel in Birmingham; it hangs on an *aorter*, and has quillons that are equal in length to the pommel-less handgrip.[174] Crossguards were already known in Byzantium in the ninth century, as is confirmed by reference to a sword with a crossguard separating the horn grip from the blade in Joseph Genesios's account of the assassination of Leo V the Armenian (813–820).[175] Taking into account that from the first half of the eleventh century the curved form of guard gives way to a straight form, which had gradually evolved from the short mounts of the Roman *spatha* in the early Middle Ages,[176] it should be assumed

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[171] Quillons with round finials (corresponding to Oakeshott's type 9 or 11) appear on a fresco with St Demetrios in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria; a simpler form is visible on St George's sword on the 12th/13th-C. enkolpion-reliquary of St Demetrios in the British Museum (Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 12 on p. 33; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 116).

[172] Parani (2003, 133) distinguishes the following types of guard in Byzantine art: 1) curved towards the blade; 2) curved towards the grip; 3) curved on the side towards the hilt, but straight on the side towards the blade; 4) spindle-shaped with round finials; 5) straight (cross-shaped).

[173] See Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 47–48; Marković 1995, fig. 40; Parani (2003, 133, fig. 128) cites the example of a fresco with St George in the Church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria.

[174] See Longuet 1961, fig. 24/2.

[175] Genesios, p. 19$^{75–9\ (esp.\ 77)}$ [I 20]: ἀλλ' ἀμείλικτον ὄπα κατὰ τοὺς 'Αντιμάχου παῖδας διήκουσεν, ἀντειπόντα ἐνόρκως αὐτῷ μηκέτι βιώσεσθαι. καὶ εὐθέως τῇ κατακλεῖδι τὴν σπήθην καθεὶς τὴν χεῖρα διέσπασεν, ὥστε καὶ τὸ **σταυρικὸν σχεδόν τι κέρας διακοπῆναι**· εἶθ' οὕτως αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπετύχισεν. Genesios's reference is also interpreted by Kolias (1988, 144 and n. 72) as evidence that the Byzantines employed crossguards. Leo V was assassinated at church on the first day of Christmas 820 by conspirators linked with the later emperor Michael II the Amorian whom he had imprisoned (Treadgold 1997, 431).

[176] Guards with downward-pointing quillons in 12th- and 13th-C. images of the warrior saints may be interpreted as a reference to the weakly curved guards of early Gothic swords (see Dziewanowski 1936, diagram on p. 149 of a sword from the beginning of the 13th C.; and Oakeshott 1991, nos. XII 17, XIIa 5, XIV 5). The not yet fully developed guard of a later Roman *spatha* is reproduced e.g. by Southern/Dixon 1996, 109, fig. 36. For a *spatha* with a prominent guard see *Germanen*, no. III 2a. Dziewanowski (1936, 152) considers the 10th C. as a rough date for the introduction of the crossguard; see also Kolias 1988, 143.

that the alteration of the guard's shape on images of the military saints mirrored actual changes that were taking place in the structure of the sword hilt.

Meanwhile, it is very common to see the pommel depicted in the form of a ball (figs. 19a, 20a–23a, 25a, 29, 30a,b 35a, 44c,d, 45b, 48a–c, 51, 80, 83) corresponding to Oakeshott's types G_1–G_2 (which in truth are more oval than spherical) and R;[177] this allows us to suppose that the artists used actual pommels that were popular in Byzantium and among her eastern neighbours as their model.[178] Exceptions include the 'multi-lobed' pommel (formerly referred to as the 'mushroom' pommel) characteristic of Viking swords which appears on the enamelled panel with St George *Tropaiophoros* making up part of the Venetian *Pala d'Oro*, and on a mosaic with St Demetrios from St Michael's Cathedral in Kiev (fig. 26), and also the 'onion-shaped' pommel on St George's sword on the Constantinopolitan icon of St George in the Byzantine Museum in Veria. An analogous example, contemporary with the last, can be seen among the sword pommels depicted in the *Madrid Skylitzes*.[179]

It is worth commenting on the small loop that the artist has attached to the hilt of St Orestes' sword in Karanlık kilise, Göreme, as well as the (considerably smaller) loop on St Demetrios's sword in the church of the Anargyroi, Kastoria (fig. 30a).[180] These evidently represent an

[177] See e.g. Oakeshott 1991, fig. on p. 10. On the variety of pommels in the *Madrid Skylitzes* see Hoffmeyer 1966, 95–7, figs. 16/1–25. In turn, Dawson (2007, 25 and fig. on p. 28; and 2009, fig. on p. 5) publishes a range of hilts with variously shaped pommels and guards taken from contemporary art.

[178] See e.g. the coronation sword of the kings of France (the so-called Sword of Charlemagne) currently in the Louvre, which is actually a Sasanian sword and has a gilded spherical pommel (Hoffmeyer 1966, 96, fig. 15); see also the swords of 'Family A' in Oakeshott's system (1991, 12).

[179] See Hahnloser/Polacco 1994, fig. 142; *Glory of Byzantium*, fig. on p. 283 and no. 70 (the shape of the hilt is difficult to see on the reproduction, since the layer of paint has been removed. Thanks to the kindness of the museum staff I had the opportunity to examine the icon in the local conservator's workshops, and noticed the shape of a pommel sketched in the gesso by the painter with an engraving tool). On 'onion-shaped' pommels in the *Madrid Skylitzes* see Hoffmeyer 1966, 96, figs. 16/12–13. Numerous, though often debatable, depictions of the onion-shaped pommel (usually with a poorly defined terminal) have been collected by Parani (2003, 132–3, figs. 118, 120, 123), e.g. on murals depicting Michael Skepides in Karabaş kilise, Cappadocia; Joshua at Hosios Loukas; and Orestes at Nea Mone on Chios); Parani also points out the existence of a three-lobed pommel type (her fig. 114) which is foreign to European traditions.

[180] See Parani 2003, figs. 113, 123. [Translator's note: these loops are now known as 'sword-knots', and were in widespread use by cavalrymen by the sixteenth century, and possibly much earlier].

actual item of military equipment, which when placed around the hand prevented the sword from being lost in combat.

A further manifestation of the imitation of actual sword forms may be the gradual lengthening and slimming of the blade, which is also visible in changes in the shape of the scabbard (figs. 30a, 33–34, 45, 48, 70).[181] This was related to the transformation of the broad, early medieval *spatha* with its rounded point designed exclusively for slashing, into a technically more advanced weapon that could be used for fencing, and was also suitable for delivering thrusts.[182] On certain images where the sword's blade is visible it is possible to discern a groove known as the fuller running down the centre of the blade, usually marked in a darker shade (figs. 29, 41b, 45a); on real swords its purpose was to reduce their weight.[183] An unusual example, providing evidence of the painter's faithful imitation of medieval weaponry,

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[181] Broad, decorative scabbards appear for example on images of St Merkourios in the crypt of the Constantinopolitan church of the Virgin (Odalar mosque, fig. 28, with a flat-ended chape); military saints in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria; and on mosaics in Hosios Loukas in Phokis (with a 'U-shaped' chape), see above, n. 28 on p. 131; Pelekanidis 1953, figs. 21, 23, 27/1; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 12 on p. 33 Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 47–48; Marković 1995, fig. 40. Elongated scabbards that end with a point can be seen for example on murals in the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria, mosaics in the cathedral in Cefalù and with Theodore Teron in the Cappella Palatina in Palermo, and an icon of the same saint in the monastery of St John the Evangelist on Patmos (Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 12–13 on pp. 60–61; Borsook 1990, figs. 9, 35; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 76). A long sword that tapers strongly towards the point appears on a steatite icon of St Theodore Teron in the Vatican Museum (fig. 34), and is equally of interest because of the small rhomboidal plate on the guard (Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 6 = *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 104). The form of the guard corresponds to those on late medieval Egyptian and Syrian swords (Hillenbrand 1999, fig. 7/1), while counterparts of Theodore's long, spindle-shaped scabbard can be seen on Georgian representations of military saints (e.g. Novello/Beridze/Dosogne 1980, figs. 59–60; Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 36–38, 46, 191, 193).

In passing it should be mentioned that a sword with a round point in a broad (often decorative) scabbard is the dominant form attested in the type of the warrior saint in parade uniform (see e.g. Cutler 1994, fig. 176; Lazarides, figs. 40–41; Mouriki 1985, vol. 2, figs. 58, 60; Spatharakis 1981, fig. 116). It is not possible to conclusively resolve whether this was the result of the conservativism of the iconography of saints in uniform, or whether an older, broader variant of the *spatha* was employed in court ceremony. The broad-bladed swords seen on coins with images of emperors speak in favour of the second hypothesis (see below, n. 214).

[182] On the form of the Byzantine blade which tapers towards the point, and its use for cutting or thrusting see Kolias 1988, 144, 160; on the construction of the medieval sword in general see Dziewanowski 1936, 152; and Nadolski 1984, 41.

[183] A fuller is visible for example on St George's sword in the Church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria (Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 55/1). Fullers are also marked on the reliefs depicting Sts George and Demetrios on the façade of the Basilica of San Marco in Venice (see e.g. Marković 1995, fig. 42). This detail in the iconography is also

is a fresco depicting St Demetrios from the end of our period, in St Nicholas's Church at Agios Nikolaos near Monemvasia.[184] Resting on Demetrios's right shoulder is a sword blade painted with ornament that imitates writing—a reference either to the sword's maker or a religious-apotropaic inscription, a mark often found in this location on real swords.[185]

Another visible change in the representation of swords is in how they were worn. Warrior saints, especially in twelfth-century art, appear either with their sword hanging on a baldric or attached to a waist belt (figs. 48a–c).[186] In most cases it is not possible to determine for certain how the sword is slung, although the absence of an *aorter* suggests it hung from a waist belt.[187] Of some assistance in clarifying this problem are the military saints in Georgian art. On silver triptychs from Chukuli, Chykhareshi and on panels from Bravaldzali (all tenth century) the scabbards of George and Theodore are held by a single strap fastened to a tab on the side of the scabbard, which passes under the waistbelt (and a row of scales apparently hanging below it) and then attaches to a second similar tab on the scabbard.[188] This

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noticed by Kolias (1988, 146 and n. 82) who gives further examples. On the fullers of medieval swords see e.g. Dziewanowski 1936, 152.

[184] See Drandakes 1979, fig. 19β.

[185] On the basis of the preserved inscription 'INGELRII ME FECIT' Oakeshott (1991, 5–6) regards the names Ulfberht and Ingelrii on Frankish blades as the marks of the workshops in which they were made, thereby correcting an earlier view that the inscriptions had magical significance—cf. e.g. Dziewanowski 1936, 148; see also Nadolski 1984, 31; and Kirpichnikov (1966), who besides inscribed Frankish blades (see above, n. 156) publishes blades from Russian workshops with the inscriptions КОВАЛЬ ('blacksmith') and ЛЮДО[Т]А (probably a name derived from 'people/folk'; p. 44, pl. 14), and also (as on the Agios Nikolaos fresco) an icon of St Demetrios in the Tretyakov Gallery (p. 58, pl. 32) with an inscription on the sword's fuller; see also the signature of the painter Michael Astrapas in the form of an inscription on St Merkourios's sabre in the Church of St Kliment in Ohrid, from 1295 (Škrivanić 1957, fig. 3 = Grozdanov 1991, fig. 13). For inscriptions of a religious character see Kirpichnikov 1966, 53–6 and above, n. 160. Kolias (1988, 147) cites an interesting epigram by Theodore Prodromos (445–6 [LII]) concerning the sword of Alexios Kontostephanos which was adorned with likenesses of Sts Theodore and Demetrios, whose presence made the weapon more effective in a symbolic sense, turning a two-edged sword into a four-edged one; see also Parani 2003, 132, n. 147.

[186] Swords are worn in this manner e.g. by warriors in the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria (Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 12–13 on pp. 60–1).

[187] On the basis of the above evidence Kolias (1988, 151, n. 111, figs. 24/2–3) discerns swords worn on the belt in the *Khludov Psalter*, fols. 51r, 52v; in the Psalter *Brit. Add. 19352*, fols. 21r, 23r, 65v; and in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, fols. 12r, 38r (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 7, 80).

[188] See Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 36–37, 46–47.

observation allows us to interpret as belts for carrying weapons (Gk. ζώνη, Lat. *cingulum*)[189] the military saints' narrow, downward-curving belt set with pearls (figs. 25d, 28, 30a,f, 39, 56)[190] and the ornamentally finished lower edges of their corselets (figs. 19–22, 25a–c, 26, 29, 38, 47, 48a,c).[191] This identification is confirmed in preserved examples of Avar and Byzantine belts that are made up of scale-shaped die-struck metal links (fig. 92).[192]

The palash (proto-sabre?)—paramerion

The *paramerion* (παραμήριον—lit. 'at the thigh') was a specific variety of edged weapon worn on a belt. The military treatises state clearly that it was single-edged;[193] only the *Sylloge* mentions a double-edged

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[189] Questions relating to the belt as an element of costume in Byzantium, especially in view of the numerous archaeological finds, go beyond the limits of the present study. General information collected mainly from written sources is published by Koukoules, 2/2:50–5.

[190] A narrow belt set with pearls can be seen on images of a number of saints: Merkourios on a fresco in the church of the Virgin (Odalar mosque) in Constantinople; Nestor in Hosios Loukas in Phokis; Demetrios and George (on horseback) in the church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria; Theodore Stratelates and George on an icon in the Hermitage; and George on an icon in the British Museum (Chatzidakis 1997, fig. 66; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 12 on p. 33, 21 on p. 41; Bank 1966, nos. 227–228; *Byzantium*, no. 191 [= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 261]; and also above, n. 28 on p. 131).

[191] A belt in the form of scales is worn by saints on a number of ivory triptychs (*Harbaville*, *Borradaile*, in the Vatican Museum, and *The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste* in the Hermitage); and also by Sts Lupus and Nestor on the reliquary of St Demetrios in the Historical Museum in Moscow; Theodore Teron on an icon in St John's monastery on Patmos; and (together with Merkourios) on a mosaic at Hosios Loukas in Phokis; and on a panel from Bathys Ryax; Theodore on a gilded panel in the British Museum; George and Demetrios on a steatite panel from Cherson; Demetrios on a panel in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, and on a mosaic in the Kievan monastery of St Michael (*Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 36, 76, 79–81, 203, fig. on p. 283 = Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 21; *Byzantium*, nos. 153, 160; Bank 1966, nos. 126, 130–131, 190; Chatzidakis 1997, figs. 47–48). A belt constructed from palmette-like elements is worn by St Theodore Stratelates at Hosios Loukas; by Demetrios and Nestor in the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria; and by St Orestes on a fresco from Episkopi in Eurytania (Chatzidakis 1997, fig. 57; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, figs. 12–13 on pp. 60–61; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 17).

[192] See e.g. *Rom–Byzanz*, nos. 339–341; esp. the reconstruction of a 6th/7th-C. silver belt (no. 341) and the collection of buckles (nos. 342–358). Seven golden scales or strap-ends from the 8th C. found at Vrap, Albania, and probably of Avar origin, are housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (inv. 17.190.1674).

[193] Leo (LT, 1:91[1167–68] [V 2 (3)]) states that these are long, single-edged swords: παραμήρια, μαχαίρας μεγάλας μονοστόμους (and also 129[1532] [VI 34]); and above, n. 135. McGeer (1995, 217) indicates that the single-edged blade was the main feature distinguishing the *paramerion* from the other varieties of sword.

variant with a smooth blade.[194] From these references some students of Byzantine arms have concluded that the *paramerion* was an early variant of the sabre.[195] Originating in Asia, the sabre reached Europe via the Avars, as is attested by excavated examples from seventh- and eighth-century graves in the Hungarian basin which are characterized by a narrow, shallow-curved blade.[196] Further examples found in Eastern Europe and dated to the ninth and tenth centuries are evidence of the sabre's spread among the Slavs and nomadic peoples, a key role in which was undoubtedly played by the Magyars who employed single-edged weapons exclusively.[197]

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194 See above, n. 135.

195 Decidedly in favour of interpreting the *paramerion* as a sabre is Haldon (1975, 31; 1997, 131; 2002, 73) and after him Nicolle (1988, 2:614), although Nicolle later (1991, 303–5) retracts his identification, recognizing that a proto-sabre with a blade similar to the palash first appeared in the 7th C., though its mature form was adopted by the Empire's Turk neighbours only in the 11th C.; in turn Hoffmeyer (1966, 92) assumes that from the 8th C. the palash and curve-bladed *yelman* were known in Byzantium, but does not link these variants of the weapon with the *paramerion*. Iotov's linking (2004, 59) of the sabre with the Greek term *xiphos* does not take into account the anachronistic nature of the latter term.

In turn Parani (2003, 131) recognizes as a sabre, the ἀκούφιον described by LEO THE DEACON (p. 82$^{5-10}$ [V 8]) in an account of a plot on Nikephoros II Phokas in December 969. This interpretation would seem to be incorrect, since from the description the *akouphion*, the head of which the author compares to the curved beak of a heron, may suggest that it was rather a form of war-hammer, as noticed earlier by Kolias 1988, 172.

196 See Świętosławski 2001, 78; and 1999, 48. Gorelik (2002, 129, 131) indicates that the sabre had been adopted by the Turkish peoples in the 8th C.; Haldon (2002, 66) assumes that the sabre spread through Europe thanks to the Khazars and Hungarians in the 8th and 9th centuries. Cf. also Škrivanić's unsubstantiated view (1957, 59) that the sabre was used by the Dacians against Trajan, and then travelled from Italy to Germanic territory, before being adopted in the 7th C. by the Avars(!).

197 Among the most famous medieval sabres is the so-called 'Sabre of Charlemagne', preserved in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum, made probably in Kiev towards end of the 9th or first half of the 10th C., with a hilt and blade richly adorned with a scrolling-foliage motif; it was part of the regalia of the Holy Roman Empire (not to be confused with the 'Sword of Charlemagne' in the Louvre). Kolias (1988, 145, n. 77) would rather date it to as early as the 9th C.; Meyer (1935), who cites a legend on the gifting of the sabre to Charlemagne by Hārūn al-Rashid (766–809), prefers a 12th-C. date; while Gamber (1994, 93, fig. 24) links it with Kievan Rus', which was then under Khazar influence, and dates it to the 10th or 11th C. The problem is perhaps resolved by a sabre of similar form found in 9th/10th-C. burials in the northern foothills of the Caucasus (see e.g. Gorelik 2002, 145–6, figs. XI–15/1, XI–16); Świętosławski (1999, 49–50) points out the rapid spread of the sabre among the Steppe peoples, and also notices that Hungarian 10th-C. examples imitate the early Avar type. Nicolle (1991, 305) considers that the sabre spread to western and southern Europe only in the 14th C. Numerous sabre finds with gently curving blades, but with hilts that are clearly tilted towards the front, originating from Bulgarian territory and on the basis

One must be careful in seeing the *paramerion* as a sabre. The military treatises give no information on the curvature of the *paramerion*'s blade—especially significant bearing in mind that it was a new construction; while the weapon's description as a long *machaira* need not refer to its shape—the term was also applied to the ordinary knife.[198] Material evidence in the form of surviving early sabres that can be linked for certain with imperial workshops is lacking, and the weapon's identification in the *Madrid Skylitzes* miniatures remains debatable.[199] It is more likely therefore that the *paramerion* should be identified with the sabre's predecessor, the palash, which had a straight, single-edged blade.[200] If we accept Kolias's hypothesis linking the *paramerion* with one of the palashes of corresponding length found as part of the Malaja Pereščepina hoard, we can assume that the palash was already being produced in Constantinople towards the end of the seventh century.[201]

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of similarity of forms to objects dating to the end of the 8th–mid 11th C. from the northern Caucasus are published by Iotov 2004, 61–9, figs. 27, 30, 31–32. On early sabre finds from medieval Rus' territory (*c.* 100 examples dated to before the 13th C.) and their classification and interpretation see Kirpichnikov 1966, 62–72, tabl. 34.

[198] See Theoph. Cont., p. 697[9] [21]: μάχαιραν μεγάλην, τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον παραμήριον; and above, n. 129 and 193. It is also slightly worrying that the definition given in the Suda of the Persian *shamshir* (Lat. *samiterra*) twice employs the term 'barbarian *spatha*' rather than *paramerion*, which if it meant sabre would better match the shape of the described weapon: Σαμψῆραι· σπάθαι βαρβαρικαί. δῶρα φέρει Τραιανῷ ὑφάσματα σηρικὰ καὶ σαμψήρας· αἱ δέ εἰσι σπάθαι βαρβαρικαί (4:319[19–20] [86]). Iotov (2004, 59) proposes linking the sabre with the Greek term *xiphos*, which sounds similar to Armenian *sajpā*, and Arabic *saif* or *seif*.

[199] Nicolle (1991, 305) states that the sabre appeared in Byzantium only in the 14th C.; on the basis of iconographical evidence Kolias (1988, 145) pushes this back to the 13th C.; similarly Škrivanić (1957, 60–1). In turn Hoffmeyer (1966, 92) notes that swords with curved blades in the *Madrid Skylitzes* are accompanied by straight scabbards, which suggests their shape is an attempt by the illuminators to represent a slashing motion.

[200] On the basis of archaeological finds and iconography Świętosławski (2001, 77–79, figs. 2a–d) dates the first appearance of the single-edged palash in Central Asia to the beginning of the Christian Era. In his opinion it replaced the double-edged sword, and was itself pushed out by a superior weapon in the form of the sabre. He acknowledges, however, (p. 84) that the palash (as with the sabre) did not catch on in Europe in the early Middle Ages. Palashes excavated in Bulgaria are published by Iotov 2004, 65, 67, figs. 29–32.

[201] See Kolias 1988, 138 and above, n. 159; on early Avar palashes found on Hungarian territory see also Gamber 1993, 16, fig. 26. The so-called "Sabre of Mohammed" in the Topkapi Palace in Istanbul, which is probably of Central Asian origin, and a narrow blade found in Aphrodisias (currently in the local museum) linked with Byzantium, Persia or the Avars both have a form resembling the palash (Nicolle 1991, figs. 6a–b). See also above, n. 195.

The military manuals suggest that the *paramerion* was widely employed in the Byzantine army. Along with the *spatha* it was used by *kataphraktoi*, and also by heavy infantry and archers.[202] Nevertheless, the palash is very rare in the warrior-saint iconography. Single-edged *parameria* that have hilts with short guards and apparently lack pommels are held by some of the forty martyrs in the Great Pigeon House in Çavuşin (fig. 59).[203] A large single-edged palash with more developed hilt is worn by St George on a drawing dated to the twelfth century in the margin of page 74v of *Menologion no. 996* in the National Library in Athens (fig. 93).[204] On the other hand, the shape of the hilt of the weapon hanging at St George's belt on a relief icon in the Byzantine Museum, Athens (fig. 68)[205] is strongly reminiscent of a sabre. If we accept this interpretation this would be the earliest appearance of the sabre in the iconography of the military saints. The sabre attained considerable popularity in warrior saint depictions from the fourteenth century onwards.[206]

Symbolism of the sword

The small number of depictions of military saints with the *paramerion* may result from the fact that (in contrast to the straight *spatha*) it was not employed in court ceremony.[207] Indeed, in Byzantium the ceremonial sword became a significant attribute of imperial power. As an element of officer's attire the sword also underlined the military

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[202] PRAECEPTA, p. 36[56–8] [III 7] (≈TNU [MG], pp. 114[69–70], 116[75] [LX]): **τὰ παραμήρια**. πάντες δὲ αὐτῶν [*kataphraktoi*] ἐχέτωσαν καὶ **σπαθία**. καὶ τὰ μὲν σιδηροραβδία καὶ τὰ παραμήρια κρατείτωσαν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν,; TNU [MG], p. 128[212] [LXI 14]; LT, 1:125[1486] [VI 30 (31)]; SYLLOGE, pp. 60 [XXXVIII 7], 62 [XXXIX 9] (= {LT, vol. B', pp. 358 [XXXVIII], 362 [XXXIX]}). See also Kolias 1988, 137; Haldon 2002, 77–8; Dawson 2002, 85.

[203] Rodley 1983, fig. 8; for a clear drawing of the mural see Nicolle 1991, figs. 15a–c.

[204] Chatzenikolaou/Paschou 1978, no. 57 (fig. 329). The codex covers church feasts from 1 Feb to 31 June. As the text's editor notices (p. 397), the inscription: ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΣ was borrowed from the poetry of Manuel Philes. However it can also be understood as a reference to soldiers standing in the front rank of a formation, see below, n. 22 on p. 385.

[205] See Potamianou 1998, no. 5 = Tsigaridas 2000, fig. 40.

[206] See e.g. Škrivanić 1957, figs. 3, 21–25 [= Bartusis 1992, fig. 6 or Marković 1995a, fig. 13]. Parani (2003, 132) is also against interpreting depictions of the weapon in Middle Byzantine art as a sabre.

[207] Possible evidence of this is the fact that when listing the emperor's equipment taken on campaign, PORPH. (p. 108[218] [C]) mentions two spathas (one of which was ceremonial, the other intended for combat) and a *paramerion*: σπαθία βασιλικὰ δύο, ἕν τῆς προελεύσεως, καὶ ἕν τῆς ὁδοῦ· παραμήριον ἕν.

function of officials who wore it. *De ceremoniis* speaks of a gold *spathion* encrusted with ivory and set with precious stones and pearls, that made up part of the imperial attire;[208] while the *Kletorologion* mentions an imperial sword carried together with its scabbard by goldsmiths during processions to the Hagia Sophia church.[209] During the course of the *Adventus Augusti* of Theophilos and Basil I, the emperor and the caesar or son accompanying him wore swords at their belts. In the case of the *Adventus* of Basil I, also marching in the procession were soldiers in gold *klibania*, armed with spears and *spathae*.[210] Such triumphal arms and armour corresponds with the equipment worn by Basil II in the dedicatory miniature of his *Psalter* (*Marcianus gr. 17*, fol. 3r; see fig. 24).[211]

It was probably under the influence of the imperial custom of carrying the *spatha* that Constantine IX Monomachos was depicted on a *miliaresion* holding in his left hand a sword sheathed inside a broad 'U-shaped' scabbard.[212] General outrage was provoked, however, by the demand of the usurper Isaac I Komnenos (crowned 1 September 1057, ruled to 1059) to depict him on coins with a bare sword, intended to demonstrate that "he won rule not thanks to God, but as a result of his own strength and through war".[213] It was probably for this reason that succeeding rulers returned to the earlier composition with sword

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208 De Cer. [Vogt], 1:72^{19} [I 10], 155$^{17-18}$ [I 39]]: καὶ σπαθίον ὁμοίως χρυσοῦν διὰ λίθων καὶ μαργάρων; [...] σπαθίον διάλιθον, see also De. Cer. 1:532^{14} [II 6].

209 Oikonomides, p. 133$^{10-11}$ and n. 98 on processions (= De. Cer. 1:725$^{1-4}$ [II 52]): ἀκολουθεῖν δὲ εἰς τὰς προελεύσεις τοὺς ῥάπτας τοὺς βασιλικοὺς καὶ τοὺς χρυσοκλαβαρίους καὶ τοὺς χρυσοχοῦς, βαστάζοντε καὶ αὐτοὶ σπαθία τὰ βασιλικὰ εἰς τὰς θήκας αὐτῶν. In the Late Byzantine period the persons who enjoyed the honour of carrying the emperor's sword included the *Megas Domestikos* (Ps. Kodinos, pp. 190$^{17-21}$, 191$^{3-8}$, 203$^{17-22}$, 234$^{17-19}$ [IV]), the *protostrator* (head groom) and various lower officials (p. 168$^{1-3}$, 176$^{3-5, 12-14}$ [III], 202$^{19-20}$ [IV]), and even the emperor's relatives (171$^{8-9}$ [III]).

210 See Porph., p. 148$^{854-5}$ [C]: πλὴν οὖν οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω συνεισελθόντες τῷ βασιλεῖ ἐν τῇ πόλει, μετὰ **χρυσῶν κλιβανίων** καὶ **σπαθίων** καὶ **κονταρίων**; and also above, n. 146.

211 See above, n. 186 on p. 114.

212 See Grierson 1982, no. 956.

213 Images of Isaac with a sword in his right hand and scabbard in his left appear on his *histamena* (Grierson 1982, nos. 918–919 = Schreiner 1981, fig. 8; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 147H). The emperor's brash statement must have resounded with a loud echo in Byzantine society since the continuator of Skylitzes starts his chronicle with it (Skyl. Cont., p. 103$^{1-4}$ = Kedrenos, 2:641$^{1-5}$): Τὸν οὖν μὲν τρόπον ὃν εἴρηται τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ Κομνηνὸς ἀναζωσάμενος δόξαν τε παρεχηκὼς ἀνδρείας καὶ πεῖραν πολεμικῆς γενναιότητος, αὐτίκα τῷ βασιλικῷ νομίσματι σπαθηφόρος διαχαράττεται, μὴ τῷ Θεῷ τὸ πᾶν ἐπιγράψας, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ἰσχύι καὶ τῇ περὶ πολέμους ἐμπειρίᾳ. It is also mentioned by Zonaras, 3:666 and Attaleiates, p. 60$^{3-5}$. On the circumstances

in scabbard for their coin portraits.[214] A bared sword, underlining the warlike spirit of the ruler, was later adopted in the coinage of Serbia, perhaps under the influence of Latin cultural symbolism.[215]

The absence of the *gladius* in Roman imperial iconography[216] as well as the lack of clear source evidence suggests that the sword only developed its function as insignia of authority in Byzantium.[217] This may have taken place under the influence of the culture of Latin Europe, where the sword, in view of its high value, was a symbol of chivalry and as an emblem of military might it also became a visible expression of a ruler's sovereignty.[218] The Arabs attributed similar meaning to this type of weapon, further endowing it with religious connotations, as with the 'Sword of the Prophet', and the sword named the Dhu'l-Fiqar which belonged to the Prophet's son-in-law, Ali.[219] It should there-

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of Isaac's coronation by the patriarch Michael I Keroularios see Shepard 1977; see also Kolias 1988, 154, fig. 63.

[214] See e.g. the *miliaresia* of Michael VII, Nikephoros III and Alexios I (Grierson 1982, nos. 970, 977, 1021.

[215] For coins of kings Dragutin and Milutin, the tsar Dushan and the Bosnian ban Tvrtko see Škrivanić 1957, figs. 15/1–4. A similar phenomenon occurs in Rus' where St George with a sword becomes the military emblem of the state and also the patron of the princely family (Lazarev 1970, 61–2).

[216] Long swords with eagle-shaped pommels, which are perhaps signs of authority, are held by the *Tetrarchs* on a porphyry sculpture walled into the cornerstone of the façade of the Basilica of San Marco in Venice (see e.g. Rankov 1994, fig. on p. 60). It is not possible to determine from the small number of analogous depictions that the sword's role as an imperial insignia had antique origins. In ancient Rome the *gladius* was linked rather with judicial symbolism. This resulted from its use for carrying out death sentences, the sword being regarded as the most dignified method of execution. The right to put to death by the sword (so-called *ius gladii*) was vested only in the prefects of imperial provinces.

[217] See K. Wessel, "Insignien" in *RbK*, 3:414–16; Kolias (1988, 157) points out the increasing importance of swords as imperial insignia in the final centuries of the Byzantine empire. The general understanding of the sword as the ruler's insignia is also attested by the numerous depictions of rulers holding swords, see e.g. miniatures on fols. 10v 12v, 42v, 75v of the *Madrid Skylitzes*; fol. 17r of Codex *Vat. gr. 333*; and fols. 52v, 90v of the *Menologion Esphigmenou 14* (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 3, 8, 93, 184; Lassus 1973, fig. 28; and *Athos*, vol. B', figs. 330, 332).

[218] See e.g. William the Conqueror and Harold II enthroned with sword in the left hand on the *Bayeux Tapestry* (Rud 1983, 31, figs. on pp. 31, 44, 71). On the sword as an element of chivalric culture see below, n. 237. Kolias argues (1988, 157) in favour of a western origin for the sword as an imperial insignia. Also probably of western European origin is the sword in the role of an insignia in the Suzdal Principality, where the introduction of the motif of the sword of St Boris in the *Lament on the Death of Andrei Bogolyubsky* is not reflected in the Greek literary models that were used by the text's author (White 2004, 503).

[219] Swords held by the ruler appear already on Arab *solidi* from Damascus (696/7) and Qinnasrin (690), which were patterned on Byzantine coins (Grierson 1982,

fore be assumed that in Byzantium the sword as an insignia of rule, expressing the empire's military might, was a borrowing from one of the neighbouring cultures.

Confirming the above assumptions is the comparatively late appearance in narrative scenes that show the imperial entourage, of an officer carrying a sword with its hilt held upwards as a sign referring to the ruler. This custom would seem to be connected with the ceremony of *prokypsis*—the presentation of the ruler to his subjects on an elevated wooden platform or stage.[220]

The sword's function as the insignia of officers and a parade weapon of the imperial guard would seem to have a Byzantine origin. When describing the preparations for an attempt to assassinate Gontharis in Carthage, Procopius states that the Armenian guardsmen who were to take part carried only swords, since it was only permitted to carry that type of weapon into the city.[221] This suggests that by the sixth century the sword was already the basic weapon of guardsmen. In the tenth century the sword is often mentioned in *De ceremoniis* as an item of officers' military gear. During imperial processions swords were carried by *spatharioi*,[222] *protospatharioi*,[223]

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nos. 624, 631). On the sword of Ali and its significance to Islam see Hillenbrand (1999, 453–4), who also draws attention to the symbolic meaning of the name of the Hamanid emir Sayf ad-Dawla; for further examples from Islamic art see Parani 2003, n. 229 (with an extensive bibliog. of the problem).

[220] Parani (2003, 145–8) points to Manuel I as the ruler who introduced this ceremony, but at the same time notes the beginnings of the custom of holding up the sword as an element of imperial insignia may date only from the late 13th and 14th centuries. Parani notices the difference between the new pictorial formula and older compositions (e.g. on miniatures in *Par. gr. 510*), where swords are held by *spatharioi* on their shoulders; and she refers to analogies from Islamic art which may be the source for the Byzantine ceremony. The motif of a *spatharios* holding up a raised sword in the company of the ruler appear, e.g. in scenes of the Judgement of Pilate.

[221] PROCOPIUS, 1:546$^{9-11}$ [IV 28/8]; see also McCormick 1986, 253, n. 106; Kolias 1988, 153.

[222] DE CER. [VOGT], 1:73^{10} [I 10] (appearing on horseback and with shield), 2:110^{25} [I 76], 148$^{19-21}$ [I 77] (on horseback). The *Kletorologion* states that *spatharioi* received gilded swords from the hands of the emperor, see OIKONOMIDES, p. 91$^{19-20}$ and n. 36 (= DE CER., 1:709$^{7-8}$ [II 52]): ὀγδόη ἡ τῶν σπαθαρίων ἀξία, ἧς βραβεῖον, σπάθη χρυσόκανος, ἐκ βασιλικῆς χειρὸς, and also the commentary to DE CER., 2:526, 752, 828; and Whitby 1987, 467, on the *spatha* as the insignia of the *spatharios*. The fact that richly gilded swords were presented by the emperor to certain categories of court officers and officials during promotions as their insignia suggests that the prefix *spath-* in the names of their posts referred to this event. It is an error to derive them from the privilege of carrying the emperor's sword (see above, n. 209).

[223] DE CER. [VOGT], 1:94^{3} [I 26], 132^{28} [I 34], 137^{12} [I 36] ('bearded' ones), 2:110^{20} [I 76].

spatharokandidatoi,[224] *spatharokoubikoularioi*,[225] *koubikoularioi*,[226] and by further—often unidentified—members of the court.[227] At an audience that took place every second Sunday in the *triklinos* of Justinian in the Palace, the Admiral (*Droungarios*) of the Fleet appeared with a sword,[228] as did the commanders of the guard of *Noumeroi*.[229] An especially large group that also carried other insignia besides swords that were often gilded and shields (*skoutaria*, and in the case of sailors and barbarians *dorkai*), which were also often covered with gold, are mentioned in a description of the reception given in honour of the Arab embassy from Tarsos, which took place on 31 May 946 in the great *triklinos* of the palace in the Magnaura. Also present, besides the officers and officials mentioned above, were *vestiarioi, Exkoubitoi*, the Macedonian guard, as well as units of barbarians—Khazars, Pharganoi (Turks from the Ferghana area), Toulmatzoi and baptised Rus'—all armed with swords.[230]

In historians' accounts from the eleventh century there are references to *rhomphaiophoroi* carrying swords on their shoulders accompanying the emperor, not just in the capital, but also on campaign.[231] Imperial officers in parade uniforms with richly decorated swords are also depicted in the aforementioned manuscript of the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos* (*Par. gr. 510*).[232] Of particular importance for the iconography of the military saints are the miniatures on fols. 114r–v of the *Madrid Skylitzes*.[233] Here the guardsmen accompanying Leo VI

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[224] De Cer. [Vogt], 2:96$^{11-12}$ [I 73], 110^{19} [I 76].

[225] De Cer. [Vogt], 1:65$^{9-10}$, 73^{13} [I 10], 2:110$^{20-25}$ [I 76] (together with a shield).

[226] De Cer. [Vogt], 2:110$^{20-5}$ [I 76] (together with a shield).

[227] De Cer. [Vogt], 1:73$^{30-1}$ [I 10]; De Cer., 1:557$^{14, 18}$ [II 13] (so-called 'imperial men' and cudgelmen—*manglavitai*). See additionally De Cer. (1:599$^{2-6, 16}$ [II 16]) which mentions swords being carried at the Hippodrome by *topoteretai, archontes* of the *scholai, kometes, domestikoi* and standard-bearers.

[228] De cer., 1:524$^{2-3}$, 525^{12} [II 2] (together with a lance in the left hand and an axe in the right).

[229] De cer., 1:524$^{2-3}$, 525$^{3, 6, 12}$ [II 2].

[230] See De Cer., 1:574^{20}–575^{1} *spatharokoubikoularioi* with gilded swords, 576$^{1-2}$ *manglavitai*, 576$^{2-9, 12-15}$ Macedonian *hetaireia*, Khazars and Pharganoi, *spatharokandidatoi* and *spatharioi*, 577$^{17-20}$, 578$^{9-10}$ commanders of units (*archontes* of *arithmoi*), 578$^{16-19}$ *vestiarioi*, 579$^{1-6, 12-18, 21-2}$ [II 15] the *droungarios, exkoubitoi*, sailors, Toulmatzoi, and Rus' with standards. On gold, gilded bronze and iron shields in De Cer. see Fauro 1995, 512.

[231] See above, n. 85. Parani (2003, 154) comments on the imperial bodyguards' custom of carrying weapons on the right shoulder (ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ὤμου).

[232] See above, p. 348.

[233] See Tsamakda 2002, figs. 261, 263.

and Constantine VII are dressed in military cloaks and scale cuirasses with *kremasmata.* The similarity of the clothing and the gesture of presenting the sword as the only weapon in certain depictions of the warrior saints (fig. 29, 48d) suggests that their appearance is based on the uniform of the *rhomphaiophoroi.*[234] Maria Parani notices that during the era of the Komnenoi there was a change in how the imperial sword was carried: from the time of Manuel I it no longer rested on the shoulder, instead it was held with hilt turned upwards by the *spatharios* who accompanied the emperor during public appearances on a *prokypsis.* A precursor to this change can be seen on the mosaics with Sergios and Bakchos in the katholikon of Daphni monastery near Athens (figs 79a,b).[235]

The imperial guardsmen with swords are also described in the *Digenes Akritas* epic, where 300 guards watching the hero's castle on the Euphrates carry such weapons.[236] This poem however contains no traces of the cult of the sword so characteristic of Western Europe, linking faith with the sword's magical power.[237] Digenes often reaches for his sword in battle,[238] but the text mentions no miraculous qualities, let alone the weapon's name.

To understand the message carried by the sword in the iconography of military saints it is obviously essential to look to Christian symbolism. In the Bible the sword appears in various contexts that are

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[234] See e.g. the frescoes with St Merkourios in the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria and St Demetrios in the church of St Nicholas in Agios Nikolaos near Monemvasia, a panel with St Demetrios in the Louvre, and an icon of St Theodore on Patmos (Drandakes 1979, fig. 19β; Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 13 on p. 61; Kalavrezou-Maxeiner 1985, no. 11; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 76). Cf. also the opinions of Kolias (1988, 152–3), who interprets the exposition of a bared sword by the military saints as a sign of their preparedness for battle.

[235] Parani (2003, 146–7) associates the new method of presenting the sword to subjects with the emperor's appearance on a *prokypsis* which was practiced from the times of Manuel. This does not rule out the possibility that earlier elements were included in the new manner of the emperor's presentation to his subjects. The Athenian mosaic may indeed be evidence for an earlier origin of the presentation of the sword. A description of the Christmas Eve ceremonies that took place on a *prokypsis* is given by Ps. Kodinos, pp. 195^{11}–204^{23} [IV], esp. $202^{5-7, 25-30}$, where he speaks of the sword as a symbol of authority in the context of other imperial insignia.

[236] Dig. Akr., p. 362^{1690}: βαστοῦν σπαθία ὁλοψήφωτα

[237] On the symbolism of the sword in Western chivalric culture see e.g. Dziewanowski 1936, 148–50. On King Arthur's sword Excalibur, Roland's Durendal, and Hrolf's Skofnung see Oakeshott 1991, 4; and 2002, 42–4.

[238] See e.g. Dig. Akr., pp. 36^{195} [II] (sword of the emir = 276^{520}), 264^{367}, $322^{1115-18}$ (in battle with a dragon), $324^{1133, 1137}$ (fighting a lion), 368^{1760} (leaves 300 swords in his will to his guardsmen).

often mutually exclusive. It is a metaphor for God—the severe judge, in accordance with the prophecy in Leviticus[239] a sword punishing the chosen people or the whole of humanity for their misdeeds.[240] On the other hand in the Old Testament, the offering of a sword by God himself or through his angels is an expression of support provided in the fight for the just cause.[241] Finally, God's Word is frequently compared to a sharp sword, especially when it brings unfortunate news, or foretells of doom.[242] In this case one can speak of a meaning close to the sword bringing punishment. However, a scene of Manuel I's coronation by an angel should be read in the context of the sword as a weapon from God, sent as a sign of divine aid. A scene from Thessaloniki showing the investiture with a sword performed through the intercession of St Theodore Teron carries a similar meaning. The composition, which once adorned the space above the entrance to the house of Leo Sikountenos, is now known only from a description in codex *Marcianus gr. 524*; in it an equestrian Theodore handed the emperor a sharpened sword so that he could rout his enemies. The scene was merely a fragment, probably the culmination, of a greater programme of works that included illustrations of Manuel's victories.[243]

The biblical picture of the sword as a tool for carrying out divine judgments may have had an influence on imperial symbolism—justifying the carrying out of the divine will by the emperor as God's worldly commander but a key meaning for the symbolism of the warrior saints' weapons undoubtedly was the inclusion of the 'spiritual sword' (μάχαιρα τοῦ πνεύματος) as part of the 'panoply of Christian virtues'.[244]

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239 Lev. 26:25—καὶ ἐπάξω ἐφ' ὑμᾶς μάχαιραν ἐκδικοῦσαν δίκην διαθήκης, καὶ καταφεύξεσθε εἰς τὰς πόλεις ὑμῶν· καὶ ἐξαποστελῶ θάνατον εἰς ὑμᾶς, καὶ παραδοθήσεσθε εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν.

240 See e.g.: Exod. 3:24 and 22:23; Lev. 26:33; Num. 14:43; Deut. 28:22; Ezek. 21:8–10 and further 14–22; Matt. 10:34; Rom. 13:4.

241 See e.g.: Josh. 5:13–15; 2 Macc. 15:16; Ps. 44(45):4. On investiture with a sword on a mosaic in Thessaloniki, see below n. 243.

242 See: Isa. 49:2; Pss. 57:5; 59:8; 63:4; Apoc. 1:16; 2:12 and 16; Heb. 4:12.

243 Lampros, pp. 43–44, esp. 44[10–14] [81]; see also the English translation in Mango, p. 226; the Russian translation in Lazarev 1970, 73; and the summary in Walter 2003a, 53. Walter (1978, 194, n. 66) wrongly assumes that the mosaic may have been located on the façade of Manuel's new palace; and later (p. 199–200, n. 94) cites Đurić who interprets depictions of King Milutin and St George in Staro Nagoričino (1314) as derivative of the scene described in the Venetian codex.

244 See above, pp. 181–183.

Other Types of Weapons of the Warrior Saints

Besides the lance and the sword, the basic weapon of Byzantine cavalry was the mace (βαρδούκιον, ῥάβδος/ῥαβδίον, κορύνη). It was employed for breaking through enemy formations in close combat,[245] and was also employed to a lesser degree by the infantry.[246] The *Sylloge* states that βαρδούκια and iron maces (σιδηροραβδία) were carried on the saddle.[247] In the *Praecepta*, Nikephoros Phokas advises *kataphraktoi* and the more lightly armed *prokoursatores* to employ as a personal weapon iron maces with heads (κεφάλια)[248] furnished with three, four, six or another number of sharp flanges, carried either on the saddle, on the belt or in the hand.[249] Numerous mounted duels fought with

[245] See e.g. Hesychios, 3:417; Suda, 4:646$^{14-15}$ Ὕπατοι; βαρδούκιον; Eust. Il., 2:427$^{9-11}$: κορύνη δὲ, […] ἁπλῶς μὲν πᾶσα ῥάβδος κεφαλωτή; {LT, vol. A', p. 334 [XIV 84]}; Eust. Thes, p. 116^{27}; Choniates (p. 156^{29}–157^{1}). Haldon 1975, 39; 1999, 132; Schreiner 1981, 234; Nicolle 1988, 2:590, 607, McGeer 1995, 213; Dawson 2002, 84–5 (although he links the *siderorabdion* with the *rhomphaia* without justification); cf. also the position of Kolias (1988, 173–7), who dreams up a false theory equating the mace with the lead dart (*martzobarboulon*). Although he rightly notes (p. 179) that the term μαγκλάβιον, μαγ(γ)λάβιον distinguishes a type of rod or club (from Lat. *manus* and *clava* = 'cudgel'). The *manglavia* carried by the imperial guard are mentioned in: DAI, 1:248$^{60-2}$ [51]; Ps. Kodinos, pp. 181^{29}–182^{10} [III]; Theoph. Cont., p. 174^{23}; Achmet, 171$^{8-9}$; see also De re militari, p. 250^{117} [1]; DAI, 2:200; and Oikonomides, p. 328 (with further source references).

[246] LT, 1:121^{1458} [VI 27] lists maces (*bardoukia*) among the equipment of the infantry baggage train, which suggests they were also an infantry weapon. In order to add variety to the infantry's weapons the Praecepta (p. 14$^{25-6}$ [I 3] = TNU [MG], p. 90$^{28-9}$ [LVI 3]) advises arming some of them with swords and axes, and others with iron maces; see also McGeer 1995, 205.

[247] Sylloge, p. 61 [XXXIX 3] (= {LT, vol. B', p. 360 [XXXIX]}): Περὶ δὲ τὰς ἐφεστρίδας βαρδούκια πάντες ἐχέτωσαν, εἴτ' οὖν σιδηροραύδια. See also Kolias 1988, 176; and Dawson 2002, 84.

[248] On mace heads see Kolias 1988, 180.

[249] Praecepta, p. 36$^{53-65}$ [III 7]: τῶν δὲ καταφράκτων ἔστωσαν τὰ ὅπλα τοιαῦτα. σιδηροραβδία ὁλοσίδηρα ἔχοντα κεφάλια—καὶ τὰ κεφάλια αὐτῶν ἐχέτωσαν γωνίας ὀξείας τοῦ εἶναι αὐτὰ **τρίγωνα ἢ τετράγωνα ἢ ἑξάγωνα—ἢ καὶ ἕτερα σιδηροραβδία** ἢ δὲ τὰ παραμήρια. πάντες δὲ αὐτῶν ἐχέτωσαν καὶ σπαθία. καὶ τὰ μὲν σιδηροραβδία καὶ τὰ παραμήρια κρατείτωσαν εἰς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν, ἕτερα ῥαβδία σιδερᾶ εἴτε εἰς τὰς ζώνας αὐτῶν εἴτε εἰς τὰς σέλας ἐχέτωσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος ὄρδινος, ἤγουν τὸ στὸμα τῆς παρατάξεως, καὶ ὁ δεύτερος καὶ ὁ τρίτος καὶ ὁ τέταρτος ἐχέτωσαν τὴν ὁμοίαν κατάστασιν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πέμπτου ὀρδίνου οἱ ἀπὸ πλαγίων κατάφρακτοι ἵνα ἱστῶνται οὕτως, εἷς κονταράτος καὶ εἷς σιδηροραβδάτος ἢ καὶ ἐκ τῶν τὰ παραμήρια βασταζόντων. καὶ μέχρι τῶν οὐραγῶν ἔστωσαν οὕτως.; see also p. 38$^{7, 11}$ [IV 1, 2] (on *prokoursatores*). Confirmation of the treatise's recommendations is provided in the chroniclers' accounts: Leo the Deacon, pp. 144^{23}–145^{3} [IX 2] states that while fighting with an iron mace (σιδερᾷ κορύνῃ) Theodore Lakalon smashed

maces are described in the heroic poem *Digenes Akritas*.[250] The mace was also used as a hunting weapon, as is evident from references in the *Life of Basil I*, miniatures in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, and the so-called *Digenes Akritas Dish* (fig. 57).[251] The numerous iron heads found on the medieval territories of Bulgaria and Rus' attest to the mace's popularity in Byzantium; these heads typically have symmetrically arranged flanges or 'knobbed' heads (with the 'knobs' defined by deep diagonal scoring of the head's surface).[252] In a number of mounted duelling scenes in the *Madrid Skylitzes* the combatants use maces with large, spherical heads and short handles.[253]

Yet the mace is rare in the Middle Byzantine iconography of the warrior saints. An exception is a Coptic miniature on fol. 1v of the

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apart many helmets and the enemies' heads protected by them; KINNAMOS (p. 273^{23}–274^{2} [VI]) and after him CHONIATES (156^{30}–157^{35}) describe how during the battle of Sirmium against the Hungarians (6 July 1167) the Romaioi, after splintering their lances, smashed the heads of the scoundrels with their maces: τῶν γὰρ δοράτων σφίσι κλασθέντων καὶ θρυβέντων ἤδη τῶν ξιφῶν, ταῖς **κορύναις** ἠλόων τοῖς κακοδαίμοσι τὰς κεφαλάς; see also Kolias 1988, 181, 184; Haldon 1999, 132; Haldon 2002, 77; and Dawson 2002, 85.

250 See DIG. AKR., pp. 288^{660}, $290^{690-700}$ (description of combat in folk style with maces—which may in fact be ordinary wooden staffs, since the word *rabdios* can describe both weapons), 296^{765}, 308^{931} (ῥαβδὶν κασσιδολίτζιν, which in Kolias's opinion [1988, 84–85] can be interpreted as a special mace for smashing helmets), 312^{974-5}, $326^{1171, 1173}$, 328^{1192}, 330^{1226}, 332^{1276}, 342^{1405}, 348^{1480}, 354^{1588}, 364^{1725} (used against a lion), 368^{1761}.

251 When the young Basil I (then serving as *protostrator*) took part in hunts organized by Michael III, Porphyrogennetos states that he wore the imperial mace on his belt (τὸ ῥόπαλον τὸ βασιλικόν called βαρδούκιον), and with it struck a wolf on the head, splitting it in half, see THEOPH. CONT. 231^{22}–232^{8} (= SKYLITZES, pp. 125^{59}–126^{64}); illustrations in the *Madrid Skylitzes* on fols. 85v–86r show Michael III hunting hare and deer (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 208, 210); see also Kolias 1988, 176–7, figs. 5/2, 26/2.

252 The iron heads of medieval maces found on Bulgarian territory are published e.g. by Parushev (1998, *passim*), who dates them to the 10th C., esp figs. 7–9, 11 showing heads with four or eight vanes; Momchilov 1994, 56, fig. 6 (maces with flanged heads and helves of 24 cm [fragmentarily preserved] and 35.5 cm in length); Iotov 2004, 107–9, fig. 60. On Russian mace-head finds of highly varied forms see Kirpichnikov 1966, 47–58, fig. 10 and plates 25–29/1–3 (esp. 27/6–7—examples with preserved helves); Kolesnikova 1975, fig. 2a. Parani (2003, 138) is against linking these finds with Byzantium. However, the similar shape of a head from Dura indicates the Roman origin of this form (James 2004, 190, fig. 114/647).

253 See the miniatures on fols. 161r–162v, 167r-v, 169v, 171r, 175v, 178r, 202v, 213r (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 406–407, 409–410, 420–421, 425, 429, 442, 447–448, 482, 504); Hoffmeyer (1966, 112–14) notices that the mace appears only in leaves illuminated by Master III. It should be stated that they refer to the text, e.g. SKYLITZES, p. 325^{67}, which describes how in 978 Bardas Phokas screened the retreat of the Byzantine army, smashing apart the helmet of the rebel Bardas Skleros with his mace, as illustrated in the miniature on fol. 164r (Tsamakda 2002, fig. 413).

Synaxarion from St Michael's Monastery in Hamula near Fayyum (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, no. *M 613*). On it is a mace, tucked—per Byzantine custom—into the belt of an equestrian St Theodore. It has a short handle and head of rectangular form (fig. 77).[254] Another anomaly in this image is the bow and quiver slung on Theodore's back. As in the above-mentioned Georgian redaction of the conversion of Placidus/Eustathios,[255] this motif does not otherwise appear in the Middle Byzantine iconography of the military saints and should be regarded as a local borrowing, made under the influence of the military customs of neighbouring peoples, in this case, the Arabs.[256] The popularity of the mace is very evident in the Late Medieval art of Serbia. A mace with a flanged head also appears as the weapon of St George in the church of St Kliment (formerly the Peribleptos; 1295) in Ohrid.[257]

The reluctance to depict the bow as a weapon of the military saints in Middle Byzantine art can equally be explained by the desire to preserve the Classical compositional scheme of the warrior with lance and shield, as well as ideological considerations. Taken over from ancient Rome the Asiatic composite or reflexed bow (τόξον παλίντονον),[258] together with its accompanying archery gear—quiver (κούκουρον)

[254] See *L'art Copte*, fig. 52; and Al-Sarraf (2002, fig. XII–79), who, in the accompanying caption, is unsure whether to interpret it as a mace or a war-axe. In favour of the mace interpretation are Late Byzantine depictions of St Theodore of very similar form, e.g. the frescoes at Rečane, Serbia, where Theodore Teron has a shield with a cross motif and a short mace (Škrivanić 1957, fig. 49a).

[255] See above, p. 82f.

[256] Walter (2003a, 165–6, fig. 18) points out that the bow appears in hunting scenes, while Eustathios in the Georgian redaction appears in 'civilian' attire, which may result from the need to underline the character of the (non-martial) scene which grew out of the Persian iconographic tradition of a mounted ruler hunting with a bow.

[257] See Parani 2003, 138–9, fig. 125. As Serbian examples she lists frescoes in the churches of St Nikita in Čučer, and of the Holy Apostles in Peć, the church in Lesnovo, and in the monasteries of Ravanica and Kalenić.

[258] AMMIAN., 3:106–13 [22.8.10–37] compares the shape of the Black Sea to a strung composite Scythian bow. Late Roman finds (bows, arrows and arrowheads) from Dura are published by James 2004, 191–208, figs. 115–116, 122–126. On the technology for manufacturing composite bows from glued layers of wood and horn wrapped in gut see AL-TARSUSI, p. 108 [2]. On the construction of the Byzantine bow see SYLLOGE, p. 61 [XXXIX 4] (= {LT, vol. B', pp. 360–2 [XXXIX]}) which states that it measured *c.*117–125 cm (fifteen or sixteen palms); and also Kolias 1988, 214–38; Haldon 1975, 39; and 1999, 132–3; Iotov 2004, 17–21, figs. 1–5; Pryor/Jeffreys 2006, 380 (on bowstrings made from silk—μέταξα). The Roman and Persian methods for stringing the composite cavalry bow and the use of the archer's thumb ring are covered in detail by Bivar 1972, 283–6 (including source references from the *Strategikon* and *Peri Strategias*).

with arrows (σαγίττα from Lat. *sagitta* or βέλος), bowcase (φαρέτρα, τοξοφάρετρον) and spare bowstrings (νευρά, χορδή, κόρδα)—was a permanent element of the equipment of light formations (*psiloi* and *peltasts*),[259] and in the army of Nikephoros Phokas also of cavalrymen.[260] It was however not part of the equipment of the palace guard and officers at the imperial court.[261] From the sixth century, attempts were made in Byzantium to create a strong force of archers.[262] At the beginning of the tenth century, Leo VI commented on the army's defeats as a result of the decline of archery and called for every youth to exercise

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[259] On the equipment of archers (τοξόται) see STRAT., pp. 78^{28-30} [I 2], 422^{1-5} [XIIB 5], 428^{3-4} [XIIB IX], which includes a recommendation to select recruits for the light infantry (*psiloi*) chiefly from those who know how to shoot with the bow or are able to learn it, as well as from the young and strong: Ὥστε πρότερον τοὺς εἰδότας τοξεῦσαι ἢ καὶ μαθεῖν δυναμένους καὶ γοργοὺς καὶ νεωτέρους εἰς ψιλοὺς χωρισθῆναι·; LT, $1:90^{1155-56}$ [V 3 (2)]; PRAECEPTA, p. 14^{32-6} [I 4] (≈ TNU [MG], p. 90^{35-8}[LVI 4]) advises that expert archers, known as *psiloi* by the ancients, should be equipped with two bows, each with four spare bowstrings and two quivers with 60 and 40 arrows: ὀφείλουσιν δὲ ἐκλεγῆναι καὶ τοξόται ἐπιτήδειοι, οἱ λεγόμενοι παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ψιλοί, χιλιάδες τέσσαρες καὶ ὀκτακόσιοι, οἵτινες ὀφείλουσιν ἔχειν ἀνὰ δύο κούκουρα, τὸ μὲν ἓν ἔχον σαγίτας σαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἑξήκοντα, καὶ ἀνὰ τοξάρια δύο καὶ κόρδας τέσσαρες. LT ($1:169^{1990-92}$ [VII 50 (57)]) states that *psiloi* had once been termed ἀκροβολισταὶ, but currently [in Leo VI's time] were τοξόται or σαφιττάτορες. On light-armed archers, see e.g. KOMNENE, $2:20^{11-16}$ [V 4/5], 28^{22-27} [V 6/2]. The term *sagitta* is used mainly by Early Byzantine writers, e.g. MALALAS (pp. 37^{71} [II 16], 82^{50} [V 13], 279^{58} [XIV 10], 353^{81} [XVII 23]); see also the definition in the SUDA, $3:513^{9}$ [102]: Ὀϊστός· βέλος, σαγίττα.; and the PRAECEPTA, p. 14^{35} [I 4]; TNU [MG] p. 96^{139-41} [LVI 14]; and DAI, $1:60^{69, 75}$ [9].

[260] The PRAECEPTA suggests they should be placed in the centre of the formation (p. 37^{65}–38^{70} [III 8–9] ≈ TNU [MG], 114^{58-60} [LX 6], 116^{76-81} [LX 8]): οἱ δὲ τοξόται ἐχέτωσαν τὰ κλιβάνια καὶ τὰ κασίδια μόνα. εἰ δυνατὸν δέ, ἔστωσαν καὶ οἱ ἵπποι αὐτῶν κατάφρακτοι, εἰς δὲ τὰς ζώνας αὐτῶν φορείτωσαν οἱ τοξόται καβάδια πρὸς τὸ σκέπεσθαι μέρος τι τῶν ἵππων αὐτῶν, φυλάττεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ζώσεως καὶ κάτω. ἐὰν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ ἀκοντισταί εἰσιν, δεῖ ἵστασθαι αὐτοὺς ἔσωθεν τῶν καταφράκτων,; see also McGeer 1995, 206. Horse archers (ἱπποτοξότας) are also mentioned by Leo VI (LT, $1:127^{1513-14}$ [VI 32 (33)]), although he speaks of them in the past tense. When comparing an army's battle order to a human body, he equates the archers to the hands, and the cavalry to the legs {LT, vol. B', p. 296 [XX 193]}.

[261] DE. CER. ($1:579^{16-18}$ [II 15]) mentions only the bowcases carried by a Dalmatian people, the Toulmatzi, during audiences granted in May 946 to envoys from Tarsos; see also Parani 2003, 150, n. 246.

[262] See e.g. the description of a heavy-armed horse archer in Justinian's army contrasted by PROCOPIUS (above, n. 69 on p. 35) with the light-armed archer of Homer's day; and further on the *hippotoxotai* of Justinian (Ravegnani 1988, 54–6; with further source references); and also detailed instructions relating to archery exercises by Maurice (STRAT., p. 74^{5}–75^{21} [I 1]), who saw the potential dangers from barbarians devoting special attention to the training of horse archers (p. 362^{29-30} [XI 2]): Ἤσκηνται δὲ ἐπιμελῶς καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔφιππον τοξείαν.

with the bow.[263] But the crushing defeats suffered in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in clashes with horse archers—especially Pecheneg and Turkish[264]—indicate that this arm continued to be the least developed branch of the Byzantine army, and was unable to stand up to mobile opponents.

Influenced by such unfortunate military experiences, and also by biblical symbolism—where the arrow is seen as an allegory of punishment sent down by God or an attack by the devil[265]—the bow, in Byzantine eyes, becomes the weapon of the forces of evil. It already makes an appearance among the symbols of evil on a sixth-century amulet of St Sisinnios (fig. 3).[266] In the *Theodore Psalter* (*Brit. Add. 19352*, fol. 10v) archers attack a *clipeus* with an image of Christ, and on fol. 75r they also attack Constantine the Great who holds a *crux hastata*. This second scene illustrates *Psalm* 59(60):6 'For those who fear you, you have raised a sign, That they may flee to it from the bow,' and is also pictured on fol. 100 of the *Barberini Psalter* (*Vat. gr. 372*).[267] On the *Heavenly ladder* of John Klimakos depicted on a late twelfth-century icon in St Catherine's monastery on Mt Sinai

[263] Leo VI (LT, 1:103$^{1289-94}$ [VI 5]) laments that since archery had declined among the Romaioi they had been suffering defeats, and he instructs all youths to practice with the bow, or at least to carry bows and bowcases. On the archery practice conducted by Nikephoros Phokas during winter exercises with members of his household see Leo the Deacon, 50$^{18-23}$ [III 10].

[264] See e.g. {LT, vol. B', pp. 124 [XVIII 49, 51], 128 [XVIII 65], where Leo advises fighting the Turks by means of raiding, 148 [XVIII 115] on Arab foot and horse archers}; Attaleiates, pp. 39^{19}–43^{10}; Skyl. Cont., p. 146^{26} (on Turkish archers); Komnene, 1:20$^{26-30}$ [I 5/2], 25^{2}–26^{1} [I 6/3–4], 2:97$^{26-7}$ [VII 3/7], 113$^{5-10}$ [VII 8/5], 3:170$^{12-15}$ [XIV 6/2] and esp. 198$^{19-26}$ [XIV 3/7], where she speaks of the raiding tactics of Turkish archers: Τὰ δὲ πολεμικὰ τούτοις ὄργανα, οὐ πάνυ δόρασι χρῶνται καθάπερ οἱ λεγόμενοι Κελτοί (i.e Crusaders), ἀλλὰ πανταχόθεν κυκλοῦντες τὸν ἐχθρὸν τόξοις βάλλουσιν, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ἄμυνα τούτων πόρρωθεν. Ὁπόταν διώκῃ, ἁλίσκει τῷ τόξῳ, καὶ διωκόμενος κρατεῖ τοῖς βέλεσι, καὶ βάλλει βέλος καὶ τὸ βέλος πετόμενον ἢ τὸν ἵππον ἢ τὸν ἱππότην ἔπληξεν, ἀπὸ δὲ βαρυτάτης χειρὸς ἀφεθὲν δι' ὅλου τοῦ σώματος παρελήλυθεν· οὕτως εἰσὶ τοξικώτατοι; Bryennios, pp. 113$^{13-14}$ [I 15] and 117$^{3-21}$ [I 17] (on the battle at Mantzikert); 275$^{23-5}$ [IV 10]. On Cuman tactics in 1152 and Turkish tactics at the battle of Myriokephalon see Choniates, pp. 94$^{81-4}$, 180$^{(esp.\ 78-9)}$. On the superiority of light horse-archer tactics see Darkó 1937, *passim*; Haldon 1975, 39; and above, n. 93 on p. 146. Kolias (1984, 133) notes that the Byzantine attempts to initiate battle with the Arabs in bad weather were dictated by the sensitivity of the latter's bowstrings to humidity. Cf. also Parani 2007, 184.

[265] E.g. Ps. 7:13–14; Job 6:4 and also 16:13–14. See also the references in the homilies of John Chrysostom in *MPG*, 47:321 (speaking of the missiles of God), 48:399, 408, 993 (as well as of the devil), 50:682 (and of demons).

[266] See Maguire 1996, fig. 102.

[267] See Der Nersessian 1970, figs. 19, 120; Walter 2003a, 293, fig. 52.

(fig. 95),[268] the painter has equipped the devils attacking the monks who are climbing to heaven with bows and lassos—weapons undoubtedly associated with the Muslim persecutors of Christians.

The bow's representation as a dishonourable weapon, employed by the enemies of Christianity, was undoubtedly influenced by the patristic and hagiographic literature.[269] John of Damascus in his *Third homily on pictures* cites, after Anastasios of Sinai, a legend on the Arabs 'wounding' with an arrow (σαγίττα) an icon of St Theodore in a monastery four miles from Damascus. Blood flowed from the 'wounded' icon.[270] This story is among the earliest accounts of miracles connected with the damaging of icons by iconoclasts and infidels (Arabs or Jews), and gave rise to a group of so-called 'wounded icons'. Depending on the story, the act of destruction is carried out with a variety of instruments, although an arrow is undoubtedly among the most popular.[271] On the other hand, John's *Homily* had an influence on a similar tale of a miracle performed by an image of St George. In the legend *On the picture pierced by [an arrow]*, which appears for the first time in a ninth-century collection of *Miracles*, one of the Saracens camping in the martyrion of George in Palestinian Lydda shoots a missile (βέλος) from a bow towards an icon of the saint. Thanks to George, the arrow's flight is reversed, and strikes the archer, who falls dead. Although I am aware of no depictions of either miracle showing warrior-saint icons attacked by arrows in Byzantine art, an illustration of the second miracle can be found on frescoes in the Georgian churches at Ikvi and

[268] On the icon and the literary sources of the subject see e.g. Belting 1994, 272–3, fig. 165 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 247; *Sinai*, fig. 24; *Sinai, Vizantija, Rus'*, fig. 5 on p. 43).

[269] On the exegesis of St Paul's references to the missiles of Evil, and the Shield of Faith that held them back see above, n. 499 on p. 253.

[270] Kotter, 2:196 [III 91$^{5-13}$], Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν καθεζομένων πλειόνων αὐτῶν καὶ συντυγχανόντων ἔρριψεν εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν **σαγίταν κατὰ τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου** καὶ ἔκρουσεν εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν ὦμον αὐτοῦ, καὶ εὐθέως ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα καὶ κατῆλθεν ἕως κάτω τῆς εἰκόνος, πάντων θεωρούντων τὸ γενόμενον σημεῖον **καὶ τὴν σαγίταν πεπηγμένην εἰς τὸν ὦμον τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ τὸ αἷμα κατερχόμενον.** Καὶ μὴν σημεῖον τοιοῦτον παράδοξον γενόμενον θεασάμενοι οὐκ ἦλθον εἰς συναίσθησιν· οὐ μετενόησεν ὁ τὴν σαγίταν ῥίψας, οὐκ ἐτάραξεν ἑαυτὸν εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν, οὐκ ἀνεχώρησαν τοῦ ναοῦ, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο ῥυποῦντες αὐτόν.

[271] On 'wounded' icons (including those struck by other weapons such as spears, swords, knives and even stones) and the legends connected with them see Różycka-Bryzek 1990, 13–17 (esp. n. 38, where she collates information on the weapons used to inflict the wound); Grotowski 2005, 129–44. Among the most famous 'wounded' icons is the image of the Virgin of Iveron which was stabbed with a knife (*Athos*, vol. B', fig. on p. 23).

Phavnisi (fig. 94), where the moment of the Arab's collapse is depicted, still clutching his bow.[272] In turn, the bow as the weapon of demons is mentioned in *The life of the hermit Joannikos*, which makes up part of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. This describes how one night the saint was assailed by phalanxes of demons on foot and on horseback in iron corselets, equipped with bows, bowcases and arrows. Joannikos fended off their attacks while praying to God. His prayers were heard and St Eustathios was sent down to his aid, thereby turning the tide of battle.[273]

The negative Christian view of the bow was nothing new. Since antiquity the weapon had not been considered a suitable subject for official art. It was connected rather with frivolous themes and frivolous gods such as Eros and Artemis. The official portraits of the emperor and divinities in military attire also rejected a weapon whose proper place was the hunt. Such associations remained into the Byzantine period, as is attested by literary references and the continued presence of Eros in art.[274] The bow's identification as the attribute of a god of love undoubtedly did not favour its depiction as a weapon of military saints.

The introduction of the bow into the iconography of the warrior saints took place only in the thirteenth century under the influence of

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[272] The text of the legend is published in a collection of *Miracles* of St George by AUFHAUSER, pp. 8–12 (esp. 10^{2}–11^{7}). One can assume that the archetypal model for the legend on the icon of St George was the tale of John of Damascus. On the Georgian miracle scenes in Phavnisi and Ikvi see Privalova 1977, 111–19, figs. 27–28, who also includes a Russian summary of the Georgian redaction of the legend, and considers that illustrations of the miracle are unknown in other works of art from the Orthodox cultural circle with the exception of late redactions of the subject on the frame-panels (*kleimo*) of Russian icons of St George; see also Krumbacher 1911, 295–6; Lazarev 1970, 197.

[273] AS *Novembris*, 2/2:395–6 [20–21]: Τῶνδε εἰς πλῆθος ἱππέων καὶ πεζῶν ἐν **σχήματι σιδηροθωράκων** μεταβληθεισῶν, **τόξα τε καὶ βέλη καὶ φαρέτρας** φανταστικῶς κατεχουσῶν, κυκλικῷ παραγενάμεναι ἐπέστησαν αὐτῷ.[...] Ἐκ δὲ τῶν συνεχουσῶν αὐτῷ ὀδυνῶν τραπεὶς πρὸς ὕμον ὁρᾷ τινα ἄδρα, πάνυ ὡραιότατον, **στρατιωτικὸν σχῆμα** φοροῦντα, παριστάμενον αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἀτοὺ τῇ δεξιᾷ κατέχοντα ὑγιεινόν τι φάρμακον, καὶ τοῦτον προτρεπόμενον λαβεῖν αὐτό, καὶ φαγεῖν καὶ τὴν ῥῶσιν δέξασθαι. Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος ἐπύθετο τίς τε εἴη εἰπεῖν, καὶ παρᾶ τίνος ἀποσταλεὶς παρεγένετο; Ὅδε Εὐστάθιον στρατηλάτην ἑαυτὸν ἀνεκήρυττεν, καὶ ἐκ Θεοῦ ἀπεστάλθαι εἰς βοήειαν καὶ ἐπίσκεφιν αὐτοῦ,...

[274] The bow and missiles of Artemis are mentioned e.g. by EUST. IL., $3{:}195^{2-3}$, $4{:}372^{21}$; and EUST. OD., $1{:}205^{5-6}$. On images of Eros with a bow in Middle Byzantine art (e.g. in Pseudo-Oppian's *Kynegetika*, *Cod. Marcianus gr. 479*, fol. 33r) and the legend of Abaris the Hyperborean carrying arrows as the symbol of Apollo, see Weitzmann 1994, 24, 122–5, fig. 143.

Crusader art. A bowcase with a reflexed bow and a large, rectangular quiver that broadens towards the bottom are suspended on St Sergios's belt on two thirteenth-century Sinai icons (fig. 63).[275] In the Palaiologan period the bow and bowcase with arrows also permanently entered the iconography of other military saints.[276] Demetrios was depicted with the bow especially often.[277] In turn, Merkourios began to appear with a bow and three arrows as his attributes[278]; this can be linked to an early Syrian version of the legend of the killing of Julian the Apostate, where Merkourios appeared to Jovian who was then in Edessa during an expedition against the Persians; the saint, who was armed with a bow and three arrows announced that he would kill the emperor with one of them within three weeks.[279]

In completing our survey of the warrior saints' weaponry it should be said that I am unaware of any depictions of them with axes (normally single-edged πελέκιον/πέλεκυς, antique ἀξίνη and τζικούριον—Lat. *securis*),[280] which were primarily the weapon of the mercenary

[275] See Hunt 1991, figs. 1–2 (= *Sinai*, fig. 66). Norman warriors with bowcase and quiver slung on the saddle are mentioned by EUST. THES., p. 108$^{5-6}$. Cf. also Weitzmann (1966, 67–9, 71), who regards the bowcase worn on the belt as a borrowing from Persian iconography.

[276] Parani (2003, 142, figs. 125, 132, 152, 161) notes that in the Nicaean empire bows were produced privately in the cities, and that during the Palaiologan era they became a valued hunting weapon among the aristocracy. Assuming her observation is correct this may possibly explain the introduction of the bow into the iconography of the saints.

[277] Zachariadou (1998, 689) suggests that the pattern for this type of depiction may be a steatite icon showing the saint holding a bow and three arrows. She considers that the presence of this type of weapon may indicate that the icon was commissioned by a Turkish convert to Christianity. Her theory is accepted by Walter 2003a, 92.

[278] See e.g. the 15th C. frescoes in the porch of the katholikon of the monastery of the Panagia Mavrotissa in Kastoria, and also in Dečani and Lesnovo (1349), where Merkourios holds only one arrow but two more are visible on his right shoulder (Gounaris 1987, figs. 46–47; Škrivanić 1957, fig. 31; and other examples collected by Walter 2003a, 104 n. 29 and 106–7 on the legend as the source for the depiction). The lack of images of Merkourios with a bow in Middle Byzantine art is also noted by Parani 2003, 150–1.

[279] Delehaye 1909, 98 (the text of the legend is also published in Latin translation by Peeters 1921, 79–80). On the Syrian redaction which came into being between 502 and 532 see Delehaye 1909, 98. The spreading of the legend is described by Curta (1995, 119–20), who also provides examples of representations in 15th and 16th C. art.

[280] On the various types of axe used in the Byzantine army see Hoffmeyer 1966, 111–12; Kolias 1988, 162–72 (with detailed source references and examples of depictions in art); Dawson 2002, 84, where he gives an etymology for the double-bladed *tzikourion*. On axes employed by the Gauls and Persians see also Bivar 1972, 276; and Schreiner 1982, 234. Parani notes (2003, 136–7) that single-bladed axes with curved, downward-projecting heads appear occasionally in scenes of the Betrayal.

Varangian guard and of military engineer units.[281] Nor do the saints appear with lead darts, **μαρτζοβάρβουλα** (lit. 'beards of Mars', equivalent to the Lat. *plumbatae*), which were about 20–30 cm in length and were carried in slots on the shield or in special bags. In the first case the reason may be the foreign origin of the Varangian forma-

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On Serbian axes of 13th–15th centuries see Škrivanić (1957, 94–9, figs. 50–53), who publishes surviving axeheads and depictions in art—although these still do not appear as a weapon of the warrior saints.

281 On the tradition (which harks back to ancient Rome) of carrying axes in a bundle of birch rods (*fasces*) by lictors who march before the consul, see LYDOS (p. 18^{17-19} [I 4/8], 48^{20}–50^{2} [I 8/32], $112^{6-7, 20-2}$ [II 4/19]). The custom's Etruscan origins are pointed out by Żygulski 1998, 79. Basil II formed the axe-armed Varangian Guard in 988, which suggests that the imperial guard had earlier been equipped with this weapon, since DE CER. (1:576^{4-6} [II 15]) speaks of the Macedonian *hetaireia* carrying gold, gilded and iron shields and single-edged axes; see also 2:673–4 and above, n. 668 on p. 304. Varangians carrying axes on their shoulders are mentioned, for example, by PSELLOS, (2:97^{31-3} [VII 24]): Οὗτοι γὰρ οὖν τὸν κύκλον τῆς ἀσπίδος ἐπλήρουν, ἐπιμήκη τε δόρατα φέροντες καὶ ἀξίνας ἑτεροστόμους·; BRYENNIOS (p. 123^{13-15} [I 20]): [φύλακας]… ·τοῦτο δὲ τὸ γένος ὥρμητο ἐκ τῆς βαρβάρου χώρας τῆς πλησίον ὠκεανοῦ, πιστὸν δὲ βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆθε, ἀσπιδηφόρον ξύμπαν καὶ πέλεκύν τινα ἐπὶ ὤμων φέρον, 169^{12-18} [II 14] (taking part in the battle at the bridge of Zompos against Roussel de Bailleul), 217^{23-6} [III 5], 247^{16-17} [III 20]; KINNAMOS (p. 8^{14-17} [I]) on John II Komnenos's attack on the Patzinak camp with the aid of the Anglo-Varangian guard equipped with long *aspis* shields and double-edged axes: 'Ρομαίων δὲ οὐδαμῆ ἐπαινούντων ἐκέλευε τοῖς ἀμφ' αὐτὸν πελεκυφόροις (ἔθνος δέ ἐστι τοῦτο **Βρεταννικὸν** βασιλεῦσι Ῥωμαίων **δουλεῦον** ἀνέκαθεν) **πελέκεσιν ἐπιστάντας** διακόπτειν αὐτάς.) (≈ CHONIATES, p. 15^{94-5}: 'Αναλαβὼν δὲ καὶ τοὺς ὑπασπιστάς, οἳ περιμήκεσιν ἀσπίσι καὶ πέλυξιν **ἑτεροστόμοις** φράγνυνται), p. 187^{8-9}; see also Heath 1979, 38 and the illustration on fol. 26v of the *Madrid Skylitzes* (Tsamakda 2002, fig. 50), where the body of the deceased emperor Michael the Amorian is accompanied by a guard with single-bladed axes on long shafts. On the Normans' use of axes during the storming of Thessaloniki in 1185 see EUST. THES., p. 104^{34-5}. A 14th-C. single-edged axe from Constantinople preserved at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington is reproduced by Kolias 1988, fig. 5/1. For examples of many similar weapons from Bulgaria and Rus' see Iotov 2004, 85–100, figs. 42–55; Kirpichnikov 1966, 26–46, and the comparison of finds in tables on pp. 102–29, fig. 6, plates 14–20, 21/1–2, 8–13, 22/1, 6–7, 23/2, 5, 7, 9; and also Pederson 2002, 29–31 on axes from late-10th-C. Danish graves. On the symbolic meaning of the axe and hammer of Thor in Norse culture see Trotzig 1985; meanwhile on Ruthenian, Danish and English (after 1066) Varangians in imperial service in the 11th and 12th centuries see Blöndal 1978, *passim*, Vasiliev 1937; Benedikz 1969 (esp. pp. 21–2, 24); S. Franklin & A. Cutler, "Varangians" in *ODB*, 3:2152.

Axes as tools for clearing passages and for construction work (such as fortifying camps) carried out by engineers are spoken of by VEGETIUS, pp. 46–8 [I 24], 112–13 [II 25], 144 [III 6]; STRAT., p. 422^{5} [XIIB 6] (≈ LT, 1:$121^{1456-57}$ [VI 27]); LT, 1:$91^{1164-65}$ [V 2 (3)], 93^{1188} [V 4 (5)], 108^{1344} [VI 14]; DE RE MILITARI, p. 294^{26-8} [19]; SYLLOGE, 60 [XXXVIII 12] (= {LT, vol. B', p. 358 [XXXVIII]}). Engineers smashing down the walls of a town with axes similar in shape to war-hammers can be seen in miniatures on fols. 72r, 230r–v of the *Madrid Skylitzes* (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 177, 544–545). See also Kolias (1988, 163), who notes that the axe appears as a battlefield weapon only in the 10th century.

tion, in the second it may lie partly in that darts had fallen out of use in the Early Byzantine period.[282] The omission from the warrior-saint iconography of these and other items of Byzantine military equipment (e.g. the sling, σφενδοβόλον—Lat. *fundibalum*, *fundibalus*)[283] allows us to conclude that although various elements of weaponry were clearly modernized the ancient compositional scheme was preserved—that is, the soldier armed with sword and lance.

Conclusions

The primary elements of weaponry of the military saints are the lance and the sword (occasionally substituted by the *paramerion*), which carry immense semiotic content.

In art, the lance was taken over from Roman tradition that reaches back to the Tarquins, and was strongly linked with imperial triumphal iconography. This was later overlaid with new, Christian meaning (the *labarum* and *tropaeum Crucis*). The cross-tipped *crux hastata*, the form of which underlines the symbolic dimension of the weapon, disappeared from official imperial art after Iconoclasm, but is still occasionally seen in provincial centres beyond the close supervision of the Church hierarchy in the ninth and tenth centuries. The ordinary lance normally replaces the *crux hastata* in the iconography of the military saints.

Although we have detailed information on the various types of shafted weapons employed by Byzantine armies (the *kontarion*, *menaulion*, *dory*, *akontion* and others), the lances seen in the images of warrior saints, with their short hafts tipped with prominent heads of various shapes, do not appear to correspond with any of these weapon types. Presumably, the shortening of the haft resulted from compositional limitations, which had already influenced the iconography of various kinds of *doryphoros* in antiquity.

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[282] On ancient *plumbatae* see F. Lammert, "Plumbata", *PR*, 21/1 (1951):614–15. Late antique finds (to the 6th C. AD) and references to *martzobarboula* in the Byzantine military treatises are discussed in detail by Völling 1991; see also Mihăescu 1968, 492; and cf. Bivar (1972, 288), who believes it was a heavy javelin.

[283] On the sling, with detailed source references, see Haldon 1975, 38–9; Kolias 1988, 254–60.

While shafted weapons are represented in a fairly schematic way, the swords of the warrior saints are shown with great precision. We can differentiate several varieties of hilt: with a curved guard, and from the tenth century mainly with a straight crossguard, and with a prominent spherical or flattened-disk pommel (though occasionally the pommel has an onion-shaped or multi-lobed form, characteristic of Viking swords). It would seem that artists made special efforts to faithfully reproduce the actual Byzantine *spatha*, as is evident from the gradual lengthening of the blade over time, the representation of a fuller groove in a darker shade, and the occasional depiction of blade inscriptions. Further confirmation comes in how the warrior saints are shown carrying their swords, in a scabbard on a long baldric slung over the shoulder, distinctly different from how they were worn in the Latin West.

The symbolic meaning of the sword in Byzantium was also quite different from the chivalric culture of the West. The Classical *gladius* was not an element of imperial iconography, and the ceremonial significance of the *spatha* in Byzantium was more probably the result of the adaptation of the court custom of Western Europe or the Arab states. The raised unsheathed sword initially had distinctly negative associations, connected with war and destruction, as is indicated by the reaction to the new coin type bearing this motif introduced by Isaac Komnenos.

The military manuals indicate that the *paramerion*—which was probably a straight sword rather than a sabre—was widely used in the Byzantine army, especially by cataphract cavalry, heavy infantry and archers, but it is surprising how seldom it appears in the iconography of the warrior saints. Artists refrained completely from depicting the axes of the palace guard. They also avoided showing the mace, the break-through weapon of the heavily armed cataphracts and the tool with which Digenes Akritas performs his legendary deeds. Numerous archaeological finds of maces from Bulgaria and Rus' indicate that not every weapon that was popular was depicted in art. It is evident therefore that the representation of the warrior saints' weaponry was the effect of conscious selection and stylization.

A similar mechanism is seen in the clear reluctance to depict the bow, although it is more common on the peripheries of Byzantine culture, in the art of Armenia and Georgia. This can be explained by the negative associations that link the bow as a result of its popularity

among the eastern, Islamic neighbours of Byzantium, with the weaponry of Satan and demons. The 'missiles of the Evil One' are the only weapons contrasted with the 'Panoply of Christian virtues' in St Paul's Letter to the Ephesians (6:16). The wider depiction of the bow, bow-case and arrows in the iconography of the warrior saints occurs only in the thirteenth century. But even here, the motif is limited chiefly to depictions of St Demetrios, and virtually becomes his attribute (in the Late Byzantine period three arrows mentioned in the legend of St Merkourios are often shown held in his hand, also as an attribute).

For the remaining items of weaponry (as with armour), there appears to be little systematic evidence to link a specific type with any particular saint. The conclusion is that elements of military equipment were not generally regarded in Middle Byzantine art as attributes.

CHAPTER FIVE

EQUESTRIAN EQUIPMENT

Besides the type of the warrior saint on foot, representations of them riding steeds of various colours continued to enjoy popularity in the art of the post-Iconoclastic period.[1] From a costumological point of view, the equestrian equipment shown in these depictions complements the saints' armour and weaponry. In order to create a full picture of the basis governing the iconography of the warrior saints it is therefore necessary to also analyze the methods of depiction of these equestrian elements. In contrast to weaponry, the production and distribution of which remained under strict state control, horse tack was widely used and constituted a part of the broadly understood material culture of the Eastern Empire. It should be remembered that riding equipment is also shown in Byzantine art in non-military contexts; this issue, however, constitutes a broader iconographical problem that exceeds the bounds of the present work.

Horse Tack

Stirrups (skala, anavoleus)

Our review of the component elements of horse tack in Byzantine art should begin with a newly introduced item, the stirrup, which determined the construction of the remaining elements, as well as the posture of the rider, and thereby his appearance. In antiquity stirrups were unknown; this had an influence on how the horse was ridden and the shape of the saddle. In Late Roman sculpture horsemen are depicted in a characteristic pose, with knees extended forwards gripping the flanks of the mount, and feet drawn to the rear (fig. 2, 4, 7a).[2]

[1] A possible symbolic reading of the white colour of St George's mount and the red-brown of St Theodore's steed in the context of Christian aesthetics (based on the neoplatonic theory of Pseudo-Dionysios the Aeropagite) is pointed out by Scholz 1982, 248–9.

[2] See e.g. the 3rd-C. AD funerary stele from Chester; the Late Roman gravestones of Flavius Bassus from Cologne, Romanius from Mainz, Rufus Sita from Gloucester,

The lack of support for the legs reduced the rider's stability and made falls more likely, especially when tackling obstacles or galloping.[3] For this reason in the second and first centuries BC in India and China the first attempts were made to create foot supports in the form of leather loops or hooks suspended from the sides of the saddle.[4] The final form of the stiff stirrup, made from an arch fitted with a loop (for the stirrup leather) and a footplate, developed only in the second half of the fourth century AD on the Korean peninsula; and it was from there, via the Steppe nomads, that it reached Europe.[5]

The Byzantines adopted the stirrup from the Avars or (less probably) from the Persians. This seems to have taken place before the second half of the sixth century,[6] a dating confirmed by archaeological discoveries, as well as the earliest European references in Maurice's *Strategikon*. Maurice advises medical orderlies (*deportati*) to attach stirrups to the front or back saddle-arch, on the left side of the saddle, to make it easier for wounded men who they are evacuating from the

and Dolanus from Wiesbaden; and also the bas-relief (1st-C.-AD copy of a sculpture from the 2nd C. BC) of Curtius (Robinson 1975 figs. 301–304, 475 [= Gamber 1978, fig. 372]; Żygulski 1998, fig. 130). The absence of stirrups from the 4th/5th–C. horse furniture found at Qustul accompanying the burials of the kings of Nubia is noted by Steinborn (1982, 311), although without grounds he ascribes (p. 308) stirrups to Justinian I's *kataphraktoi* and their Persian opponents. See also Żygulski 1998, 103.

[3] As examples one might mention Ammianus's tale (Ammian., 2:141 [XIX 8/7]) about a groom attempting to escape from Amida during the Persian siege of 359, torn apart when he fell from an unsaddled runaway horse, after tying his left hand to its halter; and Procopius's account (1:521[25]–522[2] [IV 21/27]) of the demise of commander of the mercenaries, Solomon, thrown by his mount during a battle with the Moors, and then killed.

[4] See Świętosławski 1990, 20–3 (with examples and earlier literature on Far Eastern archaeological discoveries), and figs. 9–12; he also critically examines previous theories on the Scythian origins of the stirrup.

[5] The question of the origins of the metal stirrup in Korea (confirmed by archaeological finds from Yakmok cemetery in the southern kingdom of Silla and in the royal necropolis in the north Korean state of Kogurio) and its spread via the nomadic peoples is discussed by Świętosławski 1990, 25–8; Kirpichnikov 1973, 43, 47–8; Bivar 1955, 61–2; and 1972, 286–7, figs. 24–29. A group of stirrups with rounded and rectangular bodies dated to the 8th–11th C. is published by Iotov 2004, 139–58.

[6] On the Avars' role in the introduction of stirrups to Europe see Świętosławski (2000, 82–3; and 1990, 28–9); Bugarski (2007, 253–4). Kolias (1993a, 41) indicates that the Byzantines adopted stirrups from the Avars or the Huns; while Werner (1984, 148–50), Bivar (1955, 63–4; and 1972, 287) and after them Mango [M] (1987, 6), prefer a Persian route; Bivar however points out the lack of contact between the Sasanian monarchy and the Huns (which would favour the Avar route). Kolias (1988, 206) assumes that stirrups appeared in Byzantium in about AD 600.

battlefield to mount the horse.[7] Slightly earlier, when listing the riding gear of cavalrymen, Maurice also mentions iron stirrups suspended from stirrup-leathers at the saddle.[8] Maurice's phrase σκάλας σιδηρᾶς (lit. 'iron steps' or 'iron stairs') is evidence that this element had been adopted by the Byzantines in the recent past, since onomastically it refers to the function of mounting the horse.[9]

Stirrups were introduced into the iconography of the military saints relatively quickly. We see them already on an eighth-century Sinai icon of St Merkourios (fig. 8);[10] on images of Sts George and Theodore on the wings of a tenth-century Sinai triptych; and among the equestrian warrior saints on the façade of the church of the Holy Cross on Aght'amar (fig. 86).[11] In the Middle Byzantine iconography of the military saints stirrup-irons on long, narrow stirrup-leathers became an especially popular motif not only in art created within the Empire (figs. 30f, 41a, 42, 50, 51, 84), but also in Georgia and in other artistic centres on the periphery (figs. 56, 63, 77).[12] However, a broad leather

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[7] Strat., p. 128^{22-28} [II 9] (≈ LT, $2{:}42^{3841}$–43^{3850} [XII 52 (53)]): Ἵνα δὲ εὔκολοι αἱ ἀναβάσεις ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων τῶν τε δηποτάτων γίνωνται καὶ τῶν τραυματιζομένων ἤτοι ἐκπιπτόντων, δεῖ τὰς **σκάλας** τῶν δηποτάτων κατὰ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους τῆς σέλλας ποιεῖν, τουτέστιν τὴν μίαν πρὸς τῇ κούρβᾳ, ὡς ἔθος ἐστίν, καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πρὸς τῇ ὀπισθοκούρβᾳ, ἵνα τῶν δύο ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον βουλομένων ἀνέρχεσθαι τουτέστιν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ ἀπομάχου, ὁ μὲν διὰ τῆς πρὸς τῇ κούρβᾳ σκάλας ἀνέρχεται, ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς πρὸς τῇ ὀπισθοκούρβᾳ. See also Wiita 1978, 357–69; Świętosławski 1990, 29–30; Kolias 1993a, 41. Byzantium's early contact with stirrups is attested by finds (Avar or Greek) from a grave on the south-west side of the eastern wall of the citadel of Caričin Grad (Justiniana Prima), datable to the end of the 6th C. or 7th C., and an Early Byzantine hoard of stirrups from the fortress at Strezhevo near Bitola (Republic of Macedonia) dated to 585–6 (Werner 1984, 147–8, fig. 156; Bugarski 2007, 262–3, figs. 35).

[8] Strat., p. 80^{41-42} [I 2]: [horsemen] ἔχειν δὲ εἰς τὰς σελλας **σκάλας σιδηρᾶς** δύο; see also Wiita 1978, 356; Świętosławski 2000, 84; Hyland 1994, 27.

[9] See Mihăescu 1968, 494. On the onomastics of the stirrup derived among the peoples of Asia and Europe from terms for straps and ropes, or expressions meaning to clamber up, see Wiita 1978, 349; Świętosławski 1990, 22. The original meaning is the only one glossed by Hesychios in his lexicon (3:37): σκάλα· κλῖμαξ, ἀνάβασμα (= Suda, 3:136/4 [1806]: Κλίμαξ· ἡ σκάλα.). Stirrup-leathers (σκαλόλουρα) are mentioned e.g. by Dig. Akr., p. 240^{40}.

[10] See above, n. 71 on p. 80. Cf. also Mango [M] (1987, 6) who believes that the earliest depictions of stirrups on warrior saints' horses (aside from this icon of Merkourios) appear in the 10th-C., and the first depiction in Arab art are the frescoes at Qasr el-Hayr (724–43). Iotov (2004, 139) publishes early graffiti from Pliska showing a rider resting a foot on a stirrup.

[11] See Weitzmann 1976, nos. B44–45; Der Nersessian 1965, figs. 49–50 (= Davies 1991, figs. 35–36); and also the relief from the same church depicting a mounted archer with stirrups, Hyland 1994, fig. on p. 36 (= Nicolle 1988, vol. 2, figs. 138a, c).

[12] The earliest Byzantine depictions of horsemen using stirrups include murals in the Cappadocian rock-cut churches of St Basil (chapel 18), St Barbara (chapel 20),

strap and massive stirrup-iron appear on an eleventh-century steatite icon of St George in the Museo Nazionale del Bargello in Florence, perhaps under the influence of Western European art.[13]

The popularity of stirrups in art can be explained by the widespread employment of iron stirrups in the Empire (where by this time they were known as ἀναβολεὺς),[14] as well as in remaining regions of the Mediterranean basin. One can therefore assert that the introduction of the stirrup motif in representations of military saints is an expres-

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chapel 21, Church of the Snake (Yilanli Kilise, chapel 28) in Göreme; Yusuf Koç Kilise in Avçilar (Maçan), see Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 246–247, 250; and negative in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington nos. Acc. 00-2485, 830A, T3-22, L.75.1174(AE). Later examples are reproduced by Shchepkina 1977, fig. 97; *Athos*, vol. B', fig. 329; Delevoria 1997, 244; Hunt 1991, figs. 2, 11–12. Stirrups begin to appear in Georgian art in the 10th C., e.g. on frescoes depicting Sts George and Theodore from the churches in Lagurka, Ipari and neighbouring Nakipari, Phavnisi, Ikvi, Lashtkhveri and Matskhvarishi; as well as on numerous icons with St George on horseback (10th C.: Nakuraleshi, Bravaldzali, Zhamushi; 11th C.: Labechina, Seti, Nakipari, Sakao, Racha, Kheria, Tsuirmi-Choban, Ipari, Natsuli, Shgedi, Gebi); and on the silver claddings of pre-altar crosses from Sakdari and Tskhumar, usually showing George and Theodore (Aladashvili/Alibegashvili/Volskaya 1966, figs. 18–19, 33–34, 50–51; Privalova 1970, sketches 4, 21, fig. 20; neg. in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington, no. Acc. 93–0189; Virsaladze 1955, figs. 2, 78; Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 41–44, 181–182, 184, 191–194, 249–254, 359 = Weitzmann 1976, fig. 28). For stirrups in the 10th-C. iconography of holy riders in Nubian art see e.g. Steinborn 1982, figs. 14, 18, and later examples on figs. 19, 20. Painted in a particularly clear manner are the stirrups on a miniature illustrating the story of the escape of Michael III's wild steed and its recovery by the *protostrator* Basil (the future emperor) on fol. 86r of the *Madrid Skylitzes* (Tsamakda 2002, fig. 209).

[13] See Ovcharov 2003, fig. 15.

[14] See SUDA, 1:162$^{9-14}$ [1811]: Ἀναβολεύς· ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνάγων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τὸν ἀναβολέα προσκαλεσάμενος καὶ ταχέως ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ᾔτησε πιεῖν καὶ ἀκράτου σπασάμενος πλεονάκις ἐνέφαινεν ὡς εἰς τοὔμπροσθεν προαξων. Ἀναβολεὺς καὶ ἡ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις λεγομὲνη σκάλα. καὶ αὖθις· ὁ δὲ Μασσία γηράσας ἵππου χωρὶς ἀναβολέως ἐπέβαινεν. 4:371^{23} [520]: Σκάλα· Ῥωμαϊστὶ ὁ ἀναβολεύς. See also EUST. OD. 1:42$^{24-27}$ καὶ τὸ εἰς ἵππον ἀνάγειν καὶ ἔποχον ποιεῖν, ὅθεν καὶ **ἀναβολεὺς**, οὐ μόνον τὸ σιδήριον ᾧ τοὺς πόδας ἐντιθέντες ἔφιπποι γίνονταί τινες, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ὃς εἰς τοιοῦτον ἔργον καθυπουργεῖ. οἷον, τὸν βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν ἵππον ἀνέβαλλεν ἤγουν ἀνεβίβαζεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐνδύεσθαι, ἀναβάλλεσθαι λέγεται. καὶ ὄνομα τούτου, ἡ ἀναβολὴ. The traditional description was still used by Leo VI (LT, 1:105^{1316} [VI 10]) exactly repeating the words of Maurice (see above, n. 8). The ubiquity of the stirrup in 9th–13th-C. Europe is attested by numerous finds in Russia, the Caucasus, Bulgaria and Hungary (Kirpichnikov 1973, 44–55 figs. 14–17, 29–33; Iotov 2004, 139–58, figs. 80–95, 105, 107–08). There is no reason to doubt that an extremely useful item like the stirrup quickly became popular within the Empire as it had done in neighbouring states.

sion of their iconography being updated under the influence of models drawn directly from everyday life.[15]

Saddle and saddlecloth (sella[16] *and* ephestris)

The introduction of the stirrup brought with it changes in riding posture. The rider now stood upright in the stirrups with his legs forming a continuous vertical line in relation to the torso, although in the thirteenth century it became customary to extend the feet forwards.[17] The most important change, however, was the replacement of the soft Roman 'horned saddle',[18] which had Central Asian origins, by the Avar saddle, which had two high, stiff arches (**κούϱβη**—from Lat. *curvus* 'curved') stabilizing the rider's seat and allowing him to make use of the lance in an underarm, couched position.[19] Kekaumenos notes that

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[15] Cf. also the early Byzantine depictions of equestrian military saints (above, p. 75ff), where they are shown without stirrups.

[16] The Byzantine term σέλλα derives from Lat. *sella* (Mihăescu 1968, 494; Kolias 1993a, 40; A. Hug, "Sella equestris" in *PR*, II/4:1315–16) and, as in Latin, also designated a chair, throne or seat (see e.g. De Cer. [Vogt], 1:17^{28}, 18^{17}, 27^{25} [I 1], 61^{14} [I 9], 68^{30}, 71^{1} [I 10], 85^{13} [I 23]; Oikonomides, p. 275^{13} and n. 38, where he cites further examples from De Cer.). Also from Lat. *sellarius* comes the derived adjective 'saddled': σελλάριος, ἵππος σελλάριος (see e.g. Theophanes, p. 473^{27}; Achmet, pp. 11^{21} [14], 113^{5} [154], especially the description of a dream on pp. 182^{16}–183^{2} [231] with a saddled imperial horse of various colours and differently coloured saddles; Porph., pp. 88^{110} [B], 102^{126}, 116^{347}, 118$^{384, 394}$, 119^{399}, 126^{517}, 128$^{538, 551}$, 134^{635} [C] (on saddled imperial horses); De Cer. 1:551^{14} [II 12]; and also Haldon's commentary to Porph. (p. 170) where he distinguishes both meanings of the word *sella* and suggests that *sellarios* might be used in reference to a riding horse as opposed to a draught animal).

[17] See the reconstruction of the rider's seat from 6th to 15th C. provided by Kirpichnikov (1973, fig. 30). Hyland (1994, 7–8) points out that the straight-legged seat was forced by the construction of the saddle and stirrups.

[18] On the Roman 'horned saddle', so called because of the four horn-like metal protrusions at its corners, see Hyland 1994, 5–7 (with a reconstruction on p. 6); Robinson 1975, 194–6, figs. 202–204; James 2004, 68–9; Żygulski 1998, 102–3, fig. 92.

[19] On the Chinese origins of the high saddle and its transmission to Europe via the Avars see Świętosławski 2000, 79–82, figs. 3–4. A reconstruction of a medieval high saddle and also bone and wooden arches found on the territory of medieval Rus' (modern Ukraine, Belarus and Russia) are published by Kirpichnikov 1973, figs. 20, 23, 25; while a model of an Avar saddle with wooden arches, and graffiti with depictions of saddled horses from the Dobruja and Sofia regions are shown by Iotov 2004, 131–3, figs. 75–77. The cantle of the saddle (όπισθοκούϱβιον) is mentioned by Maurice (Strat., p. 128^{28} [II 9]) in a description of the securing of medical orderlies' stirrups: ὁ δὲ διὰ τῆς πρὸς τῇ ὀπισθοκούρβᾳ), and by Leo (LT, 1:112^{1381} [VI 22]) stating that sacks for armour should be fastened to it (whereas in Leo's *Taktika* (LT, 2:42$^{3845–46}$ [XII 52 (53)]), which is closely modelled on the *Strategikon*, the word cantle is 'altered' to pommel [ἐμποσθοκούϱβιον]). Meanwhile, Dig. Akr. (p. 306^{914}) in the

while a suitable choice of clothing, reins and mount doubled the value of a horseman in battle, a timid horse and an excessively large saddle made him useless.[20] The wooden saddle-tree of the cavalry horse was covered by a felt saddlecloth (ἐπισέλλιον, σαγίσματα), which in the case of imperial saddles was dyed purple.[21] A felt blanket was placed under the saddle, both to prevent chafing of the horse's back and to protect its flanks in battle; this was known as ἀφερέτρον τῆς σέλλας (lit. 'felt under the saddle'), ἐφεστρίς ('outer covering'), and also ὑπόστρωμα ('lower layer').[22]

Escorial redaction states that the hero seated his fiancée on the pommel of his saddle (Ἐκεῖνος τὴν ἐδέξατο ὀμπρὸς 'ς τὸ **μπροστοκούρβιν**). See also Mihăescu 1968, 493. The significance of the high saddle for the method of use of the *kontarion* is underlined by Kolias 1988, 204–8.

[20] See Kekaumenos, p. 158[11–19] [LIX 24]: Τοὺς στρατιώτας σου ἀνάγκαζε πρὸ πάντων ἔχειν ἵππους καλοὺς καὶ τὰ ἅρματα αὐτῶν ἀνελλιπῆ καὶ ἐστιλβωμένα, σελοχάλινα δὲ καὶ πέδιλα ἐπιτήδεια. Πληροφορήθητι γάρ, ὅτι εἰ ἔχει ἵππον καὶ στολὴν καὶ ἅρματα καλὰ ὁ στρατιώτης, εἰ μέν ἐστιν ἀνδρεῖος, γίνεται διπλοῦς, εἰ δέ ἐστι δειλός, πληροφορήθητι, ὅτι θαρσοποιεῖται καὶ μερικῶς ἐνεργεῖ. Εἰ δέ ἐστιν ἄτζαλος, ἔχων **σέλαν μεγάλην**, πέδιλα ἀνεπιτήδεια, ἵππον οὐκ ἀγαθόν, ἔσο γινώσκων, ὅτι οὐ κἂν ἀνδρειός ἐστιν ἀλλ' ἢ τήν σωτηρίαν ἑαυτῷ διὰ φυγῆς πρὸ καιροῦ σοφίζεται.

[21] See Strat., p. 80[40] [I 2] (= *LT*, 1:105[1313–14] [VI 9]): Χρὴ τὰς σέλλας ἔχειν **ἐπισέλλια** δασέα καὶ μεγάλα. Purple imperial saddlecloths and others designated as gifts are mentioned by Porph., pp. 102[123–27], 124[489–91] [C]: δέον δὲ ἀγοράζειν ῥασικὰ ἀμάλια καὶ βάπτειν ἀλεθινά, καὶ ποιεῖν **σαγίσματα** καὶ βορκάδια ρν'. καὶ τὰ μὲν ρ' λόγῳ τῶν παρασυρομένων ἱππαπίων ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ βασιλέως· τὰ δὲ λ' λόγῳ τῶν βασιλικῶν σελλαρίων, καὶ τὰ κ' λόγῳ τῶν διὰ ξεναλίων διδομένων ἱππαρίων, [...] ἔμπροσθεν δὲ τῶν βασιλικῶν περιπατοῦσιν ἀπὸ δύο σαγγιτοβόλων παρασυρτὰ βασιλικὰ ἱππάρια ρ' μετὰ σαγισμάτων ἀληθινῶν καὶ βορικαδίων δεξιὰ καὶ εὐώνυμα. See also the references by Ps. Kodinos (p. 169[22] [III], 281[2, 11] [X]) to the white *sagismata* used to cover the imperial mounts, and a white caparison patterned with small red eagles (p. 145[9–13]); Eust. Od., 1:48[25]; and also Haldon's commentary to Porph. (p. 197) where he introduces a distinction between *sagismata* and *sagmata*; although an association with the *sagion* or cloak appears obvious; cf. also the reference to *sagismaton* (Porph., p. 128[550–53] [C]) which Haldon translates as 'pack-saddles'. Another type of saddlecloth (χαιώματα) that covered the horse's hindquarters is mentioned in a description of Basil I's triumph (Porph., p. 142[757] [C]); see also Haldon's commentary (p. 279); and the reference by Ps. Kodinos (p. 270[3–7] [VII]), who applies it, however, to horse furniture in general.

[22] Besides other covering for the horses of commanders and selected riders (particularly those standing in the front ranks of the battle line) Leo VI recommends small blankets called 'felt under the saddle' (LT, 1:104[1308]–105[1312] [VI 8]: καὶ τὰς κοιλίας διὰ **μικρῶν ἀποκρεμασμάτων ἀπὸ τῶν λεγομένων ἀφελέτρων τῆς σέλλας**. μεγάλων γὰν ταῦτα κινδύνων πολλάκις τοὺς ἵππους διασώζουσι, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶν ὀχουμένους. ταῦτα δὲ ἔχειν καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς προτασσομένους ἐν τῇ μάχῃ). The term ἐφεστρίς in the sense of a saddlecloth is used e.g. in the Sylloge, p. 61 [XXXIX 3] (= {LT, vol. B', p. 360 [XXXIX]}) when speaking of cataphract horsemen's iron maces and sacks with victuals that hung from them; and also Komnene, 1:163[25] [IV 7/1], who equates them with the term ὑπόστρωμα (see also Dig. Akr., p. 344[1425] [ὑπόστρωσα]

Saddlecloths and high saddle arches are widely shown in equestrian warrior-saint images from the Middle Byzantine period, both those produced within the Empire (fig. 96) and in neighbouring states.[23] In these depictions, however, there are none of the sacks (σελλοπούγγια) recommended by the *strategika*[24] for carrying provisions such as flour, millet, hardtack, nor the leather or wicker portmanteaux (θηκάρια) for storing the cavalryman's armour if he were separated from the baggage train.[25] Similarly, the custom of depicting swords or maces slung on the saddle was never adopted in the iconography of the military

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and below, n. 56). On the *ephestris* as a type of overgarment see the SUDA, 2:484$^{4-13}$ [3873–5].

[23] Saddlecloths and saddle arches are most clearly visible in scenes of the conversion of Placidus–Eustathios where the saint kneels beside his steed, e.g. on fol. 138r of *Pantokrator Psalter 61*; and fol. 5v of the *Paris Psalter, gr. 20* (Dufrenne 1966, figs. 21, 35 [= *Athos*, vol. Γ', fig. 226; Velmans 1985, fig. 24]). See also the saddled horses without riders on fol. 140v of the *Khludov Psalter* (Shchepkina 1977, figs. 140), and the *Madrid Skylitzes*, fols. 15v, 122r, 144r, 162v, 164r, 165r and 232r (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 18, 283, 354, 409–410, 414, 416, 548); and also riderless horses in the 13th-C. art of Rus', including a sgraffito in the cathedral of St Sophia in Kiev (Kirpichnikov 1973, figs. 26/2, 28/2). They are less visible in depictions of seated riders (e.g. Der Nersessian 1970, fig. 139; Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 32/1; Weitzmann 1976, nos. B43–44; *Athos*, vol. B', fig. 329; Shchepkina 1977, fig. 97; Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 246–247, 250); while for Georgian and Armenian examples see Der Nersessian 1965, figs. 49–50 (= Davies 1991, figs. 35–36); Tschubinaschvili 1959, figs. 42–43 (only saddlecloths are visible), 181–184, 190–191, 193–194, 248, 252–253, 343; Novello/Beridze/Dosogne 1980, figs. 58–61; Aladashvili/Alibegashvili/Volskaya 1966, figs. 18–19, 33–34, 50–51. Of special interest are the high, profiled Gothic arches visible on the Sinaian icon of Sergios and Bakchos, and on a 13th-C. fresco on the south wall of the 12th/13th-C. Lebanese church in Bahadeidat (*Sinai*, fig. 66; negative in the Dumbarton Oaks archive, no. L.71.362 (CM)).

[24] See STRAT., p. 80$^{42-4}$ [I 2] σελλοπούγγιν, ἐν ᾧ καιροῦ καλοῦντος δυνατόν ἐστι κἂν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἢ τεσσάρων τοῦ στρατιώτου δαπάνην χωρῆσαι; water flasks, provisions and flour carried in sacks are mentioned in LT, 2:99^{4391}–100^{4395} [XII 123]; see also SYLLOGE, pp. 61–2 [XXXIX 3, 9] (= {LT, vol. B', pp. 360, 362 [XXXIX]}). On sacks with victuals for expeditions see also STRAT., p. 236$^{2-5}$ [VII 10] (= LT, 1:105$^{1317-19}$ [VI 10]), although there is no mention of how they were carried.

[25] Maurice (STRAT. p. 84$^{92-7}$ [VI 2] ≈ LT, 1:112^{1378}–113^{1386} [VI 22]) recommends that besides covers for armour made from oxhide cavalrymen should have lighter ones of wicker, hung from the saddle while on campaign. In the event of misfortune in battle, if those leading the pack animals should be separated during the daytime, the armour would not remain unprotected and not be ruined and the soldiers would not be exhausted by its weight (Χρὴ ἔξωθεν τῶν βοείων θηκαρίων τῶν ζαβῶν ἀπὸ βέτζας ἐλαφρᾶς ἔχειν, ἵνα ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ ἐν καιρῷ κούρσων ὄπιθεν τῶν ὀπισθοκουρβίων κατὰ τὰς ψύας τῶν ἵππων βαστάζωνται καί, ἐὰν συμβῇ τροπῆς ὡς εἰκὸς γινομένης πρὸς μίαν ἡμέραν ἀφανεῖς γενέσθαι τοὺς τὰ ἀδέστρατα βαστάζοντας, μὴ εἰσι γυμναὶ αἱ ζάβαι καὶ φθείρονται, εἶτα δὲ κοποῦσι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας διηνεκῶς ἐπικείμεναι αὐτοῖς.). On sacks and portmanteaux see also Kolias 1988, 52. On the *thekarion* see above, p. 345.

saints.[26] The absence of such items, which were essential in the field, is evidence that we are dealing with an idealized picture. Thus one can suppose that its compositional basis was strongly seated in the tradition of the triumphal image of the equestrian emperor and had been transferred to representations of military saints in the period before Iconoclasm, and survived in later representations. Only details in the method of depiction of the saints were altered, having been brought up to date along with changes in riding technique. Even so, sacks also make no appearance in the otherwise quite historically faithful scenes in the *Madrid Skylitzes*, which may suggest that the image of the warrior saint referred to some extent to the cavalryman's appearance when heading into battle, after casting off non-essential ballast such as sacks and cloak-bags.

Other elements of riding equipment

In Byzantine equestrianism the new form of saddle was combined with other elements of horse furniture that had been known since antiquity. The military saddle, together with stirrups, was secured with the aid of a broad leather girth strap (ἐμπροσθελίνα),[27] which was further stabilized by breast-bands (ἀντελίνα, στηθηστήρ)[28] and haunch-straps (ὀπισθελίνα, ὀπισθένη).[29] The Latin etymology of the terms ὀπισθελίνα and ἀντελίνα which are derived from *postilina* and *antelina*, as well as the morphology of the first of these terms,[30] attest

[26] On the custom of carrying *parameria* and maces on the saddle see the PRAECEPTA, p. 36^{58-60} [III 7]; SYLLOGE, p. 61 [XXXIX 3]; DIG. AKR., p. 88^{378} [IV] (= p. 300^{802}) (Digenes instructs a *protostrator* to fasten a sword to his saddle: καὶ κρέμασε εἰς τὴν σέλαν μου καὶ τὸ βαρὺν σπαθί μου). In turn *LT* (1:$106^{1323-26}$ [VI 11]) mentions the fastening to saddles of axes that resembled war-hammers. Hoffmeyer (1966, 99, fig. 34) points out a sword depicted slung on a saddle in a miniature on fol. 73v of the *Madrid Skylitzes*.

[27] Black girth straps for securing the saddle are mentioned in DIG. AKR (p. 88^{377} [IV]); and in the Escorial redaction (p. 300^{800}) in the corrupt form ὀμπροστελίνα. Although the etymology of this last word may arouse certain doubts suggesting that it meant breast-band (see below, n. 30) the context clearly indicates that it refers to the girth.

[28] STRAT., p. 78^{24} [II 2].

[29] STRAT., pp. 78^{24} [I 2], 80^{44} [II 2] (≈ LT, 1:105^{1319}–106^{1320} [VI 10]).

[30] On the etymology cf. Kolias (1993a, 40) who believes it provides evidence that breast- and haunch-straps were introduced during the Early Byzantine period when the Latin language was still widely known. Although the Latin term for the girth was *cingulum*, the combination of the Latin root λίνα and prefix ἐμπροσθε ('at the front', 'leading', but also 'main') makes clear the common etymology of all three terms.

to the antique, Roman origins of these items of tack. This is further corroborated in depictions of the girth and breast-band in Roman art, as well as the two sets of late antique harness discovered at Qustul (south of Abu Simbel), each with a horizontal breast-band, haunch-strap with two additional breeching straps, and a leather girth passing under the belly of the mount.[31] Meanwhile, the Byzantine terminology of the bridle components: the reins (χαλινά, χαλινάρια)[32] and the straps of the headstall: browband (προμετωπίδιον)—often confused in common usage with the rosette-plate or disc (φάλαρα, φάλος) that occasionally adorned it,[33] headpiece (κορυφάδιν), and throat-lash (ὑπογένειον)[34] derive from Classical Greek, which is evidence that the headstall's construction had not changed significantly since antiquity.

The above harness elements can all be seen in equestrian depictions of the warrior saints. There are minor differences in construction and

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[31] See Steinborn 1982, 312–13, figs. 5–7; Late Roman examples from Dura-Europos are described by James 2004, 66–71, fig. 33; for some ancient depictions of horse harness see e.g. Volbach 1976, nos. 77, 86a–c; and also above, p. 75ff and n. 2.

[32] See e.g. PROCOPIUS, 1:121$^{11-12}$ [I 23/19], 409^{3} [III 23/15], 522^{3} [IV 21/28], 2:157^{20} [VI 2/24], 187^{11} [VI 8/8–9], 652$^{20-21}$ [VIII 31/9], 655^{11} [VIII 32/3]; DE CER. [VOGT], 2:137^{7} [I 78]; DIG. AKR. pp. 284^{615} (and also the version given in the note), 300^{801}, 344^{1425}; LT, 1:105^{1314} [VI 9]; MPG, 110:1225. The form ῥέτινα for describing the reins—derived from Latin *retina/retinaculum*—is used exceptionally (along with καπιτζάλια—Lat. *capistalis*, *capistellum* meaning a headstall of leather straps) in PORPH., p. 102$^{132-3}$ [C]; see also the commentary on pp. 199–200.

[33] See SUDA, 4:694$^{11-13}$ [42]: Φάλαρα· τὰς προμετωπίδας, τοὺς ἀσπιδίσκους, τὴν κόσμησιν τὴν κατὰ τὸ μέτωπον τῶν ἵππων. παρὰ δὲ Ἡροδότῳ τὰ περὶ τὰς γνάθους σκεπάσματα. And also p. 695^{17} [56]: Φάλον· τὸ προμετωπίδιον; EUST. IL., 1:666$^{17-18}$: Φάλος δὲ κόρυθος ἀσπιδίσκιον, ὡς καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ φανεῖται, ἢ ἀστερίσκος τις προμετωπίδιος, λευκὸς καὶ λαμπρός, ἐκ τοῦ φάλιον, τὸ λευκόν.; (2:187$^{8-14}$): Ὅτι δὲ φάλαρα καὶ ἵππων ἐστὶ κόσμος προμετωπίδιος, ὡμολόγηται, γινόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ φάω, τὸ λάμπω, ὅθεν φάλιον τὸ λευκόν, ἐξ οὗ ἵππος τε φάλιος ὁ τὸ μέτωπον, φασίν, ἔχων λευκόν, καὶ ἄνθρωπος φάλιος, οὗ αἱ περὶ τὸ μέτωπον τρίχες λευκαί. Τινὲς δὲ καὶ ἄλλως περὶ τοῦ φάλου φράζοντες ἀνάστημά φασιν αὐτὸν περικεφαλαίας προμετωπίδιον καὶ ἀσπιδίσκιόν τι μικρὸν καὶ λαμπρὸν ἢ ἧλον λαμπρόν.; and also (3:815^{12}). Meanwhile, Maurice (STRAT, p. 80^{36} [I 2]: προμετωπίδια ἔχειν σιδηρᾶ κατὰ τῶν μετώπων τῶν ἵππων), and Leo VI, who repeats his advice (LT, 1:104 [VI 8] calling them προμετώπια, but no longer that they were manufactured from iron) speak of *prometopidia* alongside Avar peytrals in the context of protection from the enemy's blows; this might suggest they were an element of horse armour known since antiquity (see below, n. 37; and also Dirthart/Dintsis 1984, 78–9 and n. 51). See also HESYCHIOS, vol. 1 [p. 331] ἄφαλον· φάλον μὴ ἔχον and ἄφαλόν τε· μήτε προμετωπίδα. See also the reconstruction of the medieval Rus' browband with decorative metal plate suspended on the middle of the forehead (Kirpichnikov 1973, fig. 12); and the reference in DIG. AKR. (p. 238^{11}) to the gold star on the forehead of the emir's steed (ὀμπρὸς εἰς τὸ μετώπιν του χρυσὸν ἀστέραν εἶχεν).

[34] STRAT., p. 80$^{44-45}$ [I 2], (≈ LT, 1:106$^{1320-21}$ [VI 10]): τουφία εἰς τὰς ὀπισθελίνας τέσσαρα, **κορυφάδιν** καὶ **ὑπογένειον** τουφίν.; see also below, n. 43.

proportions, which can be explained by the artists referring to local customs and fashions in the manufacture of the various components of riding tack. This is most clearly apparent in the rendering of the breast-band. Initially, from the eighth to the eleventh century, especially in provincial centres (Cappadocia, Sinai, Nubia), it was most frequently depicted as a thick belt that ran horizontally around the mount's chest, and was usually adorned with bells (figs. 5, 8, 10, 86).[35] As their model, artists used actual decorations with round bells and shells threaded on a leather strap worn around the horse's breast, which would appear to have been especially common in the Near East.[36] It cannot be ruled out that the term for such decorations worn on the horse's breast—στηθιστήρια—was identical to the word for coverings for the horse's breast recommended by Maurice and Leo—peytrals (breast armour)

[35] Broad breast-bands with bells are depicted for example on an icon with St Merkourios from St Catherine's monastery on Mt Sinai; a relief with Sts Theodore, Sergios and Bakchos from the façade of the church of the Holy Cross in Aght'amar; murals from the cathedral in Faras (St Merkourios, currently National Museum, Warsaw) and the Nubian churches in Abdallah Nirqi (Theodore Stratelates, Phoebammon, Epimachos and Merkourios), Abd el-Qadir (St George and an unidentified rider); a miniature with St Theodore on fol. 1v in the Fayyum *Synaxarion* (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, no. *M 613*); on miniatures with Sts Merkourios and Theodore Stratelates on fols. 210v and 287v of *Cod. Vat. copt. 66*; and murals with St George in the Chapel 21 in Göreme, Cappadocia (Weitzmann 1976, no. 49B; Davies 1991, figs. 35–36 [= Der Nersessian 1965, figs. 49–50; Nicolle 1988, vol. 2, fig. 138a]; Steinborn 1982, 339, figs. 9, 15–22; neg. in the Dumbarton Oaks collection no. T3–22; *L'art Copte*, no. 53; Górecki 1980, figs. 36–37 [= Grüneisen 1922, 101, fig. 46]). Of particularly decorative character are the horse harnesses of St Eustathios on fol. 97v of the *Khludov Psalter*, and St Merkourios in a Coptic collection of homilies devoted to him in *Brit. Or. 6801* (Shchepkina 1977, fig. 97; Der Nersessian 1987, 158, fig. 3). Decorations hanging from the haunch-straps are shown on a stone icon from Amaseia depicting Sts Theodore and George, now in the Benaki Museum, Athens (Delevoria 1997, 244). Horses' breast-bands decorated with bells also appear on a miniature showing Constantine at the battle on the Milvian Bridge in the Parisian MS. of *The Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos* (*Par. gr.* 510, fol. 440r); on the cover of the ivory chest in the cathedral in Troyes (11th–12th C.); on a sgraffito depicting king Silko on horseback in the Nubian temple in Kalabsha; and on the steeds of the three Magi in a Nativity scene in the cathedral in Faras; less extravagant breast-bands in the form of a broad ornamental strap appear on equestrian portraits of John Tzimiskes and Melias on a mural in the Great Pigeon House church in Çavuşin (Der Nersessian 1962, fig. 15 [= Brubaker 1999, fig. 45]; Nicolle 1988, vol. 2, figs. 79b–c, 99b [= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 141; Kolias 1988, fig. 10]; Steinborn 1982, figs. 8, 10; Walter 2003a, 282–3).

[36] Decorations of this type accompanied the horse furniture discovered at Qustul in Nubia and Dura Europos (Steinborn 1982, 314, and the reconstruction on fig. 5; James 2004, 88–91, fig. 41). CHONIATES also mentions (p. 185[40–44]) a unit of Turks on Arab horses with bells hung on their necks.

of iron or felt made after the Avar model.[37] From the eleventh until the thirteenth century we can observe a gradual replacement of this motif by a simpler form of a single narrow strap without additional decorations (figs. 30f, 51, 63).[38] A variety of arrangements can also be seen in depictions of the straps of the headstall, which was normally made up of cheek-straps, brow-band and headpiece (figs. 8, 30f, 41a, 47, 50, 51, 56, 63, 77, 86, 90, 99).[39] Occasionally, as is in the church of the Snake in Göreme (fig. 42) and at Yusuf Koç Kilise in Avçilar (Maçan), the painters additionally depict nosebands and a second pair of cheek-straps—probably distinguishing the curb bit from the snaffle bit.[40] Worthy of note in the last example is the increase of the number of straps on the headpiece to four.

The haunch strap is normally shown as a single strap running along the horse's flank; attached to it and hanging loosely from it are pendant straps for securing saddle-bags (figs. 86, 90).[41] Instead of pendant straps,

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[37] See Strat., p. 80[37–39] [I 2] (≈ LT, 1:104[1305–06] [VI 8]: ἔχειν καὶ **στηθάρια** ἢ σιδῆρα ἢ ἀπὸ κεντούκλων, οἷον νευρικά.): ἔχειν [...] **στηθιστήρια** σιδηρᾶ ἢ ἀπὸ κεντούκλων ἢ κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν ᾿Αβάρων σκέπεσθαι τὰ στήθη καὶ τοὺς τραχήλους αὐτῶν, καὶ μάλιστα τῶν προτασσομένων ἐν τῇ μάχῃ.; and also Mihăescu's interpretation (1968, 487). The reference to the protective character of the *stethisteria*, and also Leo's addition of quilted armour (*neurika*) to the materials from which it was made, may suggest that it was an element of horse armour.

[38] See e.g. Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 32/1; *Sinai*, fig. 66; *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 261 (= *Byzantium*, no. 191); breast-bands in the form of a single strap or a pair of parallel, horizontal straps are also depicted in the *Madrid Skylitzes* on fols. 11r, 12r, 13v, 15v–16v, 18v–19r, 22v, 30r–31r, 32v, 34v, 35v, 36v–37r, 43r, 46r, 54v–56r, 58v–59v, 60v 72r–73v, 80r, 85v–86r, 87v, 108v, 122v, 156r, 160r–162v, 163v–164r, 165v–168r, 169r–v, 170v–171v, 175r–177r, 178r, 181r–183r, 184v–185r, 186v, 195r–v, 222v, 224v, 229r, 230r–v (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 4, 6–7, 11, 18–19, 27–28, 39, 58–60, 64, 69, 72, 75–77, 94–95, 104, 128–129, 131–133, 141–143, 146, 177–181, 195, 208–210, 215, 245, 284, 393, 405–410, 412–414, 417–422, 424–425, 427–429, 441–445, 447–448, 454–457, 461–462, 465–467, 528, 531–532, 542, 544–545).

[39] See e.g. Hunt 1991, figs. 1, 11 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 261; *Byzantium*, no. 191); Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 21, 28–29, 32; and also above, n. 12.

[40] See Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 246–247, 250; and the photo in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington, neg. DO. L.75.1174(AC). A noseband also appears on St Prokopios's horse in the *Theodore Psalter, Brit. Add. 19352*, fol. 85v; and also on St Theodore's steed on a fresco in the Church of the Saviour in Megara (Der Nersessian 1970, fig. 139; Skawran 1982, fig. 335).

[41] See e.g.: Weitzmann 1976, nos. B43–44; Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 246–247, 250; Der Nersessian 1970, fig. 139. Pendant straps attached to the haunch-strap also appear on miniatures in the *Madrid Skylitzes* painted by Master I and Master III on fols. 11v–13r, 15v–16v, 18v, 22v, 30v–31r, 34v, 36v–37r, 43r, 46r, 54r–56r, 58v–59v, 72r, 73v, 80r, 85v–86r, 87v, 221r, 222v, 224v, 229r, 230v, 232r–v, 234r (Tsamakda 2002, figs. 4–7, 11, 18–19, 27, 39, 58–60, 69, 75–76, 94–95, 104, 130–133, 141–143, 177, 180–181, 195, 208–210, 213, 525, 528, 531–532, 542, 545, 548–549, 553).

tassels are painted on an icon of St George in the British Museum (fig. 56) and on a fresco of St George on the north-eastern arcade of the church of the Saviour in Megara; similar decoration is also found on the haunch and pendant straps of St Sergios's mount on a thirteenth-century Sinai icon and on the headstall and the ends of the pendant straps of the steeds of Sergios and Bakchos on the reverse of an icon of the Virgin Aristerokratousa in the same monastery (fig. 63).[42] Harness decoration in the form of four tassels (τουφία) on the haunch-strap and two on the headstall, are mentioned in Maurice's *Strategikon*, and repeated in Leo's *Taktika*.[43]

The decorative character of the warrior saints' horse furniture in twelfth and thirteenth century painting is also stressed by the red colour that is most frequently used to depict the girth, haunch-straps and bridle (figs. 30f, 63, 87).[44] Another method of underlining the high value of horse harness in Middle Byzantine art is to show straps set

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[42] See Skawran 1982, fig. 335; Hunt 1991, figs. 1, 2, 11 (= *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 261; *Byzantium*, no. 191; *Sinai*, fig. 66); in the case of the Sinai icon of Sergios and Bakchos worthy of attention are the additional breeching straps securing the haunch-straps from above (for a similar solution used in the harness found in Qustul see above, p. 387), and also the clearly visible elements of a curb bridle (cheeks and shanks). This last element is also visible on the 'Freiburg Leaf' from Freiburg im Breisgau (see *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 318) (fig. 58), on a fresco in the church of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos in Kastoria (Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 21 on p. 41), and on the same icon of St Sergios from the monastery on Mt Sinai. Taking into account that on the majority of Byzantine depictions the bit—which was already known to the Celts (Gamber 1978, fig. 355)—is not visible, and also the lack of source references and preserved objects one can assume that the curb bit was not widespread in the Empire, and that its introduction to the iconography took place under the influence of Latin Crusader culture.

[43] See above, n. 34. Vegetius (made of byssus p. 136 [III 5]) lists *tufae* (probably suspended from a pole, as on a horse-tail standard) among the 'mute signals' beneath which an army marches, alongside eagles, dracos and various other standards (*Muta signa sunt aquilae, dracones, vexilla, flammulae, tufae pinnae; quocumque enim haec ferri iusserit ductor, eo necesse est signum suum comitantes milites pergant.*); they are attributed a similar function by Lydos (see above, n. 69 on p. 329); whereas Maurice (Strat., p. 78[12] [I 2]) uses the term to describe a helmet crest. Mango (1993, 6) identifies as a *touphia* the helmet crest of an equestrian statue of Justinian that surmounted his now lost column (on the basis of a drawing on fol. 144v of codex *Ms 35* in the Budapest University Library) and points out the word's Germanic origins; see also Mihăescu 1968, 488–9. Kolias (1988, 62–3) and Babuin (2001, 16–17 n. 51) cite the *Christian topography* of Kosmas Indikopleustes, which states that *touphia* were made from the hair of the wild Indian ox; they also identify depictions of *touphia* in the *Khludov Psalter* and the *Manasses Chronicle*. In turn, Ps. Kodinos (p. 145[4–9], 163[10] [II], 170[4–5] [III]) mentions the red tassels (φοῦντα κόκκινα) that adorned the emperor's reins.

[44] See e.g. *Glory of Byzantium*, no. 261 (= *Byzantium*, no. 191); Pelekanidis/Chatzidakis 1985, fig. 21 on p. 41; Hunt 1991, figs. 1–2, 12 (= *Sinai*, fig. 66).

with precious stones, as in the Chapel of the Snake in Göreme (fig. 42), or pearls, as on the steeds of St Prokopios on fol. 85v of the *London Psalter (Brit. Add. 19,352)* and St Theodore on a fresco in the church of Hagioi Theodoroi near Kaphiona on the Mani.[45] An extreme example of this trend are the gold-covered straps of St George's horse in the narthex of the Panagia Phorbiotissa church in Asinou (fig. 32).[46] In *De ceremoniis* we find references to richly decorated imperial horse harness with gilded reins, while Theophanes the Confessor mentions the golden saddle of the Persian commander Razates among the booty captured by Heraclius in the Persian camp.[47] The silver and gold harness of the Greek envoys' horses at the caliph of Bagdad's court (in 1002) are immortalized by the Arab chronicler Al-Hatib Al-Bagdadi.[48] At the battle of Larissa the Byzantine horses were covered by a purple imperial *ephestris*.[49] Choniates writes that Gabras, who was sent by Manuel I with an embassy to Kilij Arslan II (18 September 1176), received a Nesaian horse with a silver bridle as a gift from the sultan.[50] In turn, the epic of Digenes Akritas describes the horses of his father the emir and of the Amazon Maximo, which had silver-shod and dyed hooves, and dyed tails braided with pearls. The emir's horse had a red and green saddlecloth embroidered with eagles, Maximo's a gilded

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[45] See Restle 1967, vol. 2, figs. 246–47, 250; Der Nersessian 1970, fig. 139; Drandakes 1995, fig. 21 on p. 94; see also St Bakchos's pearl-adorned black horse harness on a Sinaian icon of the Virgin *Aristerokratousa*; and the harness of St Theodore's steed on a fresco decorated by a Sinaian painter in the 13th-C. Melkite monastery in Qara (between Damascus and Antioch); Hunt 1991, 98, figs. 2, 4; *Sinai*, no. 66. Repoussé pearling also appears on the harness of St George's horse on an 11th-C. Georgian silver icon from Lanchavan, and on a fresco by Master Theodore in the 12th-C. Georgian church in Kala (Tschubinaschvili 1959, fig. 190; Novello/Beridze/Dosogne 1980, fig. 116).

[46] See Stylianou 1997, fig. 70 (= neg. nos. AS/B 67.29 and Acc. 00-15029 in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington).

[47] See De Cer. [Vogt] 1:72[32] [I 10], 92[21–22], 97[22–23] [I 26]: Ὁ δὲ ἵππος ἔστρωται σελλοχάλινον χουσοῦν; Theophanes, 1:312[17]: καὶ τὴν σέλλαν αὐτοῦ ὁλόχρυσον; and above, n. 21 on the subject of decorative saddlecloths. On the adornment of horses during the March parades of the Byzantine army in the period before Iconoclasm see Kaegi 1975, 64.

[48] See Vasiliev, 2/2:73, and also 76 (on the decorative horse harness of mercenary formations).

[49] Komnene, 2:28[2] [IV 6/2]: τοὺς ἵππους μετὰ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐρυθρῶν ἐφεστρίδων, although this description should be treated with care, as she may have been exaggerating here.

[50] Choniates, p. 189[52–3]. Nesaian horses, which came from the Persian plains, were described by Herodotus [VII 40] as sacred.

saddle and reins inlaid with golden flowers.[51] The lavish horse tack in such descriptions is evidence that among the Byzantine aristocracy—as with the chivalry of Western Europe—rich horse furniture had became an indicator of social status. The emphasis on the decorativeness of this element in the iconography of the warrior saints, especially in respect of their patronage over the great aristocratic families of Anatolia, was justified.

Spurs

Wooden spurs, which amplify the prodding of the rider's heel in the horse's flank to force a quicker pace, had been known in Classical Greece, although painted images on vases suggest they were viewed as characteristic of Amazons. We can assume that initially a single spur was worn on the left foot.[52] Metal spurs with a short goad and simple, slightly curved yoke spread through Europe in the third century BC thanks to the Celts. In an evolved form spurs were adopted in the Roman Empire, where they were known as *calcar*, although their use was mainly restricted to high-ranking state officials.[53]

There is no evidence for the use of spurs in the Early Byzantine period.[54] This may be because, with the exception of heavily armoured *ka-*

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[51] On the emir's horse see DIG. AKR., p. 238^{10-16}; the horse of the Amazon Maximo, p. 184^{554-5} [VI] (= $348^{1486-89}$), 354^{1560} (= 356^{1590}); and the horse of Digenes' fiancée, whose decorative bridle was embroidered with pearls (p. 114^{822} [IV], 318^{1059}). Warrior saints shown with horses that have tails decoratively tied in a knot include St Eustathios on fol. 52r in the Athonite *Menologion Esphigmenou*, and St George above the entrance to the rock-cut church (of 1282–1304) dedicated to him in Berĭsirama (*Athos*, vol. B', fig. 329; Restle 1967, vol. 3. fig. 515). In the first example the horse also has an interesting gold saddle with high arches.

[52] See Żygulski 1998, 103; Łuszczyk (1936, 235–6) on the basis of the rarity of finds in early medieval and Carolingian burials, also assumes that the custom of using a single spur persisted in Europe. On the evolution of spur forms from antiquity to the Middle Ages see P. Krenn, "Sporen", *BKR*, p. 240.

[53] On finds in Hradiště near Stradonice in the Czech Republic, on the Rhine, at Dura Europos, in Italy and Greece, and also on Nordic spurs from the Late Roman period see James (2004, 54, 96, fig. 44/325–6) and Łuszczyk (1936, 235; and his reconstruction of late La Tène spurs found in Holstein). Gamber (1978, 424, fig. 356) indicates that spurs appeared in Europe during the La Tène period (1st C. BC). On Roman bronze spurs see Bishop/Coulston 1993, 182. On Greco-Roman spurs used from the 3rd to 2nd BC see Hoffmeyer (1966, 51, 115), who indicates that the Sarmatians used spurs by the 3rd C. BC at latest.

[54] On the subject of early medieval spurs with weakly developed goads see Kirpichnikov (1973, 56–8, figs. 34/1–4; which includes 5th to 8th-C. finds from Poland,

taphraktoi whose horses were insulated from external stimuli by their barding, a kick with the heel was enough to urge the mount on.[55] On the other hand, the use of spurs by cataphracts carried with it the danger of snagging the sharp end of the spur in the saddlecloth or barding, thereby immobilizing the rider's leg.[56] The earliest depictions of spurs in the Byzantine military iconography appear only at the turn of the tenth and eleventh centuries in two scenes—a duel, and the storming of a town—on fols. 6v and 7v in the Venetian manuscript of Pseudo-Oppian's *Kynegetika* (*Ven. Marcianus gr. 479*).[57] Anna Komnene refers to spurs as characteristic of Norman cavalrymen at the battle at Larissa (1082) and notes that they interfered with walking,[58] which allows us to assume that their reintroduction to the Empire came as the result of Western knightly custom. This seems to be confirmed in the iconography of the warrior saints, where spurs with a yoke fastened at the front by a strap and with a sharp prick appear only in the thirteenth century in works connected with Crusader circles. Spurs whose yokes are fastened by a strap that encompasses the foot are visible on an icon with St George in the British Museum; on a drawing with George

Ukraine, Belarus and the Czech Republic); Kirpichnikov notes that the first (unclear) reference to spurs in the Ruthenian chronicles seems to be made by Nestor in 1068, where he speaks of "ударища в коньи".

55 Hyland (1994, 17) explains the evolution of the long-necked Western European form of spurs by the need to reach under the horse's armour or cloth caparison.

56 KOMNENE (1:163$^{22-5}$ [IV 7/1]) describes how Alexios I was pursued and nearly dismounted by Normans during a combat with Robert Guiscard (1057–17 July 1085) at Dyrrachion (October 1081) but managed to stay on his horse as the prick of his left spur had caught in the saddle-cloth (Ναὶ μὴν καὶ ἡ τοῦ μύωπος ἀκμὴ τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ ποδὸς ἐνδακοῦσα τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ἐφεστρίδος, ὃ ὑπόστρωμα λέγουσιν, ἀκλινέστερον τὸν ἱππότην ἐποίει.) The same danger is also mentioned by Hyland 1994, 17.

57 See Kádár 1978, figs. 142/1, 3. Cf. also Hoffmeyer (1966, 51) who mentions spurs depicted in the *Madrid Skylitzes* without giving specific examples.

58 KOMNENE, 2:29$^{3-7}$ [V 6/2]: τὸ δέ τι καὶ διὰ τὰ τῶν πεδίλων **προάλματα** καὶ δρόμον ἀνεπιτήδειον εὐχειρότατός τε τηνικαῦτα γίνεται καὶ ἀλλοῖος παντάπασιν ἢ πρότερον ὀκλαζούσης οἷον καὶ τῆς ψυχικῆς αὐτῷ προθυμίας. At the battle of Larissa spurs were also worn by the Greeks (see above, n. 56). Her term προάλματα derives from the verb προάλλομαι—'drive on, push forward'. References to spurs can also be found in the Grottaferrata version of DIG. AKR., pp. 12^{157} [I] ('he used spurs'—καταπτέρνισμά), 80^{227} [IV] ('spurs encrusted with precious stones'—**τὰ πτερμιστύρια** πλκετὰ μεπὰ λίθων τιμίων), 184^{572} [VI] (meeting the Amazon Maximo, Digenes 'urges his horse on with his spurs'—Καί αὐτίκα τὸν ἵππον μου κεντήσας ταῖς **περόναις**). The uncertain dating of the text does not allow us to determine whether the references are earlier than those in the *Alexiad*, but the lack of established terminology—referring to the verb 'drive forward'—and the *peroni* fibula (probably in view of the presence in both items of sharp points) indicate that spurs were not widely used in the Middle Byzantine period.

and Theodore on horseback in the Augustiner-Museum, Freiburg im Breisgau; and on equestrian images of Sts Sergios and Bakchos on the reverse of a Sinaian icon of the Virgin Aristerokratousa[59] (figs. 56, 58 & 63). Leather straps for securing the spur, which has an elaborately shaped, elongated goad, are clearly visible on a fresco with St George in the church of St John Chrysostom in Geraki (fig. 97).[60] A similar arrangement to the above examples is seen on a spur from the period of Crusader rule (early thirteenth century) found during excavations in 1995–96 in the ruins of the monastery of St George *Diasoritis* at Vrontokastro near Kavala.[61] This spur has a yoke terminating in a buckle and a metal plate with an opening for threading the strap (fig. 98).

Meanwhile, the sharp pointed goads and straight necks of the spurs of the military saints are closer in form to Bulgarian (types 1–4) and Russian finds (Kirpichnikov's type II, classified as dating from the same period)[62] rather than the Vrontokastro spur which ends with a fork and a star-shaped rowel. The late introduction of the spur into the iconography of Orthodox military saints is evidence that it was directly borrowed from Western European art, where spurs appear in the eleventh century (fig. 54a).[63] In the era when the icons mentioned came into being, depictions of knights with spurs were common in the West (fig. 99).[64] It should therefore be recognized that the spur motif was a foreign interjection into Byzantine art, and its introduction into the iconography of the military saints was an expression of the wider

[59] See *Glory of Byzantium*, nos. 261, 318 (= *Byzantium*, no. 191; Hunt 1991, fig. 17); *Sinai*, fig. 66. Spurs are just barely discernable on a mural in the nave of the katholikon in the monastery of St Moses the Ethiopian (Mar Musa al-Habashi) near Nebek in Syria, painted under Crusader rule (Dodd 1992, fig. 28).

[60] See Moutsopoulos/Demetrokalles 1981, figs. 65, 67, and in colour on fig. 13.

[61] See Zekos/Bakirtzes 1996, 854, fig. 14. Dating was facilitated by other metal elements found in the same cultural layer, including coins of the Latin Empire. A metal rod with a *c*.6.5 cm-long prong and inwards-turned wheel found in the ruins of the Great Palace is too fragmentary to identify it as a spur from the time of Manuel I (Brett 1947, 99). A spur with a rowel found in Pliska is dated to the 9th/10th C. by Iotov (2004, 170–1, fig. 104), but its shape and proportions clearly differ from the Vrontokastro find.

[62] See Iotov 2004, 161–8, figs. 96–102; Kirpichnikov 1973, 62–7, 70, fig. 37, and examples: figs. 13/1–6 (originating from Russia, dated to the 13th C.).

[63] See e.g. depictions of horsemen and sometimes also soldiers on foot on the Bayeux Tapestry (Rud 1983, 87, figs. on pp. 10–11, 39, 43, 45–53, 56, 68–69, 74–75, 86–88.

[64] See e.g. France 1999, figs. 2–3.

process of Westernization that was taking place under the influence of the knightly culture of the Crusaders in the thirteenth century.[65]

The Horse Armour Problem

The late antique tradition of the heavily armoured horseman or cataphract on an armoured steed was still alive in Byzantium. This is evident from the military manuals and chroniclers' accounts as well as the occasional rare depiction—for example, on a miniature in the *Madrid Skylitzes* (fol. 31r) showing Thomas the Slav riding a horse with *neurika* barding that reaches down almost to the knees of his mount (fig. 87).[66] One must therefore consider why horse armour is absent from the iconography of the warrior saints. There are at least three possible reasons.

The first could be iconographic traditionalism, which allows certain motifs (such as stirrups and high saddles) to be updated within the framework of a composition known since antiquity, but does not permit its overall structure to be broken by the introduction of a significant element such as a barding which covers the whole of the horse. The iconographic type of the cataphract on a fully barded horse has been marginal since antiquity; it appears in Persian art (fig. 53), and

[65] On the Gothic shield and the *phlamoulon* banner see above, pp. 235 and 341.

[66] See above, p. 139, and also references in Dig. Akr., 326[1159], 330[1234], 342[1404] (ἱππάρια ἀφιρωμένα); and in Al-Mutanabbi's poem on Sayf al-Dawla's victory over the 'domestic' in 965, see Vasiliev, 2/2:333[16–17], where he mentions Byzantine horses wearing claddings of iron, underneath which their legs were not visible, and the analysis of these sources by McGeer (1995, 216) and Haldon (1975, 40–1). For examples of Roman multi-part chamfrons which are often supplemented with eyeguards for the horse see Robinson 1975, figs. 514–16 (from Newstead *c.* AD 98–100—reconstruction in the National Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh [= Gamber 1978, fig. 373]), 517 (eye-guards from Ribchester in the British Museum), 518, 520 (eyeguards in Mainz and Corbridge), 522–6 (three-piece chamfrons covering the entire front of the head [see also Gamber 1978, fig. 389]), and 527–8 (decorative openwork chamfrons). On the subject of the scale barding discovered at Dura-Europos and now in the Archaeological Museum, Damascus see above, nn. 55 on p. 137, 60 on p. 139; and Diethart/Dintsis 1984, figs. 11–12). Medieval evidence for the use of horse armour includes the elaborate iron chamfron dating from *c.*1200 found at Romashki near Kiev (Gamber 1995, 10, fig. 18). In general on Byzantine horse armour and 'hippo-sandals' (hoof guards) which protected against spiked caltrops (*triboloi*), see Haldon 1999, 132 and n. 97 on p. 324. Rance (2008, 729–32) quotes an unpublished *Life of St Philaretos* concerning the war in Sicily against the Arabs, as proof that such 'hoof-plates' were a mid-Byzantine innovation. Reconstructions of the horse armour used by cataphracts are published by Dawson 2009, 42, colour plates A, F6 and H.

occasionally in folk art,[67] but was almost never adopted by the official imperial propaganda, for which 'high' art was created.[68] The natural consequence may have been the adoption by Byzantine artists of the more common and culturally familiar variant of depicting the mount without armour.

A second reason for this state of affairs may lie in the small numbers and ephemeral existence of cataphract formations. As can be inferred from Nikephoros Phokas's treatise (which deals with heavy cavalry in most detail), cataphracts constituted only the offensive core of the army's cavalry. As part of a larger battle-line the emperor advised employing just 504 cataphracts, of which 150 were to be equipped with bows; when the *strategos* had a smaller army at his disposal, Nikephoros advised deploying only 384 cataphracts of which 180 were to be archers. The wedge-like formation of this unit was intended to break through the enemy's battle-line.[69] According to Eric McGeer, although cataphracts formed the elite of the army, their numbers never exceeded six hundred horsemen; compared to the whole of Phokas's forces, which he estimates at *c.*25,000, this amounts to barely five percent of the army.[70]

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[67] Other ancient Asiatic depictions of horsemen on armoured horses besides the Dura-Europos graffito include the bas-relief from Kalchayan in Uzbekistan (1st C. BC–1st C. AD); reliefs from Naqsh-i-Rustam with battle scenes involving the Persian king Hormizd II (302–309); reliefs from Firuzabad (after 226); and reliefs from Tang-i Sarvak (3rd C. AD) and Chosroes II from Taq-i Bustan (see e.g. Mielczarek 1993, figs. 6, 9–12, 14, and above, n. 60 on p. 139; Parani 2003, 138). An interesting terracotta figure of a Chinese *klibanarios* of *c.* 500 (in the Museum of Chinese History, Beijing) is reproduced by Gamber 1993, 12, fig. 19. In turn Parani (2003, 151) regards the absence of cuirasses of *klibanarioi* from the iconography of the equestrian warrior saints as an especially unrealistic feature.

[68] A rare exception appears on Trajan's column, where Sarmatian cataphracts are depicted in a somewhat fantastical manner, with the entire bodies of horses and riders unrealistically covered with scales—evidence that the Romans did not understand the form and function of horse armour (see e. g. MacDowall 1995, fig. on p. 8; Mielczarek 1993, figs. 1–2).

[69] See PRAECEPTA, p. 36^{46-53} [III 6] (≈ TNU [MG], p. 114^{58-66} [XL 6]): δεῖ δὲ συνεῖναι τοῖς καταφρὰκτοις ἐν τῷ μέσῳ καὶ τοξότας, ὅπως ὑπ' αὐτῶν φυλάσσωνται. καὶ οἱ μέν πρόμαχοι αὐτῶν καὶ οἱ δεύτεροι καὶ οἱ τρίτοι καὶ οἱ τέταρτοι μὴ ἔστωσαν τοξόται, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ πέμπτου ὀρδίνου καὶ ἕως τῶν οὐραίων. καὶ εἰ μέν ἐστι πεντακοσίων τεσσάρων ὁ ἀριθμος τῆς παρατάξεως τῶν καταφράκτων, ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα τοξότας. εἰ δέ ἐστι τριακοσίων (τεσσάρων καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα), ἔχειν αὐτοὺς ὀγδοήκοντα τοξότας. For the cataphract wedge formation, which was clearly intended to break open enemy formations, see TNU [MG], p. 104^{133-52} [LVII 13].

[70] See McGeer (1995, 217), who also draws attention to advice in the PRAECEPTA to compensate for any shortage of heavy cavalry by positioning ordinary lancers in the interior ranks of formations (p. 3869–72 [III 9] ≈ TNU [MG], p. 116^{81-6} [XL 9]).

The third, possibly most significant reason, is the lack of hagiographic evidence that might link the warrior saints with cataphract formations. Horse armour was a distinguishing feature of this type of cavalry and its use in images of the megalomartyrs may have been wrongly perceived as identifying them as soldiers of a cataphract formation, which is of course not confirmed in any of the warrior saints' *Lives.*

Conclusions

Crucial to the understanding of changes in the iconography of equestrian saints is the introduction in the sixth century of stirrups and the resulting alterations in riding posture and the shape of the saddle. The tradition of the equestrian image was deeply rooted in Classical imperial iconography (especially the monument of Marcus Aurelius on the Capitoline Hill, and the equestrian statue of Theodosius set up by Justinian as his own on a column in front of the Hagia Sophia). From the eighth century, however, the earlier formula with the rider's feet dangling freely in the air and his knees clasped tightly to the horse's flanks is entirely replaced in favour of a new arrangement with the rider sitting upright in a high saddle with legs supported on stirrups. This is seen not only in Byzantium itself, but also in the art of neighbouring countries (Georgia, Armenia, Rus', the Balkan states, Egypt and Nubia). The change is clear evidence of artists finding inspiration in models taken from the world around them rather than copying solutions from Classical art.

The remaining items of horse harness—headstall and bridle straps, breast-band and haunch straps, which in Byzantium carried traditional, Classical names (Greek or Roman)—do not seem to have undergone significant changes, and in art we observe the continued use of their earlier forms. A minor, but noticeable, change is observable in the evolution of harness ornaments, which at first mainly take the form of various types of pendants and tassels attached to the harness straps; with time the leather straps themselves become more decorative, and towards the end of our period are normally shown painted red or occasionally even gold.

A series of omissions in the representation of holy riders compared to known cavalry practice should also be pointed out. These include the absence of spurs, which were known in antiquity, but which first appear in art only as a result of Crusader influence. Absent too from

the images are sacks for carrying provisions and portmanteaux for carrying armour recommended in the military manuals. More significant is the absence of horse armour typical for cataphract horsemen, which indicates that the mounted representations of warrior saints did not reflect the appearance of this particularly important Byzantine military formation.

To sum up, in the iconography of equestrian equipment, as with armour, garments and weapons, a general principle can be discerned whereby certain elements, such as saddle and stirrups, are updated, but the arrangement of the composition as a whole is more conservative and most commonly repeats the forms rooted in the Classical tradition of the ceremonial image of the commander.

CONCLUSIONS

Our examination of the military equipment and attire of the military saints allows us (despite our still incomplete knowledge of how the imperial army was equipped) to formulate general theories regarding the iconographic content and the meaning it carries. Foremost is the observation that when depicting the various elements of military gear, the artists, while preserving the Classical compositional formulas of the armoured warrior with shield, lance and sword, normally imitated the designs used in the army of their own day.[1] This is most evident from the introduction into the iconography of such technological novelties as the long sword with a rounded (and later pointed) tip, the kite-shaped shield, followed by its later triangular form, and also stirrups. One can also interpret as a modernizing tendency the replacement of the archaizing muscled cuirass by lamellar corselets that were reminiscent of the form of the *klibanion* popular in the imperial army at the time.

The degree to which artists represented such fine detail varied depending on the period and the artistic milieu. The strongest reference to Classical military attire was made in art of the ninth to early eleventh centuries produced at the court of the Macedonian dynasty and by artists then connected with the capital, who relied heavily on traditional pictorial formulas.[2] This tendency is clearly visible in a group of imperial ivories (especially the *Harbaville* and *Borradaile* triptychs), where the warriors are depicted with bared forearms on the Classical model, and in a fresco of the same period from the church of the Virgin (Odalar mosque) showing St Merkourios in a muscled

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[1] The absence of items of arms, armour and costume that might allow warrior saints to be identified with a specific formation in the Byzantine army is also noted by Parani (2003, 150–1).

[2] Among the many works devoted to the continuation of antique pictorial traditions see e.g. Weitzmann 1978. Epstein/Kazhdan (1985, 141–4) point out that this tendency was mainly limited to 10th- and 11th-century art in circles connected with the imperial court. The uneven use of antique pictorial formulas in the iconography of the military saints is noticed by Parani (2003, 155–8), who comments that although individual items of armour such as the *klibanion* where updated (while preserving the ancient composition based on a traditional selection of items of equipment) this did not interfere with how the image was read.

cuirass with a broad sword in a scabbard with a flat-ended chape. Despite the traditionalism of the capital's artistic environment in this period, we should note that, under the influence of court ceremony, it produced a new type of warrior saint holding either a sword or a *spathobaklion* and wearing an officer's *spekion*. At the same time the fact that the attire of this new type directly reflected the uniforms of the *protospatharios* and *kandidatos* can be seen as an indication of the iconography being updated.

Gradually, artists replaced the classicizing elements of military attire with items of soldiers' equipment that they were familiar with. The level of detail in representations of military gear reached its peak in the second half of the twelfth century. Among the most important examples of this process are frescoes funded by the emperor in the katholika of the monasteries in Bera and Nerezi, and related decoration in the churches of the Anargyroi and St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria, in the katholikon of the monastery in Kurbinovo, as well as a group of murals in Cypriot churches. Although all these examples are connected with the Komnenoi dynasty, the meticulous reproduction of the various items of martial equipment should be ascribed more to the appearance of a new trend in art than to the military aristocratic origins of the founders' family and its strong connections with the army.

In Byzantine culture from the eleventh century, and particularly in the twelfth, one can observe in icon painting an emphasis on the value of imitating models taken from nature (τύπων μιμήματα), and not just the repetition of standard pictorial formulas (εἰκασμάτων εἰκάσματα), thanks to which the icon became 'a living picture' (ἔμψυχος γραφή). This mimetic attitude in Byzantine art, which Hans Belting called 'icons painted in the new style', may have appeared in the Eastern Church only a few hundred years after the defeat of the Iconoclast schism thanks to the consolidation of the place of the image in the liturgy as well as private devotion creating the need for a cult image that speaks (εὔλαλος) to a lay audience.[3] In view of the readily accessible model to imitate in the form of the imperial army, the group of

[3] See Belting (1994, 261–4, 269–73) who also indicates that another effect of the new view on the icon was the evolution of the narration depicted on it; see also the translations of source texts that he provides (pp. 518–19, 528–9): e.g. indications by the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos (16 Jan 1118—after 1152) concerning the veneration of the 'life-like' icons in the monastery he founded in Bera, and the *ekphrasis* of the icon of the Crucifixion by the pen of Michael Psellos, containing a detailed interpretation of the new aesthetics). On the abandoning of idealization in favour of

military saints provided a subject that was especially amenable for the realization of the new postulate of mimetism in art. Its inclusion into the new trend can be attested by literary evidence such as Theodore Prodromos's poem describing a painting with St Theodore Stratelates, in which he presents the saint as 'looking as if alive and even brandishing his lance',[4] as well as by an analysis of the depictions themselves. Possible specific evidence of the meticulous imitation of nature is a gold chain with small cross pendant on the chest of St Prokopios on a fresco in the church of Sts Kosmas and Damianos in Kastoria.[5] This motif was doubtless used by the painter in reference to the legend of the conversion of Neanias-Prokopios, who ordered the goldsmith Mark of Scythopolis to make a cross of gold and silver modelled on a crystal sign revealed to him during a vision he experienced near Apamea on the road to Alexandria. Even so, we can expect that Byzantine soldiers often wore this type of religious symbol.[6] A pendant of corresponding form and date to the one depicted on the Kastorian mural is held in the Kanellopoulos Collection, Athens (fig. 100).[7]

The process of adapting the warrior saint's appearance to the military realities of the time is especially vivid in Nubian and Egyptian artistic circles. Here artists were working in isolation from the mainstream art of the Empire (mainly for political reasons, but not infrequently also for doctrinal and religious ones), and created an independent variant of the military saint, whose clothing referred to local (Arab or Nubian) customs of arming soldiers. This phenomenon most emphatically makes us aware that the replication of traditional iconographical formulas was possible in the imperial capital with its copious relics of Classical material culture, but in provincial environments a process of costumological change quickly took hold. This observation may also apply to military saints in Georgian art, which was initially under the

realism and naturalism in depicting the world and man in 10th–13th-C. literature and art see also Epstein/Kazhdan 1985, 206–30.

[4] See Maguire 1996, 77.

[5] See Pelekanidis 1953, fig. 23/1; and Babuin's (2002, fig. 3) clearer drawing.

[6] For a summary of the legend see Delahaye 1909, 83; Mango, 144–5 (English translation). Walter (2003a, 95–6) points out the dependence of the legend of Neanias's conversion on the visions of St Paul and Constantine; in the context of the legend Gabelić (2005, 542–3, fig. 10) interprets a later example of the saint's image with a cross motif on his sword hilt on a narthex fresco in the monastery church in Lesnovo (1349).

[7] See also the Georgian cross of 'Queen Tamara' (1184–1213) (Novello/Beridze/Dosogne 1980, figs. 62–63).

influence of Persian pictorial tradition, but demonstrated considerable independence in the Middle Byzantine period. It should be stressed here that it is thanks to the attention of Byzantine and Georgian artists to the detail and construction of military equipment that the images of the warrior saints constitute valuable documentary evidence on the arms and armour of the Eastern Empire, a branch of material culture that is only fragmentarily preserved.

The last group of representations distinguished by their different treatment of soldiers' equipment belongs to the art of the thirteenth century created under Crusader rule, both on the former territory of Byzantium as well as at the point of contact with the still vibrant culture of the Orthodox Near East. The model of the warrior in chlamys and corselet, armed with lance, shield and sometimes also sword, which had its roots in antiquity, was destroyed as a result of the fall of the Empire in 1204 and the ensuing influx of pictorial formulas characteristic of the art of Europe's Latin states. The Crusaders adapted the cult of the warrior saints to their own needs, selecting St George as their main patron, and in Syria also Sts Sergios and Bakchos. Artists working at the junction of Byzantine and Latin cultures introduced changes in how the weapons and attire of the warrior saints were depicted, adapting their images to the real artefacts of knightly culture.[8] These changes involved the addition of items in everyday use in the Byzantine army that had not been employed earlier in the iconography of the saints, such as the bow, bowcase and arrows, along with new costume details, such as the surcoat and the triangular Gothic shield with heraldic blazon, which likened the saint to a Crusading knight. An unusual phenomenon in the art of this period is the employment of images of the saints as carriers of political ideas. By placing a red cross on a white field on the saints' shields and standards the Latin donors appropriated for themselves the saints who had traditionally been the Byzantine patrons of the Empire.[9] A response to this challenge was the attempt by the Greeks to create their own 'hagiographic'

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[8] According to Gerstel (2001, 267–73) the spread of equestrian depictions of St George in churches of the Peloponnese in the 13th C. was closely linked with the popularity of this redaction of his image in Crusading circles.

[9] Gerstel (2001, 265) notes the propagandistic nature of the red cross and western heraldry on warrior saints' standards and shields in art connected with the Crusader presence (for example in the chapel at Akronafplion).

heraldry in a form borrowed from Byzantine coinage, namely the motif of the cross or star on a crescent. This conflict can be regarded as one of the most interesting examples in the entire history of the art of the Eastern Church of the transfer of a political and social dispute to iconography.

Despite the changes introduced in the thirteenth century, the image of the warrior saint that had developed in Middle Byzantine art continued to be employed by artists in the Palaiologan era. This unrealistic attitude to the iconography of the military saints, so different from the preceding period, can be explained by the state's new military situation. There was no longer a model to imitate in the form of a native Byzantine army, which had been replaced by variously equipped formations of *pronoiars* and mercenaries from many parts of the world,[10] and it became necessary to look back to older models, both to underline the Hellenic ancestry of the military saints, and as reference to the era of the Empire's military greatness.[11]

A second important research problem is the choice of the warrior saints' weapons, or rather why they are limited to lance and sword. This might be read as a continuation of the antique compositional scheme used when depicting emperors and deities in military uniform. But such an interpretation begs the question of whether the phenomenon of the 'icons painted in the new style' can, in the case of the military saints, refer only to depiction of a detail of weaponry taken

[10] Although a taxation system based on land grants (*pronoia*) had been introduced in the 12th C., it was first used for the upkeep of the army by the Palaiologoi (M.C. Bartusis, "Pronoia. Fiscal Meaning", *ODB*, 3:1734). On the growing importance of foreign mercenaries in the imperial army from the time of Michael VIII Palaiologos, including Turks, Alans, Albanians, Georgians, Armenians, Cumans and Bulgars on the one hand, and Burgundians, Catalans, Englishmen, Hungarians, Italians and Cretans on the other, as well as on the *pronoiai* granted to them, see Heath 1995, 12–13, 21–4, 33–6; and Bartusis 1992, 139–212. The discrepancies between the actual armament of Balkan armies and the iconography of the military saints is pointed out by Marković (1995a, 211, figs. 22–23). Parani (2003, 151) presents a different picture, believing that the various elements of armament were depicted more scrupulously in the Palaiologan era than in earlier periods. An exception in her view are strongly classicizing works such as the murals in the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Saviour in Chora.

[11] A symptomatic example of reference to St Theodore in the imperial propaganda at the turn of the 13th/14th C. is a poem commissioned from Manuel Philes by the son of Michael VIII, Theodore Komnenos Palaiologos, in which he is able, with the saint's assistance, to perform feats that had proved impossible for Herakles (Maguire 1996, 77–8).

from life and whether solutions linking it with an archaic composition satisfied the needs of the Byzantine viewer.[12]

It is possible to propose a variant reading of the picture of the warrior saint—as modelled on the imperial palace guard. In favour of this interpretation is the image of military saints as guardians watching over Christ's throne, a motif already present in the writings of the Cappadocian Fathers.[13] It can also be read in the positioning of the saints in the work of art itself. On ivory triptychs, where saints depicted on the wings stand guard by the throne of the Supreme Leader, as well as when they stand in the narthex of the church or at the entrance to the nave watching over his shrine, they appear in the character of imperial guardsmen keeping watch at the side of the enthroned emperor or at the gates of his palace. This interpretation also allows one to explain how it was so easy for the Crusaders to replace the Byzantine type of the warrior saint with their own—which referred to the appearance of the Western knight.

Bearing in mind that the uniform of the capital's *tagmata* may have harked back to antique models it would seem to be possible to combine the two hypotheses. Just as further study is required on the relationship between the military saints as patrons and the circus factions and militias recruited from them, the links between the uniforms of *tagmata* warriors and their antique equivalent, soldiers of the Praetorian guard, would benefit from further detailed research, which may produce interesting results.

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[12] Parani (2007, 189) notes that in Byzantine religous art real objects are often combined with fanciful ones to create an overall picture that is far from reality.

[13] e.g. in the *enkomion* devoted to him, Gregory of Nyssa calls Theodore Teron one of God's *doryphoroi* (CAVARNOS, 10/1:63[25]–64[1] = MPG, 46:740: ὡς δορυφόρον τοῦ Θεοῦ παρακαλοῦντες. Procopius and other historians often mention *doryphoroi* accompanying the emperor (see above, n. 47 on p. 324). A similar interpretation of the selection of the military saints' weaponry in Middle Byzantine art is proposed by Parani (2003, 150).

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AnBoll	*Analecta Bollandiana. Revue critique d'hagiographie.* Brussels 1882 →
Ar	Археология. Орган на Археологыческий Институт и Музей при Българската Академия на Науките. София 1958 →
AS	*Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur, vel a Catholicis Scriptoribus celebrantur, vols.* 1–71, Paris 1863–70 (t. Ian. I–Oct. XI, 3), Bruxellis 1867–1925 (t. Oct. XII–Nov. IV).
BCA	*Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques*, Paris.
Berytus	*Berytus. Archaeological Studies published by the Museum of Archaeology of the American University of Beirut.* Beirut (Copenhagen) 1934 →
BF	*Byzantinische Forschungen. Internationale Zeitschrift für Byzantinistik.* Amsterdam 1966 →
[BHG]	F. Halkin, *Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca*, vols. 1–3, Bruxelles 1957 (3rd edition).
BiB	*Broń i Barwa. Biuletyn Stowarzyszenia Przyjaciół Muzeum Wojska.* Warszawa 1934–39.
BKR	*Bildwörterbuch der Kleidung und Rüstung. Vom Alten Orient bis zum ausgehenden Mittelalter*, red. H. Kühnel, Stuttgart 1992.
BM	*The Burlington Magazine.* London 1903 →
BMFS	*Byzantine Monastic Foundation Documents. A Complete Translation of the Surviving Founders' Typika and Testaments*, ed. J. Thomas and A. Constantinides Hero, (DOS 35) Washington 2000, vols. 1–5.
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies.* Oxford 1975 →
BSl	*Byzantinoslavica. Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines.* Praha 1929 →
Byz	*Byzantion. Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines.* Bruxelles 1924 → (reprint Vaduz 1962–64)
Byzantina	Επιστημονικόν όργανον Κέντρου Βυζαντινών Ερευνών Φιλοσοφικής Σχολής Αριστοτελίου Πανεπιστημίου. Θεσσαλονίκη 1969 →
ByzArch	*Byzantinisches Archiv.* Leipzig 1898 →
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift.* Leipzig (München) 1892 →
CA	*Cahiers Archéologiques. Fin de l'Antiquité et Moyen Âge*, Paris 1945 →
CFHB	*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae.* 1967 →
CSHB	*Corpus Scriptores Historiae Byzantinae*, ed. serii E. Weberi, Bonnae 1828–97.
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, red. F. Cabrol, H. Leclercq, U. I. Marrou, Paris 1907–53.
ΔΧΑΕ	Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας, Ἀθῆνα 1884 →
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Dumbarton Oaks, Washington 1941 →
DOS	*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, Washington.
EO	*Echos d'Orient. Revue d'histoire, de géographie et de liturgie orientale.* Bucuresti 1897–1940 (continued from 1943 as REB).
ET	*Études et Travaux. Travaux du centre d'archéologie méditerranéenne de l'Academie Polonaise des Sciences.* Warszawa 1959 →

Figura	*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis-Figura,* (Nova Series). Uppsala 1963 →
Gladius	*Gladius. Études sur les armes anciennes, l'armament l'art militaire et la vie culturelle en Orient et Occident.* Instituto de estudios sobre armas antiguas. Granada 1961 →
Historia	*Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte.* Wiesbaden 1952 →
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik.* Wien 1969 →
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes.* London 1937 →
LcI	*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie,* ed. E. Kirschbaum & W. Braunfels, vols. 5–8, Rom–Freiburg–Basel, 1968–76.
LIMGR	*Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie,* ed. W.H. Roscher, Leipzig 1890–1937 [reprints: Hildesheim 1965; Hildesheim–New York 1978]
MonPiot	*Monuments et Mémoires. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Fondation Eugéne Piot.* Paris 1894 →
MPG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca,* ed. J. P. Migne, Parisii 1857–66.
ODB	*The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium,* ed. A. P. Kazhdan, New York–Oxford 1991.
PBE I	*The Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire I (641–867),* ed. J. R. Martindale, Aldershot 2001 (electronic edition on CD-ROM).
PR	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* ed. A. von Pauly, G. Wissowa & W. Kroll, Stuttgart (München) 1893–1978.
RbK	*Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst,* ed. K. Wessel & M. Restle, Stuttgart 1966 →
REB	*Revue des études byzantines.* Paris 1943 → (published in the years 1943–46 as *Études Byzantines.* Bucareşti)
RRH	*Revue romaine d'histoire.* Bucureşti 1962 →
SemKond	*Receuil d études archéologie, histoire de l'art. Études byzantines (Seminarium Kondakovianum).* Prague 1927–39 (from 1937 as: *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov).*
Synaxarium CPL	*Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris,* ed. H. Delehaye, Bruxellis 1902.
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires. Revue du Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation Byzantines.* Paris 1965 →
VV	Византийский Временник. Москва—Ленинград 1947 → [Βυζαντινά Χρονικά]
WK	*Waffen- und Kostümkunde. Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Historische Waffen- und Kostümkunde.* München–Berlin 1959 →

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1. *List of sources*

a. *Primary sources in the original language*

When citing primary sources in the footnotes I have given the page of the edition and, when it exists the line number in superscript. Additionally, in square brackets I give the number of the book in roman numerals, and the chapter (and paragraph) in arabic numerals.

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ACHMET — *Achmetis Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexl, Lipsiae 1925.

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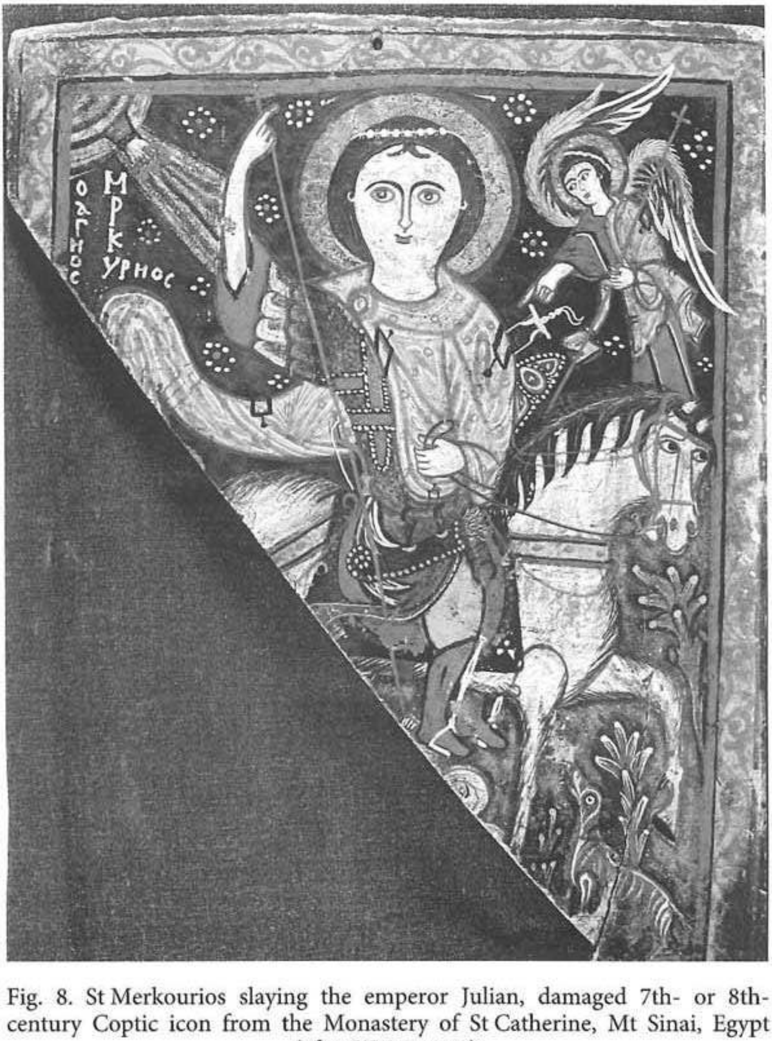


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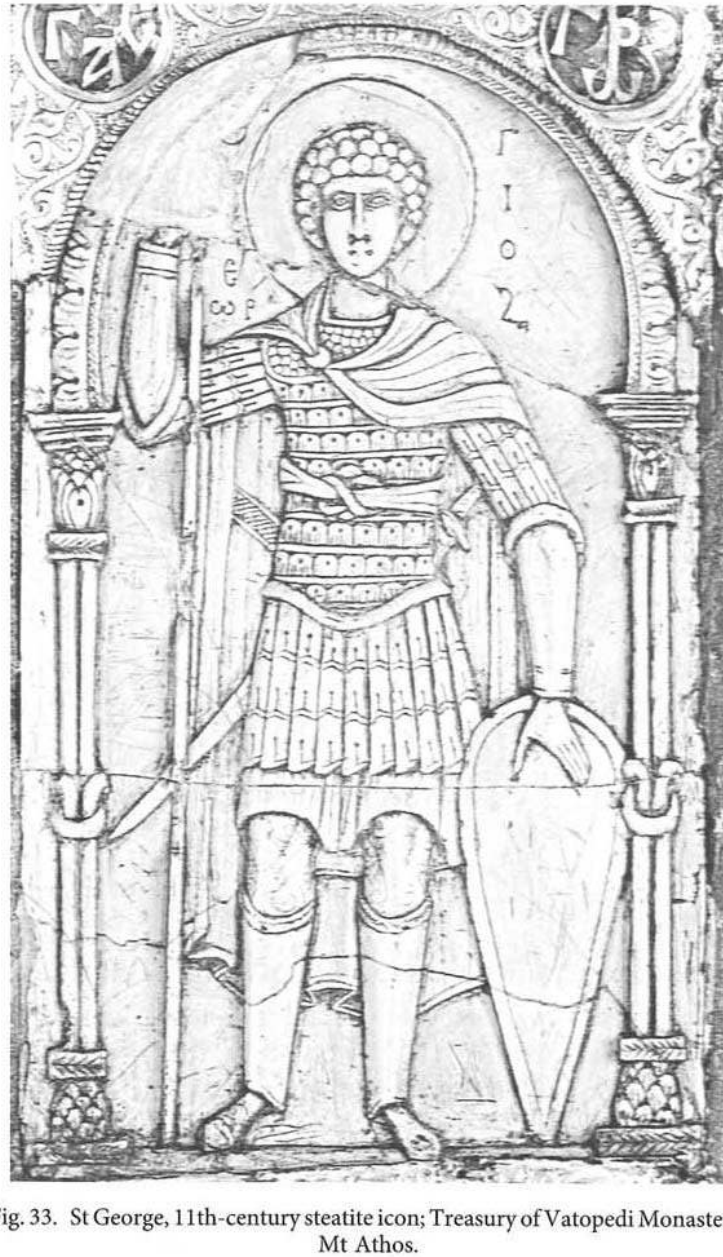
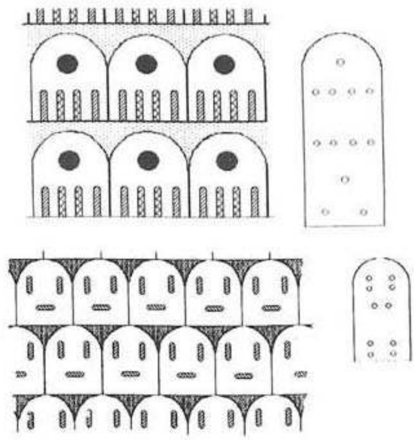


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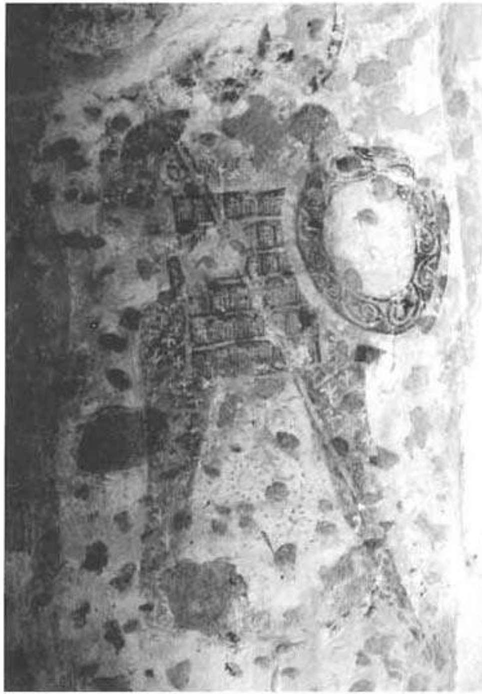


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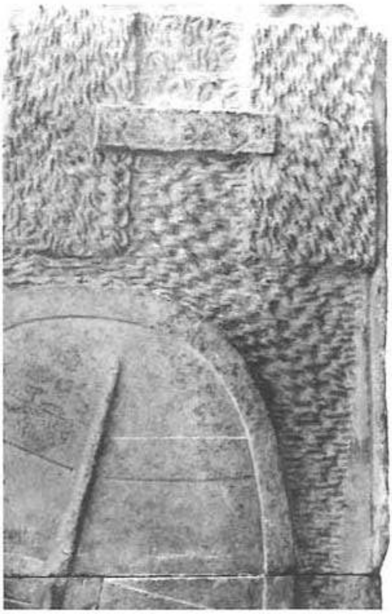


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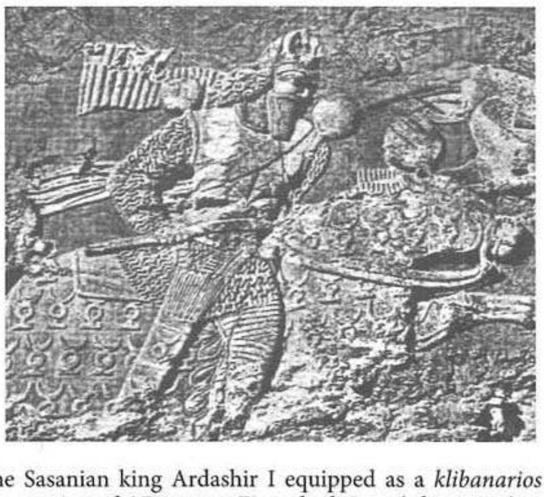


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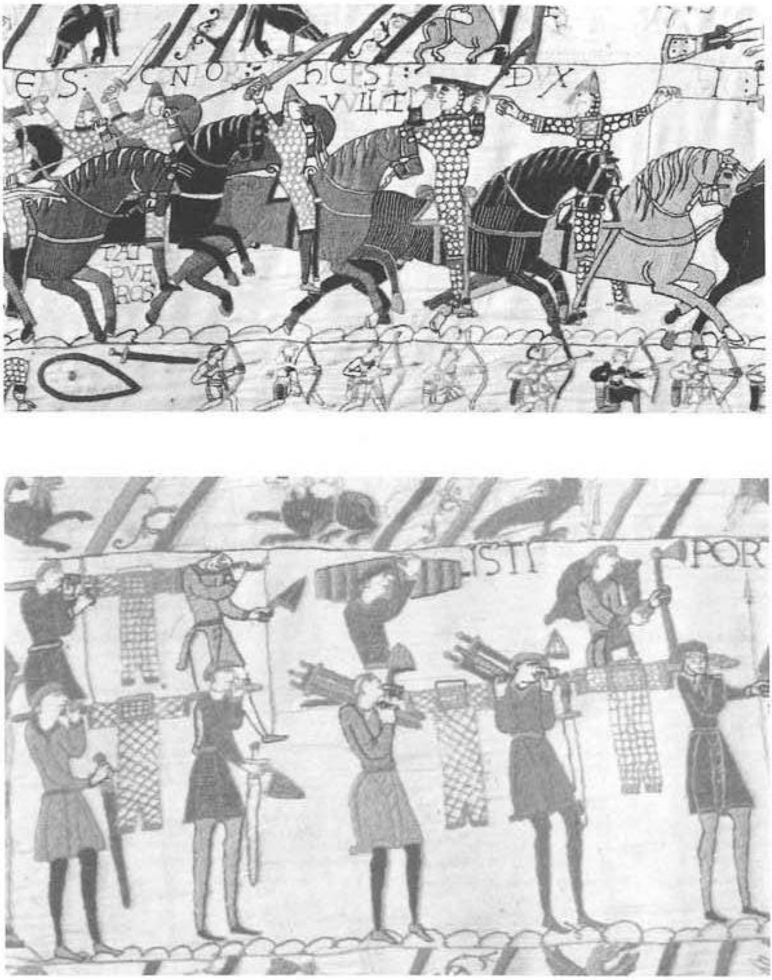


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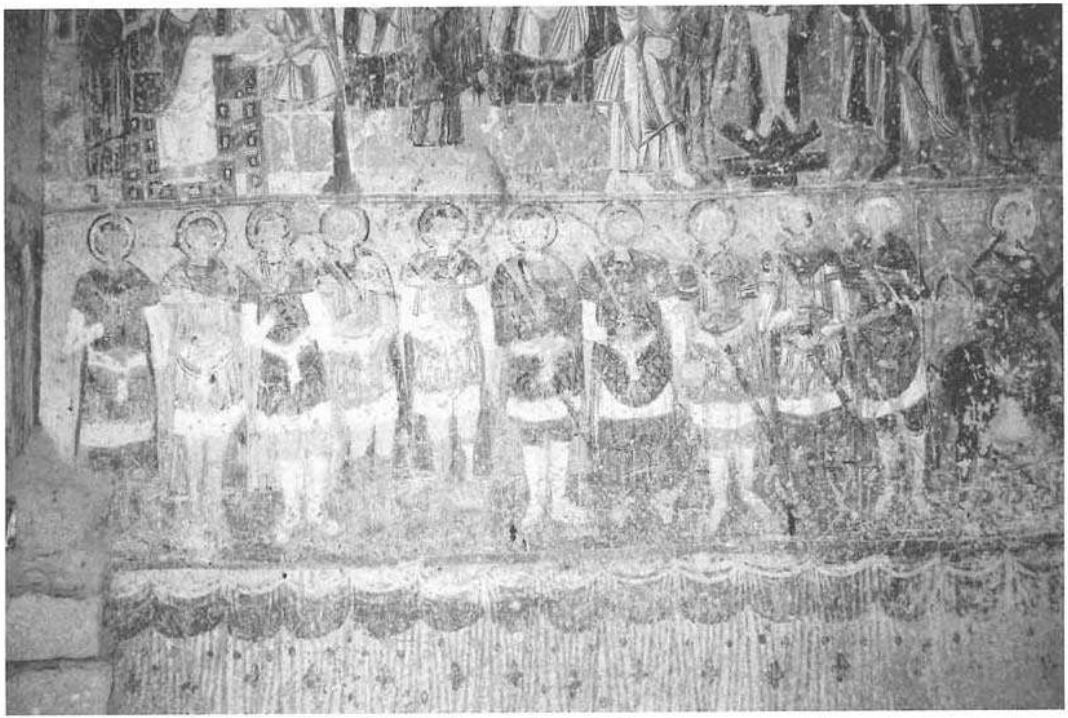


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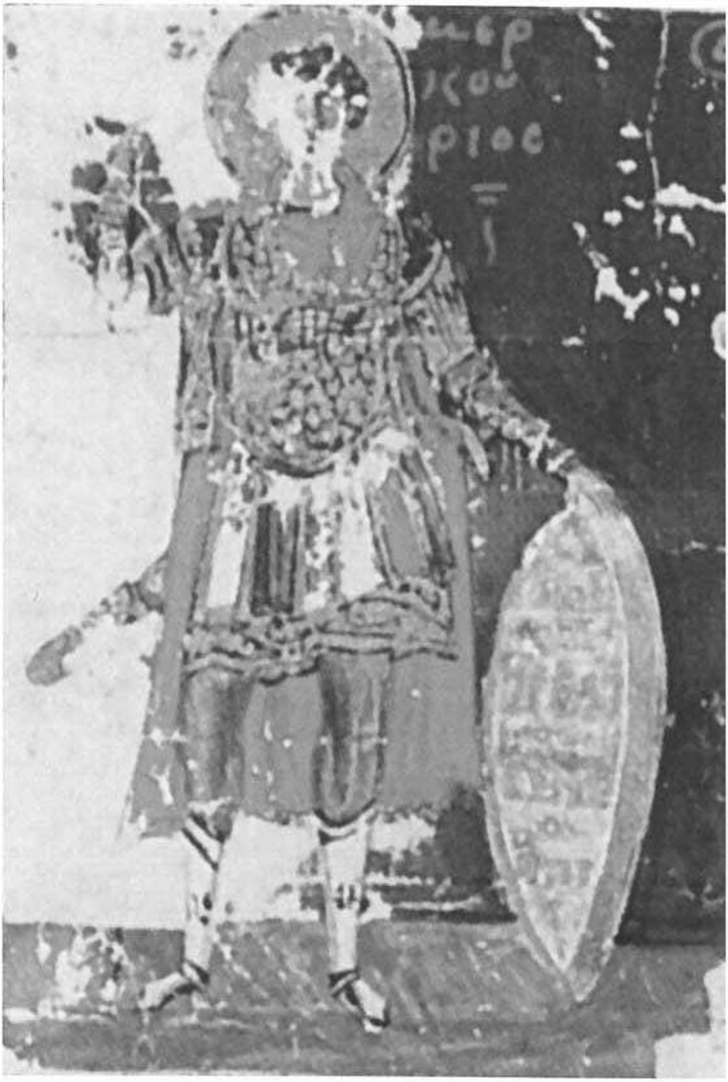


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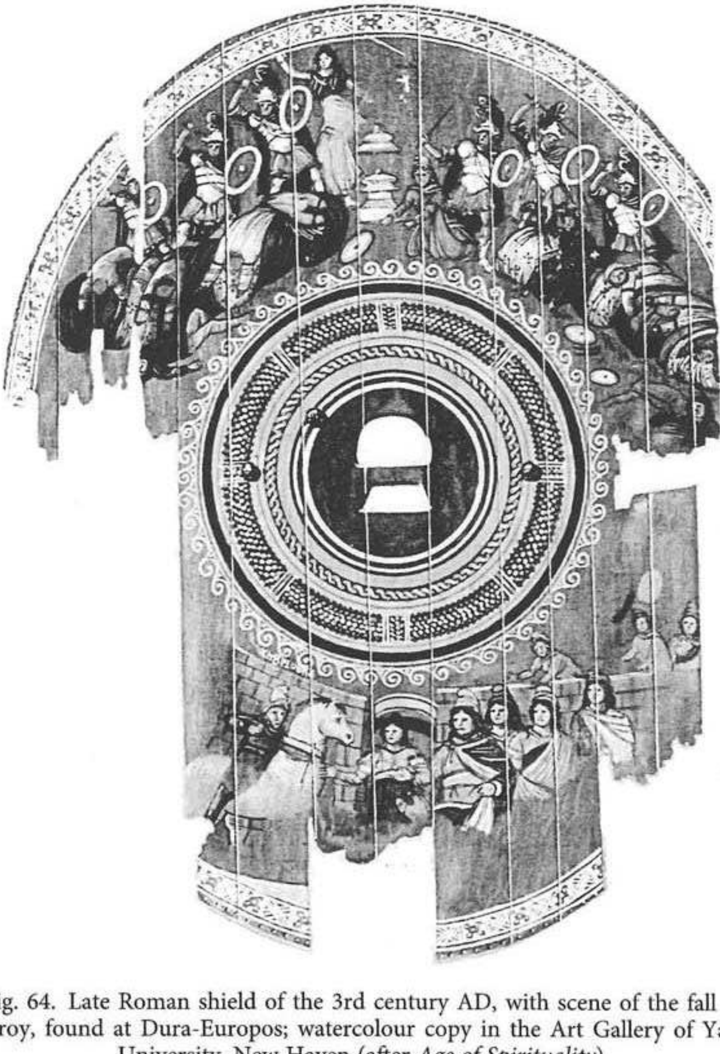


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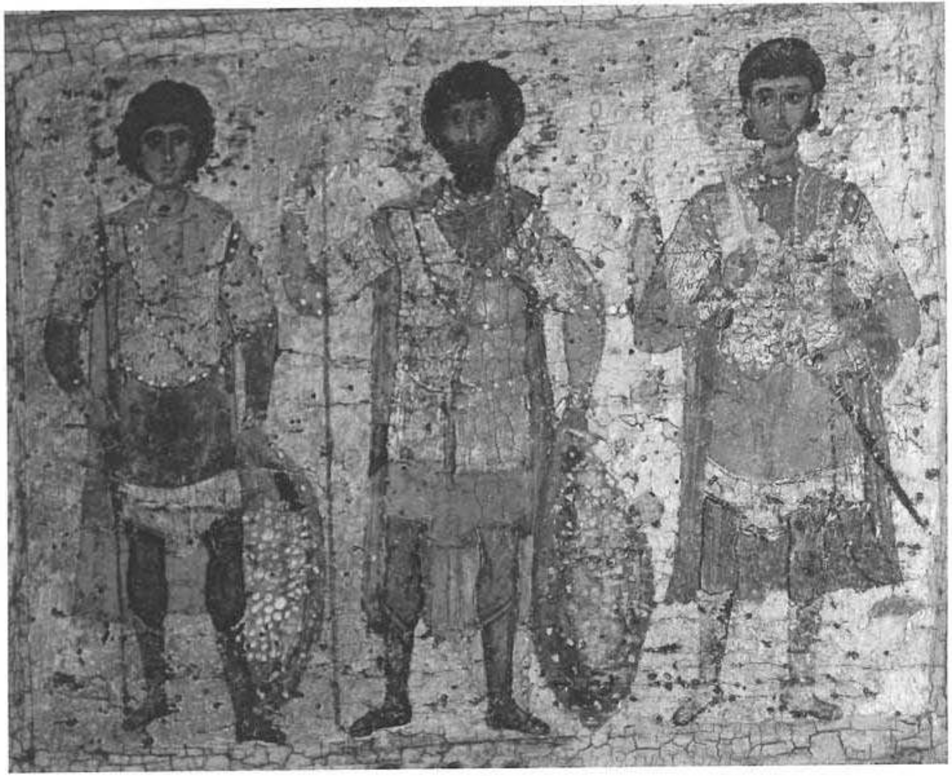


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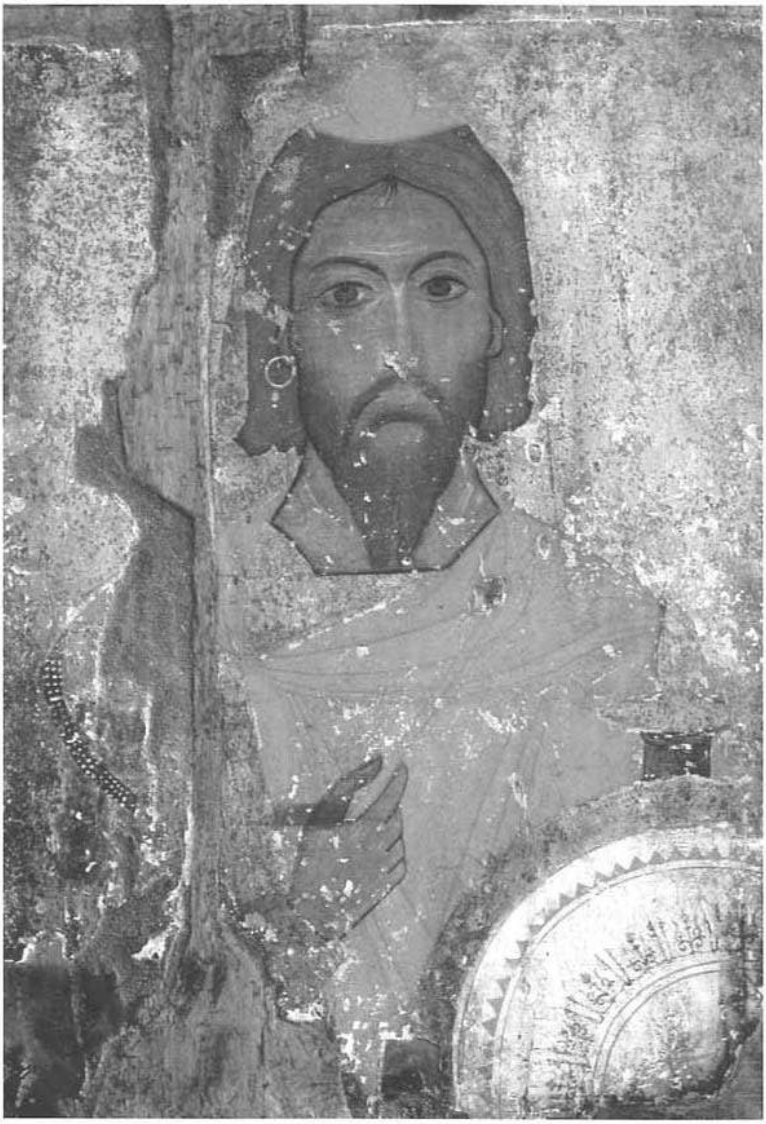


Fig. 71. St James the Persian, double-sided icon from the Panagia Theoskepaste church, Paphos, Cyprus, end of 12th century; Collection of Art in the Bishop's Palace, Paphos (after *Glory of Byzantium*).



Fig. 72. Justinian with his court, mosaic on the north wall of the presbytery of the Church of San Vitale, Ravenna, *c.*548.



Fig. 73. St Demetrios, 13th-century glass cameo of Venetian workmanship; British Museum, London.



Fig. 74. Shield with heraldic lion, *c.*1200; Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zürich (after Gamber).



a) Unit of *Noumeroi* of the *demos* of the Blues with an image of St Theodore



b) *Protodemarchos* John with image of St George

Fig. 75. Seals of the 7th or 8th century, from the former Schlumberger collection (after Marković).



Fig. 76. Votive crown of Leo VI (886–912); Treasury of the Basilica di San Marco, Venice (after Cotler & Spieser 1996).



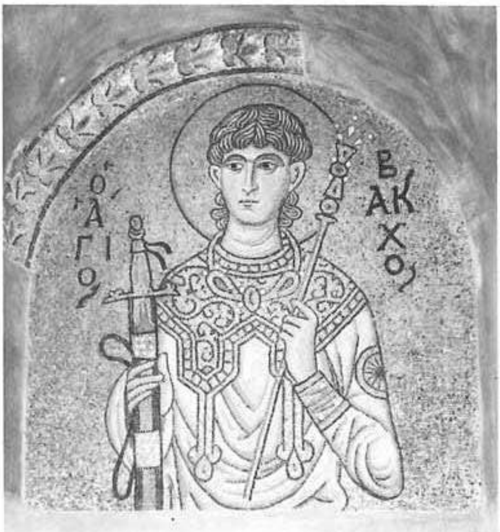
Fig. 77. St Theodore *Orientalis*, 9th/10th-century miniature in the Coptic *Synaxarion* from St Michael's Monastery, Hamula near Fayyum, Egypt; New York, J. Pierpont Morgan Library, M 613, fol. 1v (after *L'art Copte*).



Fig. 78. Unidentified warrior saint, 11th-century mural in the church of the monastery on Kom H at Old Dongola, Sudan (after Jakobielski).



a) St Sergios



b) St Bakchos

Fig. 79. Mosaics in the south-west bay of the naos of the *katholikon* of the monastery in Daphni near Athens, *c.*1100.



Fig. 80. St Prokopios, 13th-century icon from the workshop of Master Peter who worked at the court of Euthymios II, Patriarch of Jerusalem; Monastery of St. Catherine, Mt Sinai (after *Sinai*).



a) The Judgment of Solomon (fol. 215^{v})



b) Theodosius accompanied by *protospatharioi* (fol. 239r)

Fig. 81. Miniatures of 879–882 from the Constantinople codex of the *Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos*; Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Cod. gr. 510 (after Brubaker).



a) St Sergios

b) St Bakchos

Fig. 82. Frescoes on the southern wall of the narthex of the Hagia Sophia Church, Trebizond, Turkey, *c.*1260.



Fig. 83. Saints Boris and Gleb, Kievan icon of the 12th/13th century; National Museum, Kiev (after *Glory of Byzantium*).



Fig. 84. Two warrior saints (Theodore and George) on horseback, 11th/12th-century stone stele from Amaseia; Benaki Museum, Athens (photo Z. Brzezinski).



Fig. 85. Prince Amir Hasan II hunting deer, detail of a relief from the Church of the White Virgin (Spitakavor Astvatsatsin) in Yeghegnadzor, Armenia, 1321; State Historical Museum, Yerevan (after V. Nersessian).



Fig. 86. St Theodore, relief on the northern façade of the Cathedral of the Holy Cross in Aghtamar, 915–921 (after S. Der Nersessian 1965).



Fig. 87. Thomas the Slav concludes an alliance with the Saracens, miniature from the manuscript *History* of Skylitzes of *c.*1130–40; Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Vitr. 26–2, fol. 31r (after Tsamakda).



a) *Labarum* standard surmounted by the *chi-rho* monogram (*chrysma*) stuck in a serpent; reverse of a *follis* of Constantine the Great, minted in Constantinople 326–330

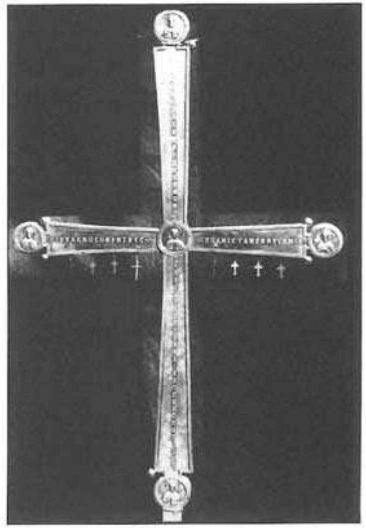


b) Valentinian III, holding a cross and figure of Victoria on a globe, tramples a serpent with human head; reverse of a gold *solidus* minted in Rome, 424–425

Fig. 88. Late Roman coins (after Wallis Budge).



a) Reverse of a reliquary funded by the caesar Bardas, the so-called *Stauroteca degli Zaccaria*, 9th century, restored in the 13th century; Treasury of the Cathedral of San Lorenzo, Genoa



b) Reverse side of a 10th-century processional cross; Treasury of the Great Lavra Monastery, Mt Athos

Fig. 89. Processional or military crosses (after Cotsonis).



Fig. 90. Guardsmen of King Zophar, miniature from the *Book of Job* (*Cod. 3*, fol. 29v), 11th-century; St Catherine's Monastery, Mt Sinai (after Galavaris/Weitzmann).



a) *Spatha* in an ornate metal scabbard, 10th century(?); Historical Museum, Athens



b) bronze sword hilt from the Serçe Limani wreck, 11th century; Archaeological Museum, Bodrum



c) spears with lugs from the Serçe Limani wreck, 11th century; Archaeological Museum, Bodrum

Fig. 91. Byzantine weapons.

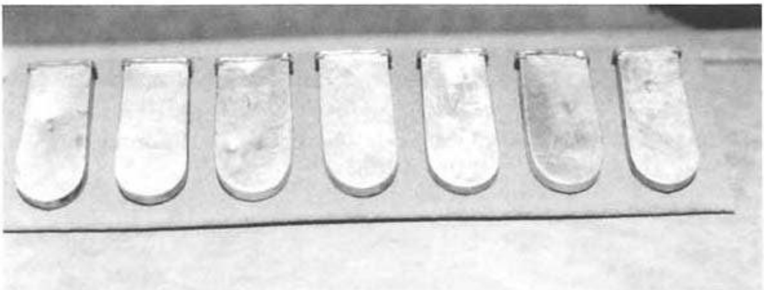


Fig. 92. Gold fittings from an Avar belt, *c.* 700, found in Vrap (Albania); Metropolitan Museum, New York.



Fig. 93. St George *Prostatis* with a *paramerion* sword and a spear, 12th-century miniature on fol. 74v of *Menologion no. 996*; National Library, Athens (after Chatzenikolaou/Paschou).

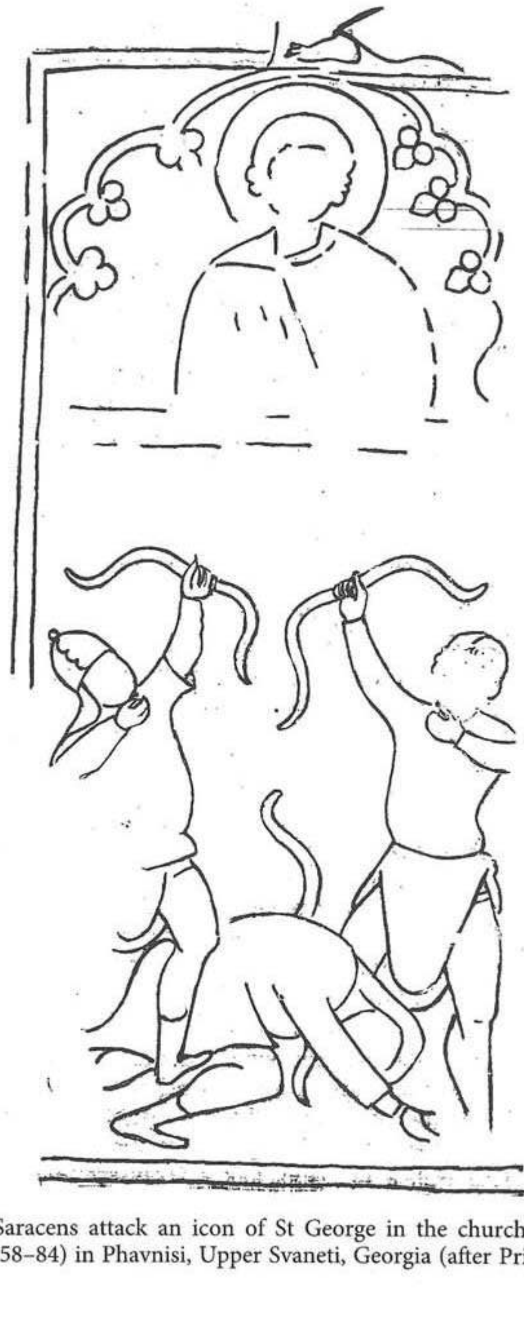


Fig. 94. Saracens attack an icon of St George in the church of St George (1158–84) in Phavnisi, Upper Svaneti, Georgia (after Privalova).



Fig. 95. Demons attack monks on their ascent to heaven, detail from the icon *Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus*, end of 12th century; St Catherine's monastery, Mt Sinai (after *Sinai*).



Fig. 96. The miraculous vision of St Eustathios (Roman general Placidus), miniature in a 9th-century Psalter (*Cod. 61*, fol. 138r); Pantokrator Monastery, Mt Athos (after *Athos*).

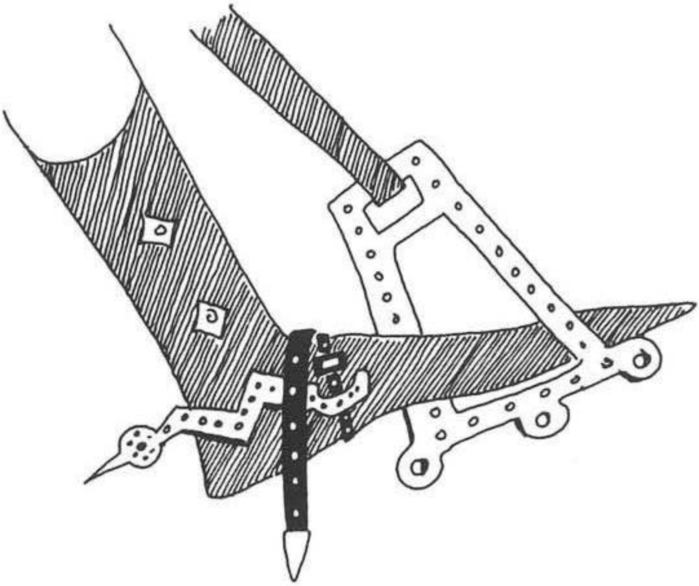


Fig. 97. St George's spur on a 13th/14th-century fresco in the church of St John Chrysostom in Geraki (after Moutsopoulos/Demetrokalles).

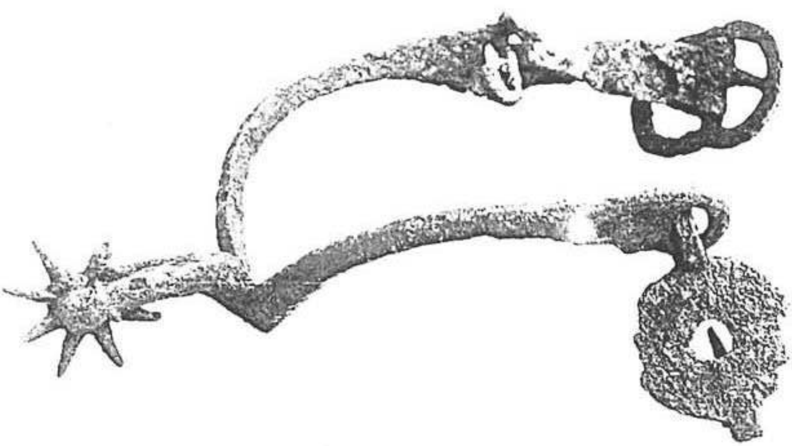


Fig. 98. Spur from the 1st half of the 13th century, found in the ruins of St George's monastery at Vrontokastro near Kavala, northern Greece (after Zekos/Bakirtzes).



Fig. 99. Donor miniature of *c.*1250 in the *Westminster Psalter*; British Library *Ms. Royal 2A XXII* (after France).



Fig. 100. Gold cruciform pendant, second half of 12th century; Kanellopoulos Museum, Athens.



a) St Theodore Teron, mosaic in the southern arch of the central nave

b) St Merkourios, mosaic in the western arch of the central nave

Fig. 25. Military saints from the *katholikon* (main church) of the Hosios Loukas Monastery, Phokis, 1st half of 11th century (after Chatzidakis).



c) St Theodore Stratelates, fresco in the north-western chapel



d) St Nestor, fresco on the vault of the south-eastern bay of the nave

Fig. 25. Military saints from the *katholikon* (main church) of the Hosios Loukas Monastery, Phokis, 1st half of 11th century (after Chatzidakis).



Fig. 26. St Demetrios, mosaic from the monastery of St Michael Archangel, Kiev, 1108–13; Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow (after Lazarev).



Fig. 27. St George, 11th–12th century wooden relief icon from Cherson, Crimea; National Museum, Kiev (after *Glory of Byzantium*).



Fig. 28. St Merkourios, 10th–11th century fresco from the crypt of the Church of the Virgin (currently Odalar mosque), Constantinople; now in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.



a) Sts George and Demetrios on the north wall of the central nave

b) St Nestor on the west wall of the arcade between the central and northern naves (photo A. Babuin)

c) St Prokopios on the west wall of the central nave (photo A. Babuin)

Fig. 30. Frescoes of *c.*1180 in the church of the Holy Anargyroi, Kastoria, Greece.



d) St Theodore Stratelates on the south wall of the central nave (photo A. Babuin)



e) St Theodore Teron on the south wall of the central nave (photo A. Babuin)



Fig. f) St George on horseback on the north wall of the northern nave

Fig. 30. Frescoes of *c*.1180 in the church of the Holy Anargyroi, Kastoria, Greece.

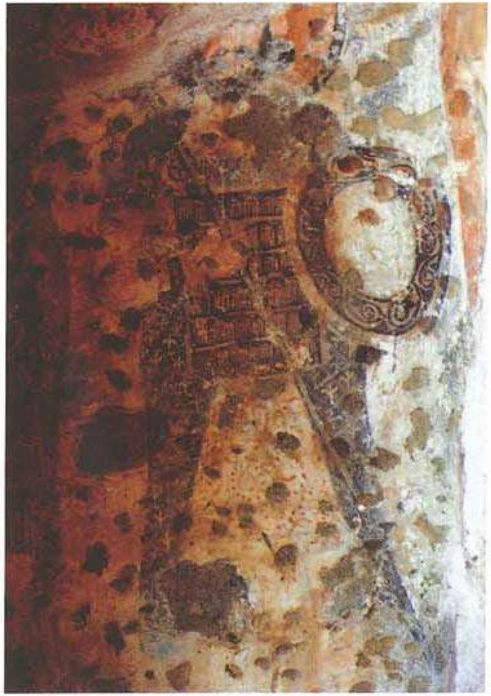


Fig. 37. St Theodore(?), fresco from 991/2, on the northern wall of the Chapel of St Panteleimon in Upper Boularioi, on the Mani Peninsula, Greece.



Fig. 38. St Orestes, fresco from the church of the Dormition of the Mother of God, Episkopi, Eurytania, Greece, *c*.1200; Byzantine and Christian Museum, Athens (after *Glory of Byzantium*).



a) St Theodore



b) St Orestes

Fig. 44. Mosaics in the inner narthex cupola of the *katholikon* (main church) of the monastery of Nea Mone on Chios, *c.*1049.



c) St Sergios



d) St Bakchos

Fig. 44. Mosaics in the inner narthex cupola of the *katholikon* (main church) of the monastery of Nea Mone on Chios, *c.*1049.



a) Saints George, Demetrios and Nestor on the southern wall



b) The two saint Theodores with St Prokopios on the northern wall

Fig. 45. Frescoes in the western bay of the *katholikon* of the monastery of St Panteleimon in Nerezi, Macedonia, AD 1164.



a) St Theodore Teron (fol. 41v)



b) St Demetrios (fol. 123r)



c) St George (fol. 151v)

Fig. 46. Miniatures dating from 1059, *Evangelistarion nr 587*, Dionisiou Monastery, Mt Athos (after *Athos*).



Fig. 47. St Theodore on a 12th-century enamelled plaque from Bathys Ryax; Hermitage, Saint Petersburg.



a) St Demetrios

b) St George

Fig. 48. Frescoes on the southern wall of the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria, Greece, ca. 1175.



c) St Nestor

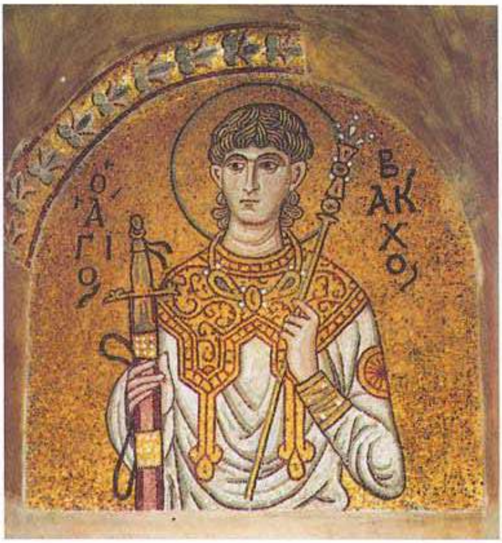


d) St Merkourios

Fig. 48. Frescoes on the southern wall of the church of St Nicholas tou Kasnitze in Kastoria, Greece, ca. 1175.



a) St Sergios



b) St Bakchos

Fig. 79. Mosaics in the south-west bay of the naos of the *katholikon* of the monastery in Daphni near Athens, *c*.1100.



a) St Sergios



b) St Bakchos

Fig. 82. Frescoes on the southern wall of the narthex of the Hagia Sophia Church, Trebizond, Turkey, *c.*1260.



Piotr Ł. Grotowski, Ph.D. (2003) in Art History, Jagiellonian University, Poland; lecturer of Byzantine Art (since 2005) at the Pontifical University, Cracow. His publications mostly concern Byzantine and Orthodox art, and include a Polish translation of Procopius' *Buildings* (Proszynski, 2006).

The question of the independence of Byzantine iconography continues to draw attention. Following extensive research on the persistence of Classical motifs in Byzantine art, interest has recently turned to the originality of the latter and its reliability as a historical source. This study examines whether military equipment (armour, weapons, insignia and costume) shown in images of the warrior saints reflects items actually used in the mid-Byzantine Army or merely repeats Classical forms. Such representations are compared with documentary evidence gathered chiefly from Byzantine military manuals. The author demonstrates that military equipment, being a vital branch of material culture subject to constant evolution, provides a good indicator of iconographic innovation in the art of Byzantium.

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